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EPITOME

OF

ALISON'S HISTORY

OF

EUROPE

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN 1789
TO THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS IN 1815

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND YOUNG PERSONS

TWENTY-NINTH THOUSAND

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THE general interest taken by the public in the events treated of in my "History of Europe," and the importance of some information on the subject to every one desirous of obtaining even an ordinary education, has suggested to the Messrs BLACKWOOD the idea of publishing an Abridgment of it for the use of Schools and young persons. An author is in general the person of all others least adapted for such a task, as he is unavoidably biassed by partialities contracted in the course of composition, from which a third party is free. I have contented myself, therefore, with taking a general superintendence of this Abridgment. Great care has been taken to retain mention of all the material facts in the work, but to dwell at length on such only as were likely to interest youthful minds, and impress the great moral and religious principles which it was the object of the Author to illustrate by his narrative. A Chronological Table has been subjoined of all the principal events, which will be found of use in impressing them upon the memory, and giving a correct idea of the order in which they succeeded each other, even to those of more

advanced years. In a word, nothing has been omitted which could render the EPITOME suitable for the purpose for which it was intended — that of combining historical information, on a period of unexampled interest and importance, with those still more valuable moral truths which may be deduced alike from the transactions of men and the works of nature.

A. ALISON.

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EPITOME

OF THE

HISTORY OF EUROPE

1789—1815

PART I.

INTRODUCTION—MEETING OF THE STATES-GENERAL, 1789, TO THE DEATH OF THE KING, 1793.

I. *State of France and Great Britain at the commencement of the Revolution.*

1. THE Great Rebellion in England and the French Revolution have been regarded by many as occurrences almost parallel in character; but on closer examination it will be found that, possessing a few marked features in common, they were strikingly different both in origin and results. Their resemblance to each other consisted in the overthrow of monarchy by the multitude, and the execution of the reigning prince; in the assumption of the supreme power by military rulers, and the ultimate restoration of the hereditary line: and with these points the similitude ends. The consequent wars in England, extending over many years, lay between the King and the principal gentry arrayed on the one side, and the cities and the popular mass on the other; while in France none remained loyal to the Crown save the Vendean peasantry: the King, yielding without a struggle, was brought to

the block by a faction in Paris—a catastrophe which a little energy at first could have easily averted; while the privileged classes, to the number of 70,000, fled during the panic from the country, and took refuge on foreign shores. In England, religion was the great lever by which the leaders of the movement acted on the people; in France, democracy triumphed in the temporary prostration of Christianity itself.

2. It is also remarkable that, while no massacres or proscriptions took place during the great civil war in England, and not a manor-house was given to the flames—that while, excepting the death of the King, of Strafford, and of Laud, no unnecessary cruelty was indulged in by the republican victors, and little alteration took place eventually, either as to property or the general laws of the realm;—in France the higher ranks were universally treated with the most revolting barbarity, and every one elevated above the mere populace was marked out as a victim: the peasants rose against their landlords, burned their houses, and plundered their property; and to these crimes the rural population of la Vendée was the only and the honourable exception. The advantages of fortune and the distinctions of rank were fatal to their possessors, liberty and equality being the universal outcry of the revolutionary party—who on these grounds not only usurped the entire estates of the church, and the great part of those of the nobles, but annihilated all private rights and privileges, and instituted an entirely new code for the administration of justice.

3. We thus see, that these great Revolutions differed in many more things than in what they agreed; and we must seek for an explanation of these discrepancies, not so much in any original distinctions of national character as in the widely different states of the two countries at the commencement of these outbreaks. In attempting to do this, we must be allowed briefly to glance at some prominent points of their previous history; because, after the overthrow of the Roman dominion, very different circumstances tended to mould the character of the Gauls and Britons.

4. Borne down by centuries of oppression, and humiliated by a long submission to tyrannic power, the Britons became a prey to the lawless aggressions of the Scots and Picts, almost as soon as the Roman yoke was removed from their shoulders; nor was it until the Anglo-Saxon Conquest reanimated afresh the national spirit, that they recovered from the lethargy into which they had been subdued. The continuous wars of the Heptarchy, which stretched over five centuries, and in which Saxons, Danes, and Britons were alike involved, tended gradually to reawaken the warlike energies, which had been originally characteristic of the British nation. During this process, however, the frame of society was greatly disorganised; the community unfortunately arranged itself under two separate and distinct classes—the aristocracy and their slaves or vassals—and such a division between them as the middle class of tenants was completely swept away.

5. At this era the Norman Conquest induced a new order of things: with an arbitrary despotism, not less oppressive than the Roman, property was reft from its owners, who were speedily degraded almost to the rank of the serfs who had formerly been a part of it. But the spirit of independence passed not away from the humbled Anglo-Saxons, and the most happy results were destined to arise from these occurrences; for, from their intermarriages with the Normans sprang the forefathers of the English Yeomanry, whose prowess with the bow rendered them the most formidable troops in the wars of the Middle Ages.

6. It was thus that the ancient English spirit gradually rose in the ascendant; and the mass of the people came ultimately to be possessed of even more than their ancient privileges. The constant use of arms taught them their own importance in the State, and the ancient institutions of the country came at length to be objects of veneration, even to the descendants of those who had overturned them. In process of time, these were solemnly ratified in Magna Charta, and recognised as the basis of the British constitution.

7. At a subsequent period, it may be said that the balance of power amid the classes of the empire was destroyed by the wars

of the houses of York and Lancaster, as the almost extermination of the ancient nobility, and the constant changes of property from one hand to another, tended greatly to augment the power of the Crown. This was exhibited, not only in the tyranny of the Tudor princes, but in the servility of their parliaments. But the balance was restored by the Reformation, throughout which the religious zeal which inflamed the people, and their natural love of liberty, were more than a match for the loyalty and devotion of the gentry to their sovereign; and although matters terminated in the overthrow of the throne for a season, the tendencies towards republicanism gradually relaxed, and the result was the re-establishment of the constitution on a broader basis, and encircled with surer safeguards.

8. So much for England; let us now glance at Gaul, which was left in a state of even deeper degradation on the withdrawal of the Roman forces. There were only 500,000 freemen in the country when it was overrun by the barbarian Franks, into whose hands, before the eleventh century, the whole property of the country had fallen. The original proprietors of the soil were never able to extricate themselves from the entanglements of the degradation into which they had fallen. Every great feudal lord exercised the prerogatives of a petty king; and in their endless and sanguinary wars with each other they kept up that military spirit, which looked with disdain on the peaceable avocations of commerce. A chivalric enthusiasm, no doubt, pervaded the higher classes; but the serfs and burgesses were degraded to the verge of absolute slavery. A reaction at length took place in the dreadful insurrection of the Jacquerie: the nobles were hunted like wild beasts, and subjected to deaths of torture, and their castles burned or thrown down. But the triumph was brief: masses of half-armed and undisciplined men could not stand the shock of the feudal cavalry, and blood was shed in torrents. The French municipalities yielded almost without a struggle; and in 1369 was erected that Bastille which was not thrown down till the commencement of the era of which we are now to treat.

II. *Causes in France which predisposed to Revolution.*

9. Situated in the centre of European civilisation, it was impossible that France, in the eighteenth century, should escape the general tendency towards free institutions. All classes, except the privileged ones, were discontented; and the universality of this disaffection proves the existence of grievances affecting all classes in the State. It is true that, in every prosperous, opulent, and advancing country, the higher ranks must be constantly exposed to collision with the incessantly increasing vigour of the lower orders, and, if without advantages to counteract the superior energy and industry of their inferiors, must in general fall a prey to their ambition. But in France, besides the operation of this general rule, and besides the various checks on the growth of constitutional liberty which were detailed in the last section, numerous peculiar causes had combined both to rouse the revolutionary feeling, and to facilitate the success of its outbreak. For a century and a half before the Revolution, France had been undisturbed by civil war or foreign invasion: wealth had accumulated in the lower orders during this long interval of peace and tranquillity; while the military spirit of the nation had been developed to the utmost by continual wars with the European powers. The church, in the mean time, had experienced the fate of all attempts, in an advancing age, to fetter the human mind; the growth of philosophic investigation had exposed the corruption and absurdity of many of its doctrines; and superstitious belief had been succeeded, from the natural tendency of the human mind to pass from one extreme to another, by the irreligious scepticism of Voltaire, Diderot, and their followers. The unpopularity of the church was further augmented by the unequal distribution of its revenues and honours (from which the clergy of plebeian birth were almost wholly excluded), and by the luxury and dissipated lives of the high-born dignitaries: hence the superior ecclesiastics shared in the odium directed against the exclusive privileges of the aristocracy. All appointments of value in the law, the church, the

court, or the army, were monopolised by a class containing 150,000 individuals: the great body of the people were absolutely excluded. Hence the industrious classes, and the men of wealth and talent, were unanimous in their hatred of the nobles; and hence arose the watchword of Liberty and *Equality*—a phrase unheard in the English Rebellion.

10. A still more practical grievance was the weight and inequality of taxation. The total revenue amounted to 469,000,000 of francs (£18,750,000), of which the taxes on articles of consumption formed 260,000,000. But this immense burden was unequally divided among the different provinces; and the intendants, who regulated these proportions, exercised an arbitrary power, from which there was practically no appeal. The nobles and the clergy were exempt from the *taille*, and others of the more oppressive imposts; while the cultivator was so heavily mulcted, that only one-twelfth of the produce of an acre (instead of three-fourths, as in England) remained to him after payment of rent and taxes. The cultivators were consequently reduced to the lowest misery, which was aggravated by the vexatious severity of the local burdens, and services due to their feudal superiors. The game-laws, the *corvées*, or forced requisitions for the repair of roads, &c., and innumerable other imposts, for which we cannot even find names in our language, weighed as dreadful grievances on the peasantry; and the general non-residence of the landlords (except in la Vendée) completed the disunion between them and their rural dependants.

11. Nor was the administration of justice free from censure: in many of the local courts it was even venal and infamous; and the independence of the provincial parliaments did not always exempt their decisions from the suspicion of partiality. Yet the free and courageous conduct of these bodies had preserved all that still remained of public liberty, by the contest which they had maintained during half a century against the ordinances of the Crown. These edicts, for nearly two hundred years, had usurped the authority of the law, and the royal prerogative had become virtually absolute. The undisguised

profligacy of the court, under the Regent Orleans and Louis XV., was carried to an extent unknown since the Roman empire: the favour of royal mistresses openly disposed of the highest appointments; and such was the dissolution of morals, that no less than £20,000,000 of the public debt had been contracted for expenses too disgraceful to bear the light. This enormous national debt, incurred by the Crown without national authority, amounted in 1789 to above £244,000,000, while the revenue presented an annual deficit of above £7,000,000!—and this, by compelling the King to summon the States-General in order to avert national bankruptcy, proved the immediate cause of the Revolution.

12. The spirit of innovation had been increasing through the latter part of the eighteenth century, and the American War blew the embers into a flame. The enthusiasm of the nation forced the government to take part in the contest; and the soldiers who were sent to support the Transatlantic insurgents imbibed intoxicating ideas of patriotic resistance, and returned eager to instil into their countrymen their own admiration of republicanism. At the same juncture, the government alienated the army by introducing the Prussian discipline, with all its severe and degrading punishments, and by making a hundred years of noble descent indispensable for a commissioned officer. Thus in every quarter some cause of disaffection existed, and many of them had been long in operation.

13. Of all the monarchs who ever sat on the French throne Louis XVI. was the least calculated either to provoke or to subdue a revolution. Endowed with all the virtues which adorn private life, he was destitute of the firmness and decision necessary to control the conflicting interests which, during his reign, were brought into such fearful collision: hence, in difficult periods he vacillated between the wish to concede the demands of the popular party and the fear of offending the pride of the nobles, till both were led to abandon him, from distrusting, the one his constancy, the other his sincerity. Maurepas, whom he chose at his accession for prime-minister, further accustomed him to

a system of half measures and temporisation; and his plans of reform, though supported by the eminent talents of Turgot, Malesherbes, and Necker, were thwarted by the selfish opposition of the nobles. Their influence, united with the jealousy of Maurepas at the ascendant of Turgot over the King, procured from Louis, against his better judgment, the dismissal of this virtuous statesman. Necker, whose economical projects had alarmed the courtiers, shared the same fate shortly after; and on the death of Maurepas himself, which soon followed, the abortive movement towards reform, which he had at least the merit of attempting, was abandoned by his successors.

14. The Queen, the young and beautiful Marie Antoinette, now assumed a paramount influence over the King's mind, which she retained down to the overthrow of the throne. Vergennes was made prime-minister, and Calonne minister of finance. This extravagant but showy speculator was in every respect the reverse of the cautious Necker. For a time he supported the public credit, and maintained the Court in unexampled splendour, by the incessant contraction of new loans. But this system could not long be kept up: between 1781 and 1786 the government had borrowed £64,000,000; and the publication of this astounding fact, which was elicited on the assemblage of the Notables, or chief nobility, for the imposition of fresh taxes, was the signal for the fall of Calonne. But his successor, Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, was not more adequate to cope with the crisis. He had attracted the Queen's approbation by his conversational brilliancy—but his schemes were both rashly formed and feebly executed; and the Assembly of Notables, proving both parsimonious and refractory, was dissolved in 1787.

15. But the ferment which their convocation had excited still continued; and when two new taxes were soon after imposed by the ministry, the parliament of Paris refused to register them —a form indispensable for their legalisation. The resistance of the parliament was punished by banishment to Troyes, whence they were recalled only on consenting to the registration. But the same scene was ere long repeated on the proposition of a

new loan; and the King himself registered the edict by the interposition of his personal authority in what was termed a Bed of Justice. But, in spite of some promised concessions, the movement had now become general; and the parliament of Paris, placing itself at its head, boldly declared that it had *no power* to register taxes, and demanded the convocation of the States-General.

16. In this emergency Brienne determined on a bold stroke (May 5, 1788) for the maintenance of the power of the Crown. The parliament was confined to its judicial functions, while its political powers were summarily transferred to a *cour plenière*, composed of the court party. But public opinion was too strong for this violent step: the nation united in opposition; and the convocation of the States-General was called for alike by the nobles, the commons, the provincial assemblies, and the clergy. Driven to extremities, the court and the ministers were forced to yield: the parliament was re-established, the *cour plenière* abolished, and Necker recalled; and in August 1788, the meeting of the Estates was fixed for May 1, 1789.

III. *States-General—National Assembly, afterwards Constituent Assembly.*

17. The 5th May 1789 was the day on which the French Revolution was virtually commenced, by the opening of the States-General. On the evening of the 4th, the royal family, the ministers, and the deputies of the three orders (viz. the nobles, clergy, and commons), had walked in solemn procession to hear mass; and the next morning the Assembly was opened with great pomp, according to the ceremonial of the last convocation in 1614. As the King seated himself on the throne, all the deputies rose and covered themselves—an ominous change from the days when the *Tiers Etat* remained uncovered, and spoke only on their knees! But this Tiers Etat (third estate, or commons) was now, in the words of a famous pamphlet by the Abbé Sièyes, "the French nation, *minus* the nobles and the clergy;"

and the doubling of the number of their deputies, which Necker had conceded to the impulse of democratic ambition, threw a heavy preponderance into the scale of the popular party. So little care had been taken to regulate the franchise, that nearly three millions had voted in the elections; no qualification whatever, either of age or property, had been required of the representatives themselves; and the deputies were reduced to mere delegates, by being absolutely bound by the *cahiers*, or instructions drawn up by their constituents for the guidance of their votes. Of the deputies thus chosen, scarcely any were men of property, talent, or previous influence: many were reckless and needy adventurers, who sought only an opportunity of advancing their own fortunes; and of 565 (the entire number of the Tiers Etat), not less than 279 were lawyers, chiefly from the lower ranks of the profession. From this last class sprang Robespierre, Danton, and nearly all the associates of their crimes. The Chamber of Nobles comprehended 270 members, including one prince of the blood—the Duke of Orleans: the numbers of the clergy were 293—but 210 of these were curates, whose prepossessions were mostly on the side of the Tiers Etat. Such was the composition of this memorable assembly.

18. The proceedings were opened by a speech from the throne, in which the King detailed the urgent causes which had induced him to re-establish the meetings of the states, and concluded by a wish "that unanimity might prevail among them." But the following day showed how fallacious was this hope. The plan of Necker had been to form the states into two chambers, as in England—the nobles and clergy in one, and the Tiers Etat in the other: but the two higher orders insisted on constituting themselves in separate chambers; while the commons, on the other hand, refused to begin business till they were joined by the other orders. For several weeks this contest continued, to the complete stoppage of public affairs: public opinion being vehement in favour of the Tiers Etat, who increased in their pretensions as their adversaries showed signs of irresolution. At length (June 17), after a violent debate, which lasted till past

midnight, the deputies of the commons, by a majority of 491 to 90, took the decisive step of declaring *themselves* to be the representatives of the nation, constituting themselves (in disregard of both the Crown and the nobles) by the title of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, and declaring all taxes illegal except those voted by themselves.

19. The aristocratic party were thunderstruck by the audacity of this measure, which excited the popular enthusiasm in the highest degree. Necker proposed the adoption of a mixed constitution, similar to that of England; and the King announced his intention of declaring his will, on the 23d, to the assembled estates. In the mean time (June 20), the hall of the Tiers Etat was closed, and guarded by grenadiers; but this step, which was misconstrued into a threat of coercion by arms, led to disastrous results. The members, with their president Bailly, repaired to an adjoining tennis-court, where each of the deputies, with a single exception, pledged himself, by an oath confirmed by his signature, not to separate till they had fulfilled the task for which they were called together—viz., the reform of the constitution.

20. This famous Tennis-Court Oath at once involved the Assembly in a contest with the Government; and they were reinforced two days later, by the accession of 148 of the clergy. The majority of the nobles still dissented, and the royal sitting took place, as announced, on the 23d. The declarations of the King were read, abolishing the exemptions from taxes of the nobles and clergy, with most of the feudal imposts; and guaranteeing the liberty of the press, the consolidation of the national debt, and the reform of the criminal code. But these concessions, which at any other time would have excited transports of gratitude, were accompanied by the annulment of the resolutions of 17th June as illegal. The orders were further commanded to meet in separate chambers, and threats of punishment held out to the contumacious. The Tiers Etat, however, were now conscious of their own power: on the motion of Mirabeau and Sièyes, they refused to separate; and next day they were

joined by the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Rochefoucalt-Liancourt, the Marquis Lafayette, Count Lally-Tollendal, and about forty other nobles. The King, yielding to the torrent, enjoined the recusant majority of the nobles, and the remainder of the clergy, to follow their example (June 25). Thus the Assembly had victoriously defied the throne: public opinion was with them, and the royal authority was virtually annihilated.

21. Meanwhile the ferment in the capital had risen to an almost incredible pitch; and the Palais Royal, the residence of the Duke of Orleans, became the centre of the agitation. On the 1st of July, the *Gardes Françaises* broke out into open mutiny; and the symptoms of disaffection increased so rapidly in all quarters that the conviction of the absolute necessity of coercive measures was at length brought home to the court. A large force was collected round Versailles, and Necker was dismissed and exiled; but the populace broke out in fury at the news, and the first blood of the Revolution was shed in a riot on 11th July, headed by the afterwards famous Camille Desmoulins. In the vain hope of conciliation, the troops were withdrawn: but the mob procured arms by plundering the arsenals and the gunsmiths' shops; and on the 14th, the first open blow was struck against the government by the attack on the Bastille. The weak garrison, overpowered after a short resistance, yielded on promise of safety; but the governor and three of the officers were brutally massacred by the populace, and their bloody heads borne aloft on pikes. The storming of the Bastille was communicated to Louis by the Duke de Liancourt.—"This is a revolt," said the King, after a long silence. "Sire," was the reply, "it is a *revolution!*"

22. The immediate consequence was the formation of a popular armed force—the National Guard—from the citizens of Paris; and the King, finding resistance hopeless from the universal defection of the troops, resolved to yield. He repaired to the Assembly, attended only by his two brothers, and announced his determination of visiting Paris. On the 17th he accord-

ingly set out from Versailles, accompanied by a great part of the Assembly, and by a vast concourse of half-armed peasants, who surrounded and impeded the cavalcade. The march lasted seven hours: at the gates, the keys of the city were presented by Bailly, now mayor of Paris; and Louis reached the Hotel de Ville in the midst of a hundred thousand armed men, all wearing the new national *tricoloured* cockade. Necker had already been recalled, in obedience to the popular voice, and was brought back in triumph; but he speedily experienced how inadequate was his popularity to control the frenzy of the people. Foulon and Berthier, two of the late ministers, were seized and hanged by the mob, in spite of the efforts of Lafayette and Bailly; and this sanguinary example speedily extended to the provinces. The most dreadful confusion and anarchy ensued; the barbarities of the Jacquerie were revived on a greater scale, and the seigneurs and proprietors were everywhere expelled or massacred with circumstances of unheard-of cruelty. No power any longer existed which could control these excesses; the troops had universally embraced the popular side, and the people throughout the kingdom had organised themselves into armed troops of national guards. Within a fortnight from the fall of the Bastille, both the legislative authority and the armed power had passed absolutely into the hands of the people.

23. In the mean time, the evil effects of popular ascendency appeared in the form of famine: the farmers no longer dared to send their grain to Paris, and Bailly had the utmost difficulty in providing subsistence for the people. Many nobles had already fled with their families from the kingdom; those who remained sought to deprecate by concession the hostility of the lower orders. On the 4th of August, the Duke de Noailles proposed the equalisation of taxation on all ranks: the example became contagious; and the nobles, corporations, and provinces vied with each other in surrendering their rights. On that night the political condition of France was changed, and the odious distinctions of noble and plebeian for ever swept away.

But the events of the last three months had unsettled men's minds, and the evil effects of the spirit of innovation were soon manifested. On the 7th of August, the redemption of tithes, previously voted, was changed into their abolition. It was in vain that Sièyes protested against this act of spoliation. Mirabeau replied to his remonstrances—"My dear Abbé, you have loosed the bull—do you expect he will not use his horns?" The church estates, producing a net revenue of £2,800,000, were seized for the use of the nation, which undertook to make provision for the clergy; but the promise was never kept, and this ill-gotten property was so mismanaged, that it cost the nation more than it yielded! This act of injustice was speedily followed (Aug. 18) by the publication of the famous Rights of Man—a manifesto which became the creed of the Revolution, and which promulgated, as the basis of social government, the specious but impracticable doctrines of *liberty*, *equality*, and the *sovereignty of the people* exercised by universal suffrage.

24. During these events, the anarchy in the provinces, as well as the famine in the capital, continued to increase to a fearful extent: the collection of the revenue had become almost impossible; and the capitalists, terrified at the progress of the revolutionary convulsion, rejected all attempts to negotiate a loan. The financial extremity was such, that Necker was compelled (Sept. 24) to propose an income-tax amounting to a fourth of each individual's revenue; and this extraordinary impost was supported by the unrivalled eloquence of Mirabeau, who clearly demonstrated it to be the only chance of escaping national bankruptcy. But though the enactment was passed, subsequent events prevented its being ever enforced. The populace had been inflamed by the most extravagant reports, disseminated purposely to throw the odium of the famine and public distress on the King and nobles, and an accident produced an explosion.

25. A dinner had been given by the body-guards at Versailles (Oct. 1) to the officers of the regiment of Flanders: the King and royal family had shown themselves at the banquet, and the officers, in the enthusiasm of loyalty, were decorated with white

cockades by the ladies of the court. The infuriated rabble (instigated by the agents of the Duke of Orleans, who hoped to gain the crown by the dethronement of Louis) construed this demonstration into the prelude of an attack from the *aristocrats:* and on the fifth, a vast armed mob, followed by crowds of drunken women of the lowest rank, set out from Paris for Versailles. They surrounded the palace with furious outcries, and burst into the hall of Assembly, the members of which saw themselves, for the first time, outraged by the popular passions which they had awakened. Lafayette, who arrived before night with the national guard of Paris, succeeded in some degree in restoring order; but this calm was of short duration. At six the next morning, the storm burst forth with redoubled fury: a savage and bloodthirsty multitude forced the palace gates, overpowered the guards, and penetrated even into the royal apartments. The Queen had only escaped from her chamber a few moments before the entrance of the assassins; and the lives of all the royal family were only saved by the tardy arrival of Lafayette, who had been asleep at some distance from the scene of danger. The Queen, braving instant death, appeared alone at the balcony to save the lives of the body-guards; and the execrations of the mob were changed into involuntary applause by admiration of her intrepidity. But the leaders of the revolt were determined to complete their triumph, by removing the King and his family to Paris, where they would be entirely under their control. The royal carriage was preceded by the heads of two of the body-guards, borne on pikes; revolutionary ballads were chanted in derision by frantic women and all the rabble of the capital; and thus, compelled to drink the bitterest dregs in the cup of humiliation, was Louis led as a captive by his own subjects to the Tuileries, which thenceforward became his palace and his prison.

26. The Duke of Orleans, who had been instrumental in exciting these disturbances, was sent, with the entire concurrence of the Assembly, into honourable exile on a mission to London. But the removal of the court to Paris was speedily productive of increased excitement and violence in the capital; and the seces-

sion from the legislative body of Mounier, Lally-Tollendal, and other sincere and enlightened patriots, was a serious loss to the cause of rational freedom. For some time, however, the national guard of Paris, headed by Lafayette, succeeded in checking the sanguinary licence which prevailed, and punishing the perpetrators of some fresh excesses. The Baron de Besenval, one of the objects of popular odium, was tried by the High Court of the Chatelet, and acquitted; but the Marquis de Favras was less fortunate. The tribunal, intimidated by the ferocious cries of the rabble, condemned him on absurd and incredible charges; and he was hanged by torchlight at three in the morning (Feb. 19, 1790), amid the savage exultation of a vast crowd, who rejoiced at this ignominious fate of a nobleman.

27. The new constitution yet remained to be framed; and the Assembly accordingly commenced its deliberations for this purpose under the name of the CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. Two of its articles were debated with especial vehemence:— 1, Whether the legislature should sit in a single chamber, or be divided into an upper and lower house; 2, The extent of the royal veto. The pressure of democracy soon decided the first point in favour of the amalgamation of all the orders in one chamber: but the veto was the subject of furious debate; and the passions of the multitude (the majority of whom were ignorant whether this obnoxious phrase implied a tax, a privilege, or a person!) were excited to the utmost by the demagogues and clubs of the Palais Royal. Even the influence and eloquence of Mirabeau, who sided with the court on this occasion, were unable to procure the admission of the absolute veto; and it was decided that the King's power of refusing to sanction a measure should not extend beyond two successive legislatures.

28. Early in the year (Jan. 9) the Assembly proceeded to introduce a complete change in the domestic arrangements of France. To check the rising jealousies of the provinces, which beheld with regret the diminution of their ancient rights and importance, the kingdom was parcelled out into eighty-four *departments*, so arranged as to confound the existing territorial

limits, and destroy as far as possible all vestiges of the former divisions. Each department was nearly equal in extent and population, and was subdivided into districts, which were further divided into cantons, usually of five or six parishes each. Each department had its criminal tribunal, and its administrative and executive councils; each district had its civil court, each canton its court of reference. The municipalities of the towns were arranged on the same system; and the appointment of all the administrators, as well as of the national representatives, was vested in the deputies of the cantons, who were chosen by all men who were twenty-five years of age, and who paid a contribution equal to three days' labour. Forty-eight thousand *communes*, or municipalities, were thus erected; everything, through either a single or double election, flowed from the people; and the franchise was so low as virtually to admit every able-bodied man.

29. The Assembly next turned to the consideration of the finances. Within three years, not less than £50,000,000 had been added to the public debt—the revenue had everywhere failed, and no further advances could be obtained from the capitalists. The first step adopted to supply this immense deficit was, to carry out the previously commenced confiscation of church property; and the decree, moved by Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, was carried by a great majority. The municipalities were the chief purchasers; but as money could not easily be found to complete these vast sales, promissory-notes were issued, and eventually sanctioned by government as a legal currency; and thus commenced the system of *assignats*—the source of more public strength and private misery than any other financial measure of the times. This flagrant spoliation arrayed the whole clergy in vehement but vain hostility to the Revolution. But their internal organisation was no more spared than their property: the bishoprics were equalised in number with the departments, and the appointment of the bishops and clergy committed to the choice of the electors! The clergy and their partisans upon this attempted to dissolve the Assembly—the deputies having been chosen only for a year, which had now expired; but the motion was defeated by the

influence of Mirabeau, and the session declared permanent till the new constitution was complete.

30. The work of innovation now proceeded with redoubled speed. All titles of honour were suppressed by a simple decree; the provincial parliaments were abolished, trial by jury introduced, and new tribunals everywhere erected. The organisation of the army underwent a similar change: the ancient privileges of birth and rank were abolished in the regiments of the line, and promotion to commissions made dependent on seniority. The establishment of national guards was extended over the kingdom, forming a force of 300,000 effective men; and companies of drilled pikemen were formed in all the towns. In Paris alone there were 50,000; and the gift of two pieces of cannon to each of the forty-eight *sections* into which the city was divided, soon after the taking of the Bastille, gave these bands a formidable preponderance. The confusion of the finances still continued; and fresh issues of assignats were poured into the money-market in such quantities as to produce a rapid depreciation in the value of these paper securities. Towards the Crown, however, the Assembly was liberal: £1,000,000 annually was granted for a civil list, and a jointure of £180,000 to the Queen.

31. The 14th July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, was signalised by a national fête in the Champ de Mars, where the King, the Assembly, and the national guards under Lafayette, took the oath to the new constitution in the presence of an assemblage of 400,000 persons; while mass was celebrated by Talleyrand, assisted by priests in tricolor robes. But the animosity of the factions speedily revived; and an ill-timed and fruitless impeachment for conspiracy was brought against Mirabeau and the Duke of Orleans, the failure of which only weakened the moderate party. Necker, whose popularity had vanished before the headlong advance of democracy, soon after (Sept. 4) resigned his post and quitted France almost as a fugitive—a memorable instance of the instability of popular applause. The oath of fidelity to the new constitution—"to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the King"—was now excit-

ing vehement opposition in various quarters. M. de Bouillé, the commandant of Metz, declined it as incompatible with his allegiance to his sovereign, and yielded only to the personal request of Louis: and a great majority of the clergy of every rank absolutely refused it, and were deprived of their benefices (Jan. 4, 1791)—an iniquitous step, which rendered irreparable the breach between the Church and the Revolution. The abolition of the right of primogeniture in succession to property (March 18), which was aimed at the aristocracy, was perhaps, in its ultimate consequences, the most fatal blow to the cause of freedom struck by the Revolution. Its popularity was such that Napoleon himself did not feel strong enough to repeal it: it is still the law of the land; and by rendering inevitable the eventual extinction of the independent landed proprietors, it has virtually removed every impediment to the encroachments of the central power in the capital.

32. About this time the influence of the clubs of Paris—afterwards so famous in the history of the Revolution—first began to be felt as formidable. The most powerful was that of the Jacobins—originally an assemblage of deputies from Brittany, but which by degrees became the great focus of revolution. "The Club of 1789" consisted of Sièyes, Lafayette, and other leaders of the moderate party; and a club called "Le Monarchique" was set on foot by the royalists: but these and others, uninspired by the fierce energy of the Jacobins, soon fell into obscurity. The emigration of the nobles, meanwhile, continued unabated; and many thousands assembled at Coblentz, which became the headquarters of aristocratic machination. A fierce discussion arose on this point in the Assembly, and the penalties of outlawry and confiscation were proposed against refractory emigrants; but Mirabeau, defying the cry of "Traitor to the people!" raised against him by the Jacobins, anathematised and overthrew this atrocious project by the irresistible thunders of his eloquence.

33. Mirabeau, disgusted with the fickleness of the multitude, and foreseeing their future excesses, had, ere this, made secret

advances to the party supporting the throne; and he now openly joined them. His project was, that the King should escape from Paris, assemble a royal army under the able guidance of De Bouillé, and dissolve the Assembly. A new one was then to be convoked, the nobility restored, and a constitution framed as nearly as possible on the British model. But in the midst of these designs he was cut short by death: his strong constitution sank under the combined excitement of ambition and excessive indulgence in pleasure; and the extinction of this brilliant and eccentric luminary (April 2), whom Necker truly characterised as "an aristocrat by inclination, and a tribune of the people by calculation," was an irreparable loss to the monarchical party.

34. But the plans which Mirabeau had formed for the escape of the King from his thraldom were not extinguished by his death. Arrangements were concerted with M. de Bouillé; and on 20th June, the King and Queen, with the Dauphin and the Princess Elizabeth, the King's sister, succeeded in leaving Paris in disguise, and travelled several days without detection. At St Ménéhould, however, the suspicions of the postmaster were awakened; and he despatched an emissary across the country to Varennes, where the royal fugitives were arrested on their arrival: and M. de Bouillé, who set out with a regiment of dragoons from Stenay on hearing this disastrous news, reached Varennes too late to effect a rescue. Their return to Paris as captives was attended with every circumstance of barbarity: a gentleman who approached to kiss the King's hand was torn to pieces before his eyes; and the mob of the Parisian suburbs received them at the Tuileries with frightful outcries, openly demanding the head of the King.

35. The project of exchanging the monarchy for a republic was now no longer concealed; and Robespierre, in the Assembly, endeavoured to make the flight of the King a pretext for his deposition and death. But Barnave, hitherto an adherent of the revolutionary party, boldly and generously opposed this sanguinary project; and the committees, to whom the subject

was referred, reported that no grounds for an accusation existed. Foiled in the Assembly, the democrats had recourse to the people; and a revolt, organised by the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs, under Robespierre and Brissot, broke out (July 17) in the Champ de Mars. The Assembly, however, continued undaunted; and Lafayette, with twelve hundred faithful grenadiers of the national guard, dispersed the insurgents with some bloodshed: and had this blow been followed up with energy, the constitutional monarchy might have been saved, and the Reign of Terror prevented. But the Assembly, fearful of a general reaction against the movement, left the democratic leaders unpunished—an act of lenity afterwards rewarded by the sanguinary fate of Bailly, and many others, who had been instrumental in this partial coercion of popular licentiousness.

36. The new constitution was now nearly complete. Many attempts were made by the moderate men of all parties, who at length saw the pernicious tendency of many of its articles, particularly of the single chamber and restricted veto, to effect a revision of these points; but all their efforts were defeated by the Jacobins. The last act of the Assembly was to declare their members ineligible for the next legislature—a measure afterwards productive of ruinous results. The King (who had previously been restored to liberty, and the semblance of authority) declared his acceptance of the constitution (Sept. 13) after several days of careful examination; and his public adhesion was given the next day. The task of the Constituent Assembly was now complete; and (Sept. 29) its sittings were closed by a speech from the King, full of sentiments of generous confidence, which was received with loud applause by the members.

IV. *Legislative Assembly—Fall of the Monarchy—The September Massacres.*

37. The LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, which opened its sittings on 1st October 1791, affords the first example in modern Europe, on a great scale, of a completely popular election; and the results were such as might have been anticipated. The National

Assembly had numbered among its members some of the greatest proprietors, and many of the noblest names in the kingdom; but the almost universal emigration of the aristocracy, and the ineligibility (by their own decree) of the members of the late Assembly, had combined with the spread of levelling principles among the electoral bodies to exclude all whose station or character would have entitled them to a place in the Chamber. Thus property was wholly unrepresented in the Legislative Assembly, in which there were not fifty persons possessing £100 a-year; the majority were presumptuous and half-educated young men, who had brought themselves into notice by their vehemence at the popular clubs—with talent enough to render them dangerous, but neither knowledge nor property to steady their ambition. Of the various parties into which the Assembly was soon divided, the members on the right, or friends of the constitution (called Feuillants, from the club of that name), were directed by Lameth, Barnave, &c., who, though excluded from the Assembly by the self-denying ordinance, were the true leaders of the party. The Girondists (so called from a district near Bordeaux) comprised those who aimed at republican institutions on the model of antiquity, under the brilliant leadership of Vergniaud, Brissot, Isnard, and Condorcet. The principal Jacobins in the Assembly were Chabot, Merlin, and Bazire; but the strength of that party lay in the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs—in the first of which Robespierre, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois held absolute sway; as did Danton, Carrier, and Desmoulins in the second.

38. The first proceedings of the Assembly were in accordance with its composition. The titles of *Sire* and *Majesty* were at once dropped, and severe measures were directed (Oct. 30) against the emigrants, the dissident clergy, and the brother of the King (afterwards Louis XVIII.), who was commanded to return to France, under pain of forfeiting his eventual right to the regency. This last decree Louis reluctantly sanctioned; but he resolutely imposed his veto on the two others, though he issued a severe proclamation against the emigrants, whose abandonment of their

country he had from the first condemned. The election of a mayor of Paris (Nov. 17) was carried against Lafayette by Pétion, who was supported by the united Jacobins and Girondists; and encouraged by this success, the republicans bent all their endeavours to involve the King in a foreign war. Their hope (which was amply justified by the event) was, that their cause would thus be strengthened by being identified with that of the national honour; and an address was voted by the Assembly, on the ground of the warlike preparations which the Elector of Trêves and other German princes allowed the emigrants to make in their territories. The King accordingly addressed a requisition to the Elector, who promised compliance; but troops began to be put in motion both by France and the Germanic empire, and the death of the pacific Leopold II. (March 1792) rendered war inevitable.

39. Before this event, however, a change had taken place in the French Ministry; and Roland, Servan, and Clavière, had been called from the ranks of the opposition to the councils of the King. Dumourier, the new minister of foreign affairs, had many of the qualities of a great man—he possessed high mental powers, combined with self-confidence, and an active spirit of enterprise; but his genius was neutralised by instability of purpose, and though an admirable partisan, he was an inefficient leader of a party. Roland was in every respect his opposite: in austerity, simplicity, and firmness, he was rather an early Roman republican than a Frenchman of the eighteenth century; and his want of ambition would probably have prevented his emerging from private life, but for the splendid abilities and brilliant character of his celebrated wife. This remarkable woman united the French graces of manner to the elevation of a Roman mind; but her ambition in public life was equal to her virtue and private worth, and her influence over her husband was at times too ostentatiously exercised:—"When I wish to see the minister of the interior," said Condorcet, "I can never get a glimpse of anything but the petticoats of his wife!"

40. The ultimatum of Austria was at length presented: it demanded the re-establishment of the monarchy as defined by the

royal declaration of June 23, 1789—the restitution of the church lands, of the confiscated rights of the German princes in Alsace, and of those of the Pope in Avignon. These terms were at once rejected by the revolutionary leaders; and Louis, pressed alike by all parties, each of which expected the attainment of its own objects in the confusion of a war, was compelled (April 20) to issue a declaration of hostility against the Emperor.

41. Two events occupied the Assembly about this time, which evinced the perilous nature of the principles now promulgated. The first was the massacre of Avignon, which, since its recent union with France, had been distracted by tumults between the two parties; till, on the night of 30th October, the popular faction, assembling in force, seized 60 of their chief opponents, who were murdered with every circumstance of revolting atrocity: but the Assembly, notwithstanding the indignation which it expressed at these horrors, found it necessary to grant an amnesty to the perpetrators! The second catastrophe was the revolt of the slaves in St Domingo, which was fomented by the injudicious efforts of a society called the Friends of the Blacks, of which Brissot was a leading member; but the events of this dreadful insurrection, remote from the present course of events, will be afterwards detailed.

42. Meanwhile the war with Austria had commenced; and the disasters of the armies produced the utmost consternation, and increased the power of the Jacobins, who loudly attributed them to the treason of the Royalists. The Assembly, while they disbanded the King's guard, decreed the formation of a camp of 20,000 men near Paris, and condemned all the non-juring priests to exile; but Louis could not be prevailed upon, even by the sense of personal danger, to ratify either of these decrees. The point against the priests was at length (June 10) pressed upon him in a famous letter bearing the signature of Roland, but really written by his wife, in a tone which roused his anger; the Girondist ministry were dismissed, and Dumourier set out for the army. But the new administration, which was taken from among the Feuillants, consisted of men without weight or influ-

ence; and the Girondists, chagrined at the loss of their places, took the ruinous and suicidal step of courting the alliance of the mob—thus arousing the passions of which they were themselves the eventual victims.

43. On the 20th of June, a tumultuous body of 10,000 men from the Faubourg St Antoine, headed by the brewer Santerre, beset the hall of the Assembly, under the pretence of demanding an investigation of the conduct of the generals, and of the dismissal of the Girondists. The Assembly, overawed by their perilous situation, received the petition, and the multitude flowed on with increased numbers to the palace. They rushed with savage menaces into the presence of the King, demanding the ratification of the decrees against the priests, and for the formation of the camp near Paris; but Louis replied with dignified firmness—"This is neither the time nor the way to obtain it." A red cap was handed to him by a drunken workman—he calmly put it on his head; and it was not till eight P.M. that the arrival of Vergniaud, Pétion, and Isnard, procured the evacuation of the palace. The heroism of the royal family on this occasion, with the outrageous nature of the insults to which they had been subjected, excited a powerful reaction in their favour. 20,000 citizens of Paris petitioned the Assembly for the punishment of the rioters; and Lafayette, unexpectedly arriving (June 28) from the camp, openly denounced the Jacobins at the bar of the Chamber. But the apathy of his former adherents, and the distrust of the King himself, rendered his efforts unavailing. Finding his influence gone, he returned, dejected by failure, to the army, and was burnt in effigy by the Jacobins. This was the last effort of the constitutional party.

44. The dethronement of the King was now the avowed object of the Republicans and Girondists: the Assembly declared that "the country was in danger," and armed volunteers flocked from all quarters into Paris. On the fête of the 14th July the King (who then made his last appearance in public) was with difficulty protected by the Swiss guards from the mob; and it became evident that a speedy crisis was inevitable. The explo-

sion of the conspiracy was originally fixed for the 4th of August; the minds of the leaders, however, more than once misgave them: but the injudicious manifesto with which the Duke of Brunswick preceded the invasion of France, speedily wrought up the public mind to the requisite pitch of excitement. In this famous document, he "warned the Assembly, that if they did not forthwith liberate the King and return to their allegiance, they should be held personally responsible, and answer with their heads;" and that, "if the palace were forced, or the royal family insulted an exemplary and memorable punishment should be inflicted by the total destruction of Paris."

45. These menaces, coming at this crisis of extreme ferment, seemed to leave the Parisians no choice but victory or death. The arrival of a strong federal force from Marseilles augmented the strength of the insurgent party; and the dethronement of the King was vehemently canvassed in the clubs, and demanded from the Assembly by the sections of Paris. At length, at midnight, on the 9th August, the tocsin sounded, and the roll to arms was beat through the city. Danton, at the Cordeliers, declared that "this very night the perfidious Louis prepares the carnage and conflagration of the capital;" and the signal was given to march.

46. The Hotel de Ville was speedily seized, and the magistrates replaced by others selected by the insurgents. The authorities, paralysed by terror, made no resistance; a strong force of national guards, however, mustered for the protection of the Tuileries, which were defended only by eight hundred of the Swiss, and a useless crowd of royalist gentlemen. But Mandat, the commander-in-chief of the national guard, was murdered by the populace at the Hotel de Ville; and it soon became evident that his troops, when his influence was withdrawn, could not be relied on. Many of the national guards at the palace openly raised revolutionary cries; the insurgent columns under Westermann were already advancing to the attack; and the King and royal family, in this dreadful extremity, were compelled to quit the Tuileries, and seek refuge in the hall of the Assembly, where they were received by the President Vergniaud. Meanwhile, a

desperate conflict was raging in the Place Carrousel. The gendarmerie and cannoneers had quitted their posts, crying, *Vive la Nation!* and the national guards were so divided among themselves as to be incapable of action; but the Swiss held their ground with heroic gallantry, and repulsed with slaughter the first assault. But they were too few to follow up their success by pursuit; the fugitives rallied and returned in greater force, headed by a column of Marseillais—the palace was forced—and the Swiss, overpowered and hunted down, were massacred with unpitying ferocity, the slaughter continuing during the whole evening and night. The populace gave full reins to their vengeance in the sack of the palace, which was with difficulty preserved from conflagration and total destruction: the emblems of royalty, and even the statues of the kings, were everywhere destroyed the next day by the orders of the municipality.

47. The new magistrates lost no time in demanding from the Assembly, in the language of conquerors, the deposition of the King, the dismissal of the ministers, and the formation of a National Convention. Resistance was hopeless, and the decree was passed which terminated monarchy in France.

48. The storming of the Tuileries and imprisonment of the King had destroyed the monarchy; and the powers of the Assembly had passed into the hands of the new municipality of Paris, which was swayed by the Jacobin Club. Of the Jacobin leaders, however, Danton alone had personally co-operated in the revolt of the 10th: Marat, Robespierre, and the others, had lain concealed till the danger was over, when they emerged from their hiding-places to claim the credit of the affair. Into the hands of this triumvirate the principal power now fell. Of the three, Danton alone possessed the energy which arises from personal courage: yet he was not a mere bloodthirsty tyrant; and though inexorable in general measures, and the principal author of the massacres in the prisons, he was at times humane and even generous to individuals. His own elevation and the ascendency of his party were his ruling objects; and his gigantic stature and commanding front pointed him out as a leader. Robespierre

was in most respects the opposite of Danton. Insignificant in appearance, yet cherishing ridiculous personal vanity, with a weak voice and vulgar manner, he rose chiefly through the inflexible obstinacy with which he adhered to his opinions, and the success with which he veiled, under the mask of patriotism, his unvarying projects of selfish ambition and sanguinary vindictiveness. Marat was the worst of the three. The atrocity of his character was stamped on his features, which wore the expression of a demon; and though others in the Revolution were guilty of perpetrating more sanguinary deeds, none was so powerful in recommending and forwarding their commission. He frequently said that there could be no safety to the State till 280,000 heads had fallen: but death by the hand of a heroine cut him short in his relentless career.

49. After the success of the revolt, Danton had assumed the office of minister of public justice, while the Girondist ministers, Roland, Servan, and Clavière, resumed their former functions. Three days after the massacre of the Swiss (Aug. 13), the royal family, at the command of the commune of Paris, were transferred to the prison of the Temple; while all the departments of France submitted almost without opposition to the ruling party. The army at Sedan, commanded by Lafayette, at first appeared disposed to make an effort in favour of constitutional monarchy; but this feeling was counteracted by the influence of the inferior officers; and Lafayette, compelled to seek safety in flight, was imprisoned by the Austrians for four years in Olmutz, while the Assembly declared him a traitor, and set a price on his head.

50. The Jacobin ascendency was not long in making itself felt. Intimidated by the menaces of the commune, addressed to them through Robespierre, the Assembly instituted (Aug. 17) a court for the trial of political offences, afterwards known as the Revolutionary Tribunal. But the proceedings of this court were at first too slow for the dominant party; and the savage designs of the demagogues were favoured by the terror arising from the advance of the Prussians and the fall of the frontier fortresses. On 29th August the city barriers were closed, and remained so for two days, during

which time great numbers of all ranks, chiefly nobles and clergy, were seized in their houses, and imprisoned by order of the commune. The denunciations of the Assembly were treated with contempt: the lists of proscription had been drawn up by Danton, and the catastrophe was not long deferred. At two in the morning of 2d September, the city drums were beat, ostensibly for the march of the Parisian battalions to reinforce the armies of the frontier. It was the concerted signal of massacre; and the chosen assassins, liberally supplied with money and spirits, and harangued by Robespierre, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois, were speedily ready for every atrocity. The Abbaye was the prison first attacked; the victims, seized separately, were dragged before an inexorable tribunal, and turned out among the murderers in the court, through whose repeated blows they were compelled to run the gauntlet till they expired—while the multitude, among whom were a vast number of women, danced like cannibals round their mangled corpses. Similar massacres took place in all the other prisons; in that of the Carmes, the venerable Archbishop of Arles was slaughtered, with more than 200 clergy. The Princess de Lamballe, who was a prisoner in La Petite Force, was torn to pieces, and her head, with the fragments of her body, paraded before the windows of the Duke of Orleans, who rose from dinner to enjoy the ghastly spectacle. Above 5000 persons perished in the various prisons during this dreadful scene of carnage, which continued uninterrupted from the 2d to the 6th of September. Even the felons in the Bicêtre, whose offences had no political character, were massacred in the indiscriminate thirst for blood, which only ceased when no more victims could be found. The confiscation of the whole effects of the slaughtered captives, and of the property of the emigrants, which was sold at the same time, became the source of immense wealth to the municipality; but no account could ever be obtained either of the amount or disposal of this enormous plunder. The jewel-office in the Tuileries was also pillaged one night, and the costly ornaments of the crown disappeared for ever: but it was never known into whose hands most of the jewels fell.

V. *National Convention—Execution of the King.*

51. In the midst of these horrors the Legislative Assembly drew to a close. The deputies for the NATIONAL CONVENTION, which met on 20th September, had everywhere been elected under the irresistible influence of the Jacobin Club and its affiliated societies throughout France; and their first and unanimous measure was to abolish monarchy and proclaim a republic—the calendar being changed at the same time, and the year styled "the first of the French Republic." But the fury of party spirit soon broke out with redoubled violence; the Girondists (who were now the Moderates) occupying the seats on the right, the Jacobins those on the summit of the left (whence their nickname of the Mountain), while the neutrals were called the party of the Marais, or Plain. The sittings of the Jacobin Club, all the leaders of which had seats in the new Convention, still continued in the hall of the convent whence they took their name, and were seldom attended by less than 1500 members; and in this den of darkness and crime were prepared the lists of proscription and massacre which will ever render odious the name of that terrible faction. The Girondists had no place of reunion except the parties of Madame Roland, where all the talent developed by the Revolution, and all the remaining elegance of the capital, were wont to assemble. The Duke of Orleans, who had abdicated his titles, sat in the Convention as Philippe Egalité.

52. The first attacks of the Girondists were directed against Robespierre, whom they accused of aspiring to the dictatorship. This charge, as well as an accusation brought against Marat, were abandoned through timidity by the Girondists, on whom the Jacobins recriminated, by taxing them with the design of dividing the Republic, "one and indivisible," into twenty-three confederated states like those of America. A more formidable charge relative to the recent massacres, which was urged against Robespierre by the intrepid eloquence of Louvet, was foiled by a motion to pass to the order of the day; and it was soon evident

that the democrats, who had supported the Girondists as long as they urged forward the Revolution, would become their bitterest enemies if they strove to allay its fury. But these, and various minor struggles between the hostile factions, were all preliminary to a grand question destined to attract the eyes of Europe and of the world. This was the trial of Louis XVI.

53. The Jacobins had for some time been occupied in preparing the nation for this great event, and for the tragedy in which it was intended to terminate. The most inflammatory harangues were constantly delivered, both at their central club and the societies in the departments; petitions, presented at the bar of the Assembly; and every corner ransacked for circumstances which might increase the popular odium against the unfortunate monarch. A further discussion arose as to whether Louis could legally be tried by the Convention, as his personal inviolability had been decreed by the constitution; but this question, after violent debates, was carried in the affirmative. The Jacobins even urged that his condemnation was involved in his dethronement; and Robespierre called on the Convention to "declare the King traitor towards France and human nature, and sentence him instantly to death;" but it was decided, through the influence of the Girondists and neutrals, that he should be put on his trial.

54. Since their captivity, the royal family had found their comforts abridged from time to time by the cruel precautions of the municipality. At first they were permitted to live together, and to soothe the rigours of confinement by the enjoyment of domestic affection; but their seclusion gradually became more rigorous. Every day they were visited and insulted by Santerre with his brutal staff; their writing materials, and even the scissors and needles of the Queen and princesses, were taken from them; and at last the King and Dauphin were separated from the royal ladies. This last piece of useless barbarity almost overthrew the heroic firmness with which the King had sustained his calamities; but the close of his trials was approaching. On the 11th of December he was summoned to appear at the bar of the Convention; and, surrounded by a strong escort,

he was carried through the vast crowds which filled the streets to gaze on this unheard-of spectacle, to their hall of meeting.

55. The mild intrepidity with which Louis confronted his accusers melted for a moment the most fanatic among them; and some of the Girondists even shed tears. The president, Barère, directed him to be seated; and the charges were read, which consisted of an enumeration of all the crimes of the Revolution. All were laid to his charge: but his enemies were perplexed by the simplicity and firmness of his replies; and he denied with indignation his having authorised the bloodshed of 10th August. After his examination he returned to the Temple, but he was no longer permitted to see his son or any of his family; and on the following day he was directed to choose his council. Of the two whom he selected, one, M. Target, had the baseness to refuse; but the other, M. Tronchet (afterwards honoured and promoted by Napoleon), accepted the sacred duty, in which he was aided by a celebrated pleader named de Sèze, and by the venerable Malesherbes, who volunteered his services on behalf of his fallen master. On the 26th December, Louis again appeared before the Convention, where his defence was conducted by M. de Sèze, who examined the whole life of the King, and proved that in every instance he had been actuated by the sincerest love for his people. He concluded in these words: "Louis mounted the throne at the age of twenty, and even then set the example of an irreproachable life. . . . . He proved himself from the first the friend of his country. The people desired the abolition of a destructive tax—the abolition of servitude—a reform in the criminal law: all were granted. They demanded that thousands of Frenchmen should enjoy the political rights from which the rigour of our usages excluded them; and this also he granted. He even anticipated their wishes: yet this same people now demand his punishment. I add no more. I pause before the tribunal of history: remember that it will judge your decision, and that its voice will be the voice of ages."

56. After the withdrawal of Louis, a violent discussion arose. Lanjuinais even boldly proposed to rescind the decree by which

the King had been called to trial: "If you insist on being judges," said he, "cease to be accusers." The Jacobins responded by furious cries: "Away with the perjured deputy!—let the friends of the tyrant perish with him!" and at length the contest was diverted by the proposition of an appeal to the people, the discussion on which lasted twenty days. St Just and Robespierre were the most powerful declaimers against the sovereign. Vergniaud replied in a strain of impassioned eloquence, not venturing, however, to impugn the justice, but the expediency of the measure. The Girondists were in truth hurried away by the torrent, and trembling in fear of their own ruin by the violence of the Jacobins; and Louis was unanimously found *guilty*. Of 728 members, 8 were absent; 37 qualified the sentence; 683 simply declared him guilty. The appeal to the people was rejected by 423 to 281.

57. The further debate, "What shall be his punishment?" lasted forty hours. The Duke of Orleans voted for death; and the same sentence was pronounced by Carnot and other sincere and honest republicans, from a mournful conviction of its necessity for the establishment of their system. The votes of the Jacobins could not be doubtful; but it was yet in the power of the Girondists to have saved the King's life. Vergniaud, however, with forty-five others of his party, though in truth anxious to rescue the royal victim, voted for his death; and this sentence was carried by a majority of 26, in 721 votes. The result was announced by Vergniaud as president—"In the name of the Convention, I declare that the punishment of Louis Capet is *death*."

58. Louis was fully prepared for his fate. When Malesherbes came to the prison to announce the result, the King said, "For two hours I have considered whether, during my whole reign, I have voluntarily given cause of complaint to my subjects. With perfect sincerity I declare, when about to appear before God, that I never formed a wish but for their happiness, and that I deserve no reproach at their hands."

59. On the 20th January, Santerre arrived from the municipality

with the sentence. The King requested a respite of three days for preparation, an interview with his family, and to be allowed the Abbé Edgeworth as a confessor. The last two demands were granted, but the execution was fixed for the following morning. The terrible scene of the parting interview lasted two hours. At length the unfortunate family separated, and the King spent the remainder of the evening in prayer with the Abbé Edgeworth. From twelve to five o'clock he slept peaceably: at nine in the morning Santerre presented himself at the Temple. The passage to the Place de la Revolution (formerly called Place Louis XV.) lasted two hours; and at the foot of the scaffold the King received the sublime benediction of his confessor—"Son of St Louis, ascend to heaven!" He attempted to address a few words to the multitude, but his voice, at the order of Santerre, was stifled by the noise of the drums; and the descending axe of the guillotine terminated his existence.

60. The character of this unhappy monarch cannot be better given than in the words of one of the ablest of the republican writers:—"Louis was perhaps the only monarch who was subject to no passion, not even that of power; and who united the two qualities most essential in a good king—fear of God, and love of his people. He fell the victim of passions which he had no share in exciting; of those of his supporters, to which he was a stranger; of the multitude, which he had done nothing to awaken. Few kings will have left so venerated a memory." But we must not forget, in the contemplation of his touching virtues and unexampled sufferings, the ruinous consequences of his irresolution and weakness. "Had Louis XVI.," said Napoleon, "shown half the courage and firmness of Charles I., he would have triumphed." Still his resignation in adversity, charity in suffering, and heroism in death, will never be forgotten.

PART II.

FROM THE OPENING OF THE WAR, 1792, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIRECTORY, 1795.

I. *State of Europe prior to the Commencement of the War.*

61. THE position of France, in the very centre of civilisation, renders it impossible for the neighbouring kingdoms to escape its moral influence. The three great powers of Europe at this period were Austria, Russia, and Great Britain; and on them accordingly fell the weight of the desperate struggle which ensued.

62. Britain, like the other European monarchies, had slumbered on, prosperous and contented, and mostly inglorious, during the eighteenth century. The loss of her American colonies had been more than compensated by her Indian conquests; and though her national debt of £244,000,000 was a severe burden, the flourishing state of her commerce and agriculture had produced a surprising accumulation of capital: the 3 per cents had risen from 57 at the close of the American War, to 99; and the revenue reached £16,000,000. Her army numbered only 32,000 men at home, and an equal number in the colonies; but these forces were rapidly augmented after the war began. The reputation of the British troops, however, had been seriously tarnished by the disastrous contest in America; and the abuses existing in the military department tended greatly to impair its efficiency. Her real strength lay in her inexhaustible wealth and public spirit, and in her fleet of 150 ships of the line, which gave her the undisputed command of the seas.

63. Public opinion in Britain, as might have been expected, was greatly divided on the French Revolution. While it numbered among its partisans not only the factious and restless, to whom any change was grateful, but many ardent and enlightened spirits, who hailed it as the dawn of a new era of freedom—it was, on

the other hand, regarded with utter horror by all the adherents of the church, and the majority of the aristocracy and opulent classes, who apprehended nothing but anarchy and spoliation from its contagious example. At the head of these two parties respectively stood the illustrious names of Fox and Pitt. Fox had long held, by his ardent and impassioned eloquence, the post of leader of the Opposition; and his uncompromising devotion to the popular cause now led him to advocate, with all the fire of his oratory, those frantic innovations of which the neighbouring country was the scene. But neither his intellect, nor his judgment, was equal to his powers as a debater—a capacity in which he shone unrivalled; and though the generous warmth of his heart secured him the attachment of numerous personal friends, the irregularities of his private life diminished his weight as a public character. In this point particularly he stood in disadvantageous contrast to the irreproachable purity of his great rival Mr Pitt, who, at the commencement of the Revolution, was at the head of government, and supported by a decided majority in parliament—having held this post since the fall (Dec. 1783) of the Coalition ministry of Fox and North. Inheriting the talents and patriotism of his illustrious father Lord Chatham, he united to them an invincible coolness and moral courage, a readiness in resource, and eloquence in debate, together forming a combination of great political qualities which have never been excelled. Called to the helm at the age of twenty-six, he had foiled the most powerful Opposition which Britain ever saw; and though watching with anxious attention the progress of affairs in France, he had hitherto persisted in maintaining a strict neutrality.

64. A third party was composed of that section of the Whigs who supported the principles of the English Revolution of 1688, but opposed those of the French. At the head of these stood Mr Burke, who had long been united to Mr Fox, both by political alliance and the warmest private friendship; but these ties had been severed by their difference of opinion respecting France. This memorable rupture was announced in a debate on the new constitution of Canada (May 6, 1791), when Mr Fox deplored

even with tears, the rending asunder of the friendship of a quarter of a century. But time, the great test of truth, has decisively vindicated the prophetic sagacity of Mr Burke.

65. The Austrian empire, both from its geographical position, its military strength and resources, and the stability of its policy and government, was the most formidable Continental rival of France. At the commencement of the war, it had a revenue of 90,000,000 of florins, and a population of 25,000,000: while its army amounted to 240,000 infantry, and 35,000 cavalry, with a numerous and powerful artillery. The possession of the Low Countries gave the Emperor an advanced post close to the French frontier; while the mountains of Tyrol formed a vast fortress placed at a salient angle between Germany and Italy. The foundation of the modern grandeur and prosperity of Austria had been laid by the sage administration of Maria-Theresa: but a new system was introduced at the accession (in 1780) of her son Joseph II. In his anxiety to remodel every department in church and state on philosophic principles, this amiable but injudicious prince excited the discontent of his subjects by his sweeping and needless reforms; and the Flemings, whom he had alienated by an attempt to exchange their country for Bavaria (a project prevented only by the armed intervention of Prussia), revolted in defence of their old usages and feudal customs, at the same time (1789) when the French were rising in rebellion to overthrow theirs! This ingratitude (for so he considered it) shortened the days of Joseph; and Leopold, his successor, easily re-established his authority in Flanders; but the demolition of the famous barrier fortresses of the Low Countries, which Joseph had razed to prevent them becoming strongholds of disaffection, was fatally felt in the first campaigns of the French war.

66. Though the house of Hapsburg was still the head of the unwieldy fabric of the Germanic empire, its real authority as such was inconsiderable; and the contingents of troops which the various states were bound to furnish, at the requisition of the Diet of Ratisbon, were little to be depended on. But Prussia, though still nominally a member of the empire, had been raised into a

first-rate power by the genius of the Great Frederick; and its army, after the Seven Years' War, was considered the finest in Europe. Its ordinary strength was 160,000 men; but, as a short period of military service was compulsory on the whole youth of the kingdom, it could be augmented at once to a far greater amount from a population thus trained to arms. The government was a military despotism: but the rights of the subject were protected by the beneficent policy of its administration, the maxim of which was "everything *for* the people—nothing *by* them." Still there were few elements of national coherence in the monarchy: its 8,000,000 of subjects were of various races, languages, and religions; and its territory possessed neither fortresses, nor any strong line of natural frontier, to guard it against invasion.

67. Since the Seven Years' War, the formidable might of Russia had become better appreciated than before in Western Europe; and her military renown had been enhanced by the recent exploits of Suwaroff, in the bloody wars of the Empress Catherine with the Turks. Its regular army, in 1792, amounted to 200,000 men, besides the well-known Cossacks of the Don and their kindred tribes, the best irregular horse in the world. The hardihood, immovable firmness, and obstinate bravery of the infantry, had long been celebrated; but the cavalry and artillery were far inferior to what they became before the end of the war, when France saw 150,000 Russians reviewed on the plains of Burgundy. Of the other northern powers, Sweden (which had lately gloriously concluded a war with Russia) had, from her remoteness and scanty population, little weight in the political scale; and Poland, though the final partition had not yet taken place, could no longer be regarded as an independent state.

68. The ancient power of the Turks had by this time subsided into a purely defensive policy; and though their brilliant cavalry, and the desperate valour with which their walled towns were defended, made them formidable to an invading army, they were incapable of any important exertion beyond their own territory. The Italians, with the exception perhaps of the

Piedmontese, no longer held a place among military nations; and the Dutch, though they had still an army of 44,000, had greatly declined from their ancient spirit. Spain, at the commencement of the war, had nominally 140,000 troops: but this force was far from effective, either in discipline or equipment; and the firmness which characterised the Spanish infantry of the Middle Ages had long passed away. The Swiss alone remain to be noticed; but their small numerical strength, which did not exceed 33,000 regulars, rendered their courage and patriotism of little avail in the stupendous struggle about to commence.

69. Such was the state of the European military establishments. The French army, before the war, amounted to more than 200,000 men, 35,000 of whom were cavalry; but many of these had left their colours during the previous convulsions, and the newly-acquired habit of judging for themselves on politics had loosened the bonds of discipline among the soldiers. Two hundred battalions of volunteers had been raised by a decree of the Assembly; but the efficiency of these new levies was not equal to their spirit. "It was not the volunteers or recruits," said Napoleon afterwards, "who saved the Republic, but the 180,000 old troops of the monarchy." The artillery and engineers, however, which had not under the old regime been exclusively officered by nobles, were from the first superior to any in Europe; and the defects of the other branches were speedily remedied by the vigour of the middle classes, to whom the Revolution had now opened the path of promotion.

70. The Revolution surprised the European powers in their usual state of smothered jealousy or open hostility with each other. Catherine of Russia was occupied by her designs on Turkey, in which Joseph II. participated, and which had been ostentatiously proclaimed to Europe by a joint tour of the two potentates to the Crimea. Frederick the Great had concluded in 1785 the "Confederation of Berlin" for the support of the smaller German states against Austrian ambition; but his death in the following year was an irreparable loss, as his successor, though endowed with distinguished valour and abilities of no mean order, was

disqualified by his indolence and love of pleasure from treading in the steps of his predecessor. A closer alliance had also been formed (1790) by the exertions of Mr Pitt, between Britain and Prussia, in order, by their joint intervention, to arrest the career of Austrian and Russian conquest on the side of Turkey, by which the balance of power was threatened; and the war was eventually terminated by this powerful mediation. The general alarm which now began to be felt at the progress of the French Revolution, was not without its influence in this rapid pacification; still, during the first two years, Mr Pitt in Britain, Kaunitz at Vienna, and Hertzberg at Berlin, had concurred in abstaining from interference with France, contenting themselves with adopting measures for preventing the spread of revolutionary contagion into their states. The Empress of Russia, on the other hand, had from the first warmly advocated measures of coercion; and circumstances ere long occurred which compelled the cabinets of Berlin and Vienna to abandon their moderate counsels.

71. Since Louis was brought a prisoner to Paris (October 1789), he had recommended the King of Spain to disregard any public act in his name which was not confirmed by an autograph letter; and in December 1790, he even solicited, by a circular to the monarchs of Europe, their armed intervention to save the monarchy. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Mantua (May 1791) between the Emperor and the Kings of Spain and Sardinia, by which it was agreed that a formidable display of troops should be made on the French frontier, in the hope of terrifying the people into submission to their sovereign. But before this could be carried into effect, the unsuccessful flight of the royal family to Varennes, and their open imprisonment by the revolutionists, made stronger measures necessary, and led to the famous meeting at Pilnitz (August 1791) between the Emperor and the King of Prussia, who conjointly issued a declaration that "they considered the situation of the King of France a matter of common interest to all European sovereigns"—and were resolved to "enable the King to establish a monarchical government, conformable alike to the rights of sovereigns and the welfare of the French

nation." The liberation of the royal family, however, and the King's acceptance of the constitution, removed any immediate apprehension for their personal safety: and though Sweden and Russia continued to urge the German courts to a hostile demonstration, no steps were taken in pursuance of the Pilnitz manifesto.

72. But the Girondists, who were now the ruling party in France, were bent on war at all hazards, in the hope to strengthen their own cause by identifying it with that of the national independence. Isnard, Vergniaud, and Brissot continually poured forth in the Assembly philippics against Austria, denouncing that power as the enemy of liberty, and calling on France to anticipate its hostility. The reclamations of the Emperor against the infringements by the French of the rights of the German princes in Alsace, afforded a pretext for hastening the declaration of war, which Louis was compelled to publish (April 20, 1792) against Austria. The Emperor Leopold, however, had died on the 1st of March preceding, leaving his extensive dominions to his son, Francis II.; and his ally, Gustavus of Sweden, was assassinated a fortnight afterwards at a masked ball. It seemed as if Providence was preparing a new race of actors for the mighty scenes which were to be performed.

II. *Campaign of* 1792.

73. France, having decided on war, directed the formation of three considerable armies. In the north, 40,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry, under Marshal Rochambeau, lay from Dunkirk to Philipville; Lafayette, in the centre, had 45,000 foot and 7000 horse; and the course of the Rhine, up to Bâle, was guarded by Marshal Luckner with 35,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry. In the south, General Montesquiou with 50,000 men defended the Rhone and the Pyrenees. But these armies were formidable only from their numbers: their discipline was extremely defective, and the spread of revolutionary license had destroyed their habits of subordination and obedience. To oppose them, however, only

50,000 Prussians, and 65,000 Austrians, with 7000 emigrants, were yet in the field: Britain was neutral; and the Russian legions, released from the Danube by the treaty of Jassi, were gradually converging from all points towards their destined prey in Poland.

74. Encouraged by the smallness of the Austrian force in the Low Countries, the French determined on the invasion of Flanders, which they entered at four different points (April 28). But no sooner did the various corps encounter the enemy, than, exclaiming that they were betrayed, they fled in headlong confusion; and General Dillon, who commanded the division advancing from Lille against Tournay, was murdered by his own mutinous soldiers. The blame of this disgraceful rout was thrown by the Jacobins and war party on Rochambeau, who was accordingly dismissed: but the aged Luckner, who replaced him, was equally unsuccessful; and Lafayette sustained a partial defeat near Maubeuge. The troops fell into the utmost state of disorganisation and discouragement after these defeats: and the Prussians anticipated no difficulty in the discomfiture of this "army of lawyers," for whom they had conceived the utmost contempt. In the mean time the Allies accumulated on the frontier; and their commander-in-chief, the Duke of Brunswick, prepared to enter France by the plains of Champagne.

75. Since the death of Frederick the Great, whose friend and companion in arms he had been, the Duke of Brunswick had been considered the ablest prince in Germany: his understanding was quick and vigorous, his knowledge various and extensive, and his military talents of a high order. But he was immersed in pleasures and intrigues, and haunted by the fear of endangering his former reputation: he had besides, as is now known, opened secret communications with Sièyes and the French philosophers, who had even held out to him hopes of ascending the throne of that country under a new regime. The Prussian cabinet, at the same time, intent above all things on securing a full share of the spoils of Poland, had taken the lead in the coalition chiefly to gratify and propitiate the Empress Catherine, whose predominant wish was the extinction of the revolutionary

principle in Europe, and was little aware of the difficulties to be surmounted in the enterprise against France. The Duke of Brunswick alone fully appreciated them, and, in a famous memoir addressed to the King of Prussia, strongly urged "immediate and decisive operations; for the French are in such a state of effervescence, that, if not crushed at the outset, they may become capable of the most extraordinary resolutions"—a prediction fatally verified in the history of the next twenty years.

76. On 25th July (the same day on which the King of Prussia joined the army) was issued the famous proclamation, the particulars of which have been given in a previous section (p. 28). The consequences of this ill-judged manifesto were foreseen and denounced by the Duke of Brunswick, who was obliged, in his official capacity, to sign it; and his anticipations were speedily verified by the indignant spirit of patriotism and resistance which it excited among the French people. Meanwhile the whole Allied army, 113,000 strong, entered France (July 30), and advanced against the line of fortresses which covers the eastern frontier of the kingdom, unopposed by the French troops, who, though more than equally numerous, were ill-officered and ill-disciplined, and paralysed besides by the news of the events then in progress in Paris. Longwy surrendered (Aug. 23) after a siege of only three days: Verdun shared the same fate (Sept. 2); and the campaign might have been at once decided, either by a rapid march on Paris, or an attack on the French headquarters at Sedan, where Lafayette, on learning the Parisian massacres of 10th August, had deserted his camp, and taken refuge in the Austrian lines. But the unaccountable delays of the Allied generals enabled Dumourier, who now assumed the command, to occupy the wooded defiles of Grandpré and Islettes, in the forest of Argonne, where he attempted to make a stand. His position was outflanked, however, by Clairfait and the Austrians at Croix-au-Bois (Sept. 15): a panic seized the French, 10,000 of whom were routed at Vaux by 1500 Prussian hussars; and it was with difficulty that Dumourier effected an orderly retreat to St Ménéhould, whither his reserves and detached corps were

drawn together. He was followed by the Allies, who, crossing the Auve (Sept. 18), interposed themselves between the French army and Paris; and a partial engagement ensued at Valmy on the 20th. No decisive advantage resulted to either side from this action; but, from the successful resistance which the raw levies of the French opposed on this day to their veteran antagonists, may be dated the commencement of that self-confidence which carried them victoriously to Vienna and Moscow.

77. The dilatory movements of the Allies at this juncture are partly to be explained by a secret negotiation which Dumourier was carrying on with the King of Prussia; and even after the dethronement of Louis at Paris, the French general still contrived to amuse Frederick-William with delusive hopes of his espousing the royalist cause. In the mean time, in spite of repeated orders from the Convention to march for the protection of Paris, he maintained his post at St Ménéhould, till the ravages of disease in the Allied ranks, and the refusal of the British and Dutch to join the coalition, determined the invaders to retreat. An armistice was accordingly concluded (Sept. 29), in virtue of which they restored Longwy and Verdun, and were allowed to retire unmolested—having suffered little by the sword, but having lost one-fourth of their number by fevers and dysenteries.

78. During the progress of these decisive events in the centre, minor movements had taken place on both flanks, in Alsace and the Low Countries. On the side of the latter, an Austrian force under the Archduke Albert, after routing a French corps at Bruillé, had invested Lille; but the garrison of this important fortress, in spite of a bombardment of unprecedented severity, held out till the want of ammunition compelled the besiegers to retire (Oct. 7). The offensive operations of General Custine, on the Upper Rhine, were meanwhile signalised by the capture of Mayence (Oct. 21), which was treacherously yielded without firing a shot; and the Duke of Brunswick, alarmed at the loss of the only fortified post held by the Allies on the Rhine, hastily transferred his troops to the right bank. The Austrians under Clairfait were withdrawn to the defence of the Low Countries:

and the splendid army, which under proper guidance might have achieved the deliverance of Europe from the scourge of democracy, was thus broken up.

79. Dumourier was now at liberty to renew the invasion of the Low Countries; and he forthwith crossed the frontier at the head of 100,000 men. The Austrians under the Archduke Albert did not exceed 40,000; and their main body, amounting to about 18,000, was strongly intrenched in a position near Jemappes, where it was attacked (Nov. 6) by double that number of French. The assailants, mostly raw troops, were at first checked by the Austrian cavalry and artillery, and driven back with loss: but the youthful Duc de Chartres (afterwards Louis Philippe, King of the French) rallied the broken columns, and forced the redoubts in the centre, while those on the left flank of the Austrians were carried by Beurnonville and Dumourier himself. The conflict of Jemappes, the first pitched battle gained by the Republicans, produced an incalculable effect on the spirits and moral strength of both parties. Mons, Tournay, Ghent, Antwerp, &c., opened their gates; Brussels itself was abandoned to the French by the flight of the authorities; and the surrender of the citadels of Antwerp (Nov. 30) and Namur (Dec. 2) completed the conquest of the Low Countries. In the reduction of the former fortress, a French squadron co-operated by sailing up the Scheldt, which, as a violation of the treaty of Munster, declaring that river for ever closed, was the proximate cause of war with Britain and Holland.

80. But Flanders was not long in reaping the bitter fruits of Republican ascendency. The Convention had published (Nov. 19) the famous resolution, declaring that "they would grant fraternity and succour to every people disposed to recover their liberty," and charging their generals to afford military aid to all such people—a decree equivalent to a declaration of war against all established governments. This was followed up by another manifesto (Dec. 15), proclaiming in all the countries conquered by the Republic, "liberty, equality, the sovereignty of the people; with the suppression of nobility and all exclusive privi-

leges, of all subsisting taxes, and all constituted authorities"—and denouncing as enemies "all who refused to accept these benefits!" The Flemings, who were in general strongly attached both to their clergy and their feudal lords, were astounded at these sweeping innovations; but resistance was fruitless. A host of revolutionary agents, headed by Danton, Lacroix, and Carrier, forthwith inundated Flanders; and under pretence of *organising the march of freedom*, drove forward the work of spoliation with stern and insatiable rapacity. The churches and chateaus were everywhere plundered;—forced requisitions and enormous contributions levied by military execution, with compulsory payments in the depreciated assignats of France, soon awakened the people from their dream of liberty; and a deputation was sent to Vienna, imploring the Emperor to rescue his repentant subjects. Such were the first fruits of Republican conquest!

81. Another war had, in the mean time, broken out on the south-eastern frontier, in consequence of the refusal of the King of Sardinia to receive an envoy from the Republic. Savoy was suddenly invaded (Sept. 21) by General Montesquiou, and was overrun almost without resistance; while Nice, where there was a strong republican party, yielded (Oct. 1) at the first appearance of the French fleet. The inhabitants, as in Flanders, were rewarded for their friendly reception of the invaders by plunder, massacre, and outrage; and Savoy and Nice were converted into departments of France. Geneva was also threatened with attack; but General Montesquiou, by disobeying the orders of the Convention, prevented this unjustifiable aggression on Switzerland. The defeat of Custine on the Rhine, from the right bank of which he was driven by the Prussians, closed this eventful year.

82. The memorable campaign of 1792 had only commenced in August—and before the end of the year, the most formidable invasion which had ever menaced France had been repelled; Flanders and Savoy wrested from their respective sovereigns; and Mayence, the great frontier city of the Germanic empire, captured.

III. *Fall of the Girondists.*

83. The death of the King was followed by a brief revulsion of popular feeling; the name of Santerre was everywhere execrated, and the general cry of the people was—"He was about to appeal to us, and we would have delivered him!" But these momentary regrets soon disappeared in the renewal of the struggle between the Jacobins and the Girondists, which the recent event had rendered irreconcilable. The Jacobins, intoxicated with their bloody triumph, reproached the Girondists with having attempted to save the "tyrant;" while the weakness of the latter party was exposed by their having been at last compelled, by regard for their own safety, to leave the illustrious victim to his fate. The first symptom of the approaching fall of the Girondists was the retirement of Roland from the ministry; but the influence of external events of importance concurred in hastening their ruin.

84. The first of these was the accession of Britain to the league against the Republic, and the enormous military preparations which the Convention was obliged to order. By the death of Louis they had come to an open rupture with all established governments; and the reply of one of their armies to the announcement of his execution—"We thank you for having reduced us to the *necessity of conquering*," conveyed a truth which every day made more apparent. The fate of the Jacobins was thenceforward bound up with that of the country; and the royalists, constitutionalists, and moderates were irretrievably associated in the minds of the people with the enemies of the Republic. The popular riots arising from the scarcity of food, which distracted Paris during February and March, destroyed what little consideration the Girondists still retained. The shops were pillaged, and the Jacobins themselves threatened by the hungry mob; while Marat in his journal inveighed against "the monopolists, the merchants of luxury, and the supporters of fraud." The expedient of a *maximum*, or price *above* which no article of consumption was to be sold, was suggested, but was opposed as

ruinous to commerce by the Girondists, and even by the less violent of the Jacobins: the populace, however, insisted on it, and openly talked of the necessity of a new insurrection, "to lop off the gangrened parts of the national representation."

85. Another source of strength to the Jacobins was the unsuccessful movement of Dumourier, who, ever since the death of Louis, which he vainly strove to avert, had been engaged in machinations for the restoration of the constitutional throne. Far from disguising his aversion to Jacobin rule, he openly threatened the Convention with the vengeance of his army. Danton denounced him as a traitor in the Jacobin Club, and he was at length ordered to return from the camp to Paris. Instead of obeying, however, he arrested the commissioners, and publicly avowed his designs; but he was deserted by his soldiers, and forced to take refuge with a few followers in the Austrian lines. This formidable conspiracy, by its failure, only confirmed and secured the power of the ruling party.

86. The first open attempt of the Jacobins to crush their opponents was made (March 10) by the old expedient of a popular insurrection; but various accidental circumstances rendered it abortive. They availed themselves, however, of the agitation thus produced to lay the foundation of the iron net which enveloped France during the Reign of Terror, by the remodelling of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and the appointment of committees in the departments, armed with almost despotic powers for the coercion of the "refractory," and the general promotion of revolutionary purposes. Vergniaud and the other Girondist orators in vain opposed these fatal objects with all their eloquence; they were overruled by the vehemence of Danton and his associates; and during the panic caused immediately afterwards by the defection of Dumourier (whom the Girondists were accused of favouring), the Jacobins succeeded in establishing the famous Committee of Public Salvation, destined to complete the crimes, and destroy the authors, of the Revolution. This body, though known by the name of the Decemvirs, consisted of nine members, who were invested with plenary authority

to prepare and execute "whatever laws and measures they might deem necessary for the exterior and interior safety of the Republic."

87. The infatuated Girondists still relied on the personal inviolability guaranteed to them as members of the Convention, by the same constitution which they had violated on that very point in the case of the King. They had recently obtained the election of Pétion, by an immense majority, as mayor of Paris; and, elated by this victory, they ventured to impeach Marat for sedition before the Revolutionary Tribunal. All the elements of discord were invoked by the Jacobins to counteract this vigorous measure: Marat was acquitted (April 15), and escorted back to the Assembly in triumph by an immense armed multitude of *Sans-culottes*, as the adherents of the Jacobins were popularly called. Guadet boldly proposed (May 10) to arrest the menaced danger by annulling the Paris municipality, and dividing the Assembly between Paris and Bourges; but this energetic proposition was eventually exchanged for the nomination of a commission of twelve, to watch the proceedings of the commune. The first step of this commission was to arrest Hebert, a noted Jacobin, and author of an infamous journal entitled *Père Duchesne;* but the *Sans-culottes* again (May 25) rose in arms, and besieged the Convention, which, after a desperate contest, was compelled (May 27) to liberate Hebert, and abolish the commission of twelve.

88. The majority of the Girondists had been absent from the Assembly when this decree was extorted; but their forces were rallied on the next day, and on the motion of the intrepid Lanjuinais, it was reversed by a majority of 51. The agitation was instantly resumed with redoubled violence: Henriot received from the municipality the command of the armed force; and on the 31st all Paris rose in arms. The pikemen of the faubourgs, thwarted in their design of pillaging the rich warehouses of the Palais Royal by the determined aspect of the inhabitants, rolled on in a vast tide to the Tuileries, where, with vociferous threats, they demanded the proscription of twenty-two of the Girondist leaders, the abolition of the Twelve, and

the imposition of a maximum on bread. They were seconded by Robespierre and his associates, who accused the Girondists of conspiring against the Republic, and demanded their immediate punishment. At length, on the motion of Barère, the suppression of the commission was decreed. But the revolutionists were not to be contented with this half success, and the final blow was not long delayed.

89. On the 2d of June the Convention was again surrounded by 80,000 armed men, with 160 pieces of cannon, under the command of Henriot, and a vehement debate ensued. Lanjuinais for the last time protested, with energetic but unavailing fervour, against the intimidation and outrage to which they were subjected, and announced his determination to die at his post: Barbaroux followed his example. But all resistance was unavailing. The members, in attempting to leave the hall, were driven back by the armed bands; and at length, with the dagger at their throats, passed a decree for the arrest of Lanjuinais, Vergniaud, Guadet, Pétion, Brissot, Barbaroux, Louvet, and twenty-three others of less note. The political career of the Girondists was terminated, and the triumph of the municipality of Paris over the Convention complete.

90. In the interval between their arrest and trial, many of the proscribed members contrived to escape into the provinces; and Louvet, Lanjuinais, and a few others, after passing through dangers which seem like the incidents of a romance, eventually evaded pursuit. The remainder were arraigned in October before the Revolutionary Tribunal; and after a trial of nine days, in which all the eloquence of Vergniaud and Brissot pleaded in vain, were sentenced to death. They were guillotined on 31st October, and all died with the fortitude of the ancient republicans whom they had proposed as their models. The death of Madame Roland, who from her splendid talents had almost become the head of the party, soon followed. Her defence, composed by herself the night before her trial, is one of the most eloquent and touching monuments of the Revolution; but it failed to move her inexorable judges, and she bent her

head under the guillotine with a calm serenity worthy of her past fame. Her husband, who had escaped from Paris, was soon after found dead on the road between Paris and Rouen, having stabbed himself in that public place that he might not betray the friends who had sheltered him.

91. Thus perished the party of the Girondists, reckless in its measures and culpable for its rashness, but illustrious in talent, and glorious in its fall. Its radical and inherent fault was its irreligion; and the dreadful misfortunes in which its leaders involved their country, proves the inadequacy of the most splendid genius, without that overruling principle, for the right management of affairs.

IV. *Campaign of* 1793.

92. During the whole warfare of 1792, Great Britain preserved a strict neutrality; and it was not till the continuance of peace became impossible, that her policy underwent a change. The overthrow of the throne, the massacres of September, and the victories of Dumourier, inflamed the democratic party in France to frenzy. The destruction of all established governments, and the *regeneration* of the whole human race, were openly avowed as their objects: and an active system of *propagandism* was forthwith put in operation; while the attacks on Savoy and Switzerland showed that these denunciations were not empty threats. At length (Nov. 19 and Dec. 15) the two famous decrees were passed, and transmitted to all the generals on service, of which an account has been given (p. 47); and which, by promising armed assistance to the disaffected of all nations, placed the Republic openly at war with all established governments. This unprecedented line of conduct, joined with the rapid spread of Jacobinism in England, left the British cabinet no alternative but war; and the aggressions of Dumourier on the Dutch territory, with the opening of the Scheldt in defiance of treaties, hastened the collision. A show of negotiation was still kept up for a time; but the execution of Louis brought matters to a crisis. M. Chauvelin, the French envoy, was ordered to leave England;

and on the 3d February the Convention, on the report of Brissot, unanimously declared war against Great Britain.

93. Thus forced into war, the British government proceeded (in April) to despatch 20,000 troops under the Duke of York to Holland, where they joined 10,000 Hessians and Hanoverians in English pay. The aggregate of the Allied forces amounted to 365,000, acting on the whole of the French frontier, from Calais to Bayonne; those of the Republicans to 270,000, mostly inferior troops, but united by similarity of language and government: a fresh levy of 300,000 had been ordered by the Convention, but had not yet come into action. In the first impulse of horror at the death of Louis, a close alliance had been signed between the courts of London and St Petersburg (March 25), declaring the suppression of the French Revolution to be "the common interest of every civilised state;" and treaties of a similar tenor were concluded by England with Sardinia (April 25)—Spain (May 25)—Naples (July 12)– Prussia (July 14)—the empire (Aug. 30)—and Portugal (Sept. 26).

94. But in the midst of this universal martial preparation, it soon became apparent that the French war was, for the present at least, a secondary object with the Czarina to the completion of her designs upon Poland; while the mutual jealousy of Austria and Prussia was shown by a division of the German armies. Still the disorganisation and indiscipline into which the French troops in Flanders had relapsed, with their deficiency in stores and supplies, afforded the fairest chance of striking a decisive blow against them; but the new generalissimo of the Allies, the Prince of Cobourg, was a soldier of the old methodical school, and utterly unfit to command at such a juncture. The French finances were recruited, previous to the opening of the campaign, by a fresh issue of assignats, to the nominal value of 800,000,000 francs (£33,000,000), secured as before on the national domains; while the British exigencies were met by a loan of £4,500,000, from which subsidies were granted to the King of Sardinia and several German princes.

95. The first movement of the campaign was the invasion of the

Dutch territory, early in February, by Dumourier: but after the reduction of Breda and Gertruydenberg, he was recalled into Flanders by the defeat of Miranda, who had been left to besiege Maestricht, but had been driven from his lines by the Austrians, under the Archduke Charles. After reorganising his army, the French commander resumed offensive operations; and a general action was fought (March 18) at Nerwinde. The French were defeated with the loss of 4000 men; and such was the dismay with which this disaster inspired their new levies, that several thousands disbanded themselves and returned to France; and a convention was concluded on 22d March, by which Brussels, Namur, &c., were surrendered as the price of a safe retreat. It soon appeared that this convention was only a prelude to the desertion of the Republican cause by Dumourier. But he was forced, as already mentioned (p. 50), to fly for refuge into the Austrian lines; and the French army retreated upon the frontier fortresses, or formed an intrenched camp at Famars.

96. The failure of this enterprise of Dumourier led to a change in the language of the Allied powers, who, giving up the restoration of monarchy as hopeless, began openly to avow projects of conquest and dismemberment—an impolitic step, which at once changed the contest from a war of liberation to one of aggrandisement. With an unaccountable inactivity, however, Cobourg lay idle with a splendid army of 120,000 men, till the French, recovering from their consternation at the loss of Flanders and defection of Dumourier, resumed the offensive under General Dampierre, and attacked the Allied lines (May 1). They were repulsed with loss: and in an action on the 8th, in which Dampierre was killed, the British troops, recently landed, for the first time appeared in the field, and the fate of the day was decided by a charge of the Guards. The Republicans again retired within the camp at Famars; but this position was stormed by the Allies (May 23), and the French fell back to the famous Camp of Cæsar; while the Austrians and British, following up their success, laid siege to Valenciennes and Condé. Both fortresses were vigorously defended; but Condé was obliged

to surrender from want of provisions on 13th July; and Valenciennes, when on the eve of a second assault, capitulated on the 28th of the same month. But the hoisting of the Imperial flag on the walls, announcing the intention to retain them as permanent conquests, not only increased the Prussian jealousy of Austria, but was vehemently protested against by the Count de Provence (afterwards Louis XVIII.), as a spoliation of his infant nephew, Louis XVII., the son of the murdered King.

97. The operations on the eastern frontier, meanwhile, had been equally favourable to the Allies. The King of Prussia had crossed the Rhine (March 24) with 75,000 men; and Custine, who had only 45,000, retreated to the lines of Weissenburg, whence he was soon removed to the command of the Army of the North, leaving his men under the orders of Beauharnais. The Prussians, in the mean time, sat down before Mayence; and though the non-arrival of the battering-train prolonged the siege for two months, the fortress capitulated (July 22) after a fruitless attempt by Beauharnais to relieve it. The survivors of the garrison, to the number of 17,000, were released on condition of not again serving against the Allies—an unfortunate limitation, as it admitted their being employed against the Vendean royalists. Both Custine and Beauharnais were summoned by the Convention to Paris, and guillotined as an atonement for the loss of the fortresses: the name of the latter has acquired a posthumous celebrity from the fortunes of his widow, Josephine, the subsequent Empress of Napoleon.

98. During the sieges of Valenciennes and Condé, the French army had remained shut up in the Camp of Cæsar, unable to keep the field against the victorious Allies; and in this last stronghold they were attacked on the 8th August. The dispirited and disorganised Republicans fled, almost without firing a shot, at the sight of the enemy, and were with difficulty rallied behind the Scarpe, on the last defensible position between the victors and Paris.

99. Never was the revolutionary government in greater danger than now The frontier, from Bâle to Dunkirk, was covered

with 280,000 troops of the Allies; the barrier of fortresses was broken through, and the hostile armies seemed preparing to march on Paris, while 60,000 Vendeans threatened the capital in the rear; Toulon and Lyons were in revolt; and the Republican forces were inferior in number, dispirited, and half-disciplined. But all the deficiencies of the French were speedily remedied by the extraordinary energy and ability applied to public affairs after the appointment of the terrible Committee of Public Salvation. The whole power of France was called forth; a decree for the levy of 1,200,000 men was soon executed; while a forced tax of a *milliard* of francs (£40,000,000), confiscations, and the unlimited issue of assignats, gave the government boundless resources, by virtually placing at its disposal all the property of the State.

100. Meanwhile dismay prevailed in the capital, which was only fifteen days' march from the invaders' camp; but the jealousies and selfish policy of the Allied cabinets prevented their generals from following up their important successes. The appropriation of Valenciennes and Condé by the Emperor, and the further schemes of aggrandisement avowed by Thugut, who had succeeded Kaunitz at the helm of Austrian affairs, had occasioned a manifest coolness between Prussia and Austria; and the efficiency of the Allied forces was still further impaired by the absurd policy pursued on the Flemish frontier. Instead of vigorously pushing the weakened and depressed masses of the French, the British and their Allies drew off to besiege Dunkirk, while Quesnoy was invested and taken (Nov. 11) by the Austrians. This fatal false step, the blame of which rests entirely with the English cabinet, gave time to the French for the assemblage and organisation of their new levies; and, as if further to facilitate the operations of the enemy, the Allies broke up their vast army into detachments, which were scattered all along the Belgian frontier. Pressed by the orders of the Convention, General Houchard at length attacked the covering force before Dunkirk, which was routed; and the Duke of York, finding his flank thus exposed, abandoned his artillery, and raised the siege. Houchard, however, being soon after beaten by an Austrian corps

under Beaulieu, was proscribed and guillotined; and a young officer, hitherto untried, General Jourdan, was nominated commander-in-chief.

101. The Allies were now besieging Maubeuge and Landrecy, with the view of securing winter-quarters in the French territory, and Jourdan was directed by the Convention to relieve the former place. Aware, from the fate of his predecessors, that the alternative was victory or the scaffold, he attacked the Austrian covering force (Oct. 16) at Wattignies, and defeated it with the loss of 6000 men; on which Cobourg raised the siege, and withdrew into winter-quarters beyond the Sambre; while Pichegru, who had succeeded Jourdan, did the same in the intrenched camp of Guicé. On the Rhine, meanwhile, the Prussians had remained wholly inactive for two months after the fall of Mayence, contenting themselves with watching the French in their lines at Weissenburg. Wearied at length by the torpor of his opponents, Moreau assumed the initiative, and attacked the Prussian corps at Pirmasens. This bold attempt was repulsed (Sept. 14) with the loss of 4000 men; but it was not till a month later (Oct. 13) that the Allies resumed the offensive, when the Weissenburg lines were stormed by a mixed force of Austrians and Prussians, and the French fled in confusion almost to Strasburg. But this important advantage led to no results, though the defeat of the Republicans was hailed by a royalist movement in Alsace. The Austrians, immovable in their plans of conquest, refused to occupy Strasburg in the name of Louis XVII.; and the unfortunate royalists, abandoned to Republican vengeance, were indiscriminately consigned to the guillotine by a decree of the Convention, while the confederate army was occupied in the siege of Landau. But the lukewarmness of the Prussians had now become so evident, that it was only by the most vehement remonstrances of the Austrian cabinet that they were prevented from seceding altogether from the league; and the Republicans, taking advantage of the disunion of their enemies, again attacked the Allies (Dec. 26), who were routed and driven over the Rhine; while the victors, following up

their success, retook Spires, and advanced to the gates of Mannheim.

102. The operations in the Pyrenees and on the side of Savoy, during this campaign, led to no important results. On the western extremity of the Pyrenees, the Spaniards entered France in the middle of April, routed their opponents in several encounters, and drove them into St Jean Pied-de-Port. An invasion of Roussillon, at the same time, was equally successful; and the Spaniards maintained themselves in the province till the end of the year, taking the fortresses of Bellegarde and Collioure, and routing two armies which attempted to dislodge them, at Truellas (Sept. 22) and Boulon (Dec. 7). An attempt of the Sardinians to expel the French from their conquests in Savoy was less fortunate; and, at the close of the campaign, both parties remained in their former position.

103. But during these indecisive operations of the belligerents, the south of France had become the scene of a civil war of a more important character. The insurrection of 31st May, and the fall of the Girondists, had excited violent discontent in these provinces, particularly in the great towns of Marseilles, Toulon, and Lyons, which were warmly attached to that party. At Lyons and Marseilles the Jacobin leaders were put to death; but the revolt of the latter town was crushed on the instant by General Carteaux, and all the disaffected perished without mercy by the guillotine. A similar fate impended over the Toulonese; but the citizens in this extremity proclaimed Louis XVII., and, admitting the British and Spanish squadrons into their harbour, surrendered the town, with the French fleet in the port, to Admiral Hood. The vengeance of the Republicans, meanwhile, was directed in the first instance against Lyons, the armed population of which, to the number of 30,000, defended the city heroically against Kellermann's army. The siege continued from 29th July to 10th October; when, after enduring a tremendous bombardment with red-hot shot, which laid most of the buildings in ashes, the besieged were compelled by famine to capitulate. A few, with their brave commander Precy, cut their way

to the Swiss frontier—the remainder were doomed to glut the triumphant barbarity of the Republicans. At the head of the commission appointed for their punishment were the afterwards well-known Fouché, and the wretch Collot d'Herbois, whom the Lyonese, ten years before, had hissed off their stage as an actor, and who now returned in the plenitude of power to indulge his revenge. The guillotine was too slow for their thirst of blood: the prisoners, bound together by sixties and hundreds, were despatched by volleys of musketry or discharges of grape. These *mitraillades* and *fusillades*, as they were termed, were repeated during many days; and Barère announced to the Convention that "the corpses of the rebellious Lyonese, floating down the Rhone, would warn the citizens of Toulon of their coming fate!"

104. The ruin of Lyons was speedily followed by the investment of Toulon by 40,000 men under General Dugommier; while the garrison, under Lord Mulgrave, consisted of 5000 British and 8000 Spanish and Italian troops. The principal strength of the place lay in the fortified heights of Faron, Malbosquet, and Eguilette, or Little Gibraltar, which commanded both the town and the harbour; and against them were accordingly aimed the main batteries of the besiegers, directed by a young artillery officer, who here made his first step in the road to fame—Napoleon Buonaparte. A desperate sally of the garrison (Nov. 30) was repulsed with loss; and the works of the Little Gibraltar, against which Napoleon had concentrated his fire, were stormed on 17th December. The capture of this important outwork, by rendering the harbour untenable, decided the fate of the place: the English, fearful of having their retreat cut off by the destruction of their vessels, resolved to embark at once; and on the 18th Toulon was evacuated. Of the French fleet in the harbour, fifteen ships of the line and eight frigates were burnt, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Republicans. Three ships, and as many frigates, were carried off by the English, and only seven ships of the line, with eleven frigates, were saved to the Republic. Near 15,000 exiles, of all ranks and ages, crowded on board the departing fleet, to escape the vengeance of their coun-

trymen. On those who remained, the *fusillades* and *mitraillades* of Lyons were repeated with fearful effect: the very buildings of the city, except the naval and military establishments, were demolished; and the name itself of Toulon, by a decree of the Convention, superseded by that of Port de la Montagne.

V. *War in la Vendée.*

105. La Vendée is bounded on the north and west by the Loire and the sea, and extends inland as far as Brissac, Thouars, and Niort. It thus corresponds with the four modern departments of Loire-Inferieure, Maine-et-Loire, Deux Sêvres, and Vendée, and contains 800,000 inhabitants. The Loire separates it from the seat of the subsequent Chouan war in Brittany. Its surface mostly consists of gently undulating hills separated by narrow valleys: the Bocage, as its name imports, is covered with trees, but scattered through the hedgerows rather than in large masses; and near the sea, on the south, lie the salt marshes of the Marais. The great road from Nantes to Rochelle is the only one traversing the district, but it is intersected in all directions by deep narrow lanes, which in winter generally become the beds of streams. There are no manufactures or great towns; and the land, at this time, was almost wholly divided into small farms, the tenants of which paid their rents in kind. The peasants were a simple and honest race, devotedly attached to their seigneurs—who, contrary to the habits of other provinces, were all resident among them—and looking up with filial veneration to their pastors, whose life and benevolence rendered them a faithful image of the primitive church.

106. Among a population thus constituted, the tenets of the Revolution were little likely to meet a favourable reception. But the peasants at first submitted in silence; and it was not till they saw their clergy expelled for refusing to take the revolutionary oaths, that their indignation burst forth both in la Vendée and Brittany. The severity with which the first overt acts of resistance were punished added fuel to the flame; and on the attempt

(March 1793) to enforce the levy of 300,000 men ordered by the Convention, a general and simultaneous revolt broke out. 50,000 men of all ranks rose in arms; a carter named Cathelineau was raised, from his intelligence and bravery, to the chief command; Stofflet, originally a gamekeeper, and others of the same rank, were joined in the leadership with the noble names of Lescure, d'Elbée, de Larochejacquelein, and Bonchamp: Charette, the last of this illustrious band, succeeded to eminence later in the war. Of the forces under their orders, 12,000 under Bonchamp opposed the Republicans on the side of Anjou: from 20,000 to 30,000 formed the grand army under d'Elbée; and the army of the Marais, under Charette, numbered 20,000 more. Their method of fighting was adapted to the nature both of the troops and the country. The numerous hedges were lined with concealed musketeers, who, suffering the hostile columns to get fairly enveloped, opened on them a murderous fire from all points, which was kept up till they fell into confusion, when the Royalists burst from their concealment, and fell sword in hand on the thinned ranks of the enemy. In a wooded and impervious country, where every man's hand was against them, the destruction of the Republicans, when once broken, was generally complete; and the peasant victors, after flocking to the churches to render thanksgivings for their triumph, returned home to their customary pursuits, till again summoned to arms by their leaders.

107. The early measures directed by the Convention against the revolters exceeded even the usual spirit of sanguinary ruthlessness. Their soldiers were ordered to exterminate men, women, children, animals, and vegetation; the country being destined "to be repeopled by colonies of patriots." But the humanity of the Royalists, in the early stages of the war, was equally conspicuous with their piety and enthusiastic valour. In one instance only, at Machecoul, in Lower Poitou, were the atrocities of their adversaries retaliated by the massacre of 500 Republicans—a crime which drew after it its own punishment, by stimulating the subsequent desperate resistance of Nantes. At the storm-

ing of Thouars, Chataignerie, and Fontenay (May), by the followers of Lescure and Larochejacquelein, not an inhabitant was ill-treated, nor a house pillaged, though those towns had been in the preceding August stained by massacres of Royalists: even their prisoners were dismissed after being marked by shaving their heads. In the mean time an attempted invasion of la Vendée, through the Marais, had been repulsed by the other chiefs; and all the Royalist bands, to the number of 40,000 men, drew together for a decisive effort. The fortified camp of the Republicans, under the walls of Saumur, was defended by 22,000 regulars, with 100 pieces of cannon and a host of national guards; and the first charge of the Vendeans was repulsed by a furious charge of cuirassiers; but their impetuosity at length surmounted all obstacles, and their victory (June 10) was a far more important one than any the Allies had yet gained. 80 cannons, 10,000 muskets, and 11,000 prisoners, were the trophies of the day, while the conquerors lost only 60 killed and 400 wounded.

108. After this signal victory, the Vendean leaders, instead of advancing on Paris, imprudently directed their forces against Nantes, on the sea coast (June 29). Three-fourths of their army dispersed to their homes after the capture of Saumur; the citizens, who dreaded a repetition of the massacre at Machecoul, co-operated zealously with the Republican troops in the defence; and the fall of Cathelineau, who was struck down mortally wounded, decided the failure of the enterprise. He died a fortnight afterwards, and with him died the best hopes of the Royalist party.

109. During the absence of the grand army before Nantes, a corps led by Westermann, the well-known leader of the insurgents on the 10th of August, had penetrated into the Bocage, and burnt the chateaus of Lescure and Larochejacquelein: but the arrival of Stofflet and Bonchamp changed the aspect of affairs; and Westermann, after losing two-thirds of his men, with difficulty made his escape with the remainder. A fresh invasion was soon attempted by an army of 50,000 men, under Biron and the fatally celebrated Santerre; but though d'Elbée (who had succeeded Cathelineau as generalissimo) was defeated at Luçon (Aug. 15),

the Republican columns shared the fate of their predecessors, and were mostly destroyed in detail. The Convention, now fully roused to the danger of the war, collected forces from all quarters to crush it: the *levée en masse* of the neighbouring departments was called out; and before the middle of September, 200,000 men surrounded la Vendée on all sides. Among these were the veteran garrisons of Mayence, Valenciennes, and Condé, which had been released on parole on the capture of those places by the Allies, and were commanded by Kleber; but these formidable troops were overthrown at Torfou (Sept. 10) by the heroism of the Vendeans under Lescure; and Beysser's division (Sept. 20) shared the same fate at Montaigut. General Rossignol, on the other side, had already (Sept. 15) been utterly defeated with his column at Coron; and the whole invasion was thus effectually baffled by the heroism of the peasants, and the military talents of their leaders.

110. But these triumphs were only the prelude to disasters still greater. While the Vendeans, seeing the present danger over, had as usual left their standards and returned home, a fresh army was already advancing under General Lechelle, a leader of great ability; and at this critical moment the dissensions of the Royalist chiefs, as to the plan of operations, led to a division of their forces. While Charette drew off to the Isle of Noirmoutier, the followers of de Larochejacquelein were defeated at Chatillon (Oct. 12) by Westermann; and Lescure was mortally wounded (Oct. 14) in a conflict near Chollet. Three days later, a general engagement was fought near the same place; but the Royalists, at first successful, were dismayed by the fall of d'Elbée and Bonchamp, and the onset of the hostile cavalry completed their confusion and rout. The Republicans carried fire and sword with unsparing barbarity through the country; and the Vendeans, followed by their families, to the total number of 80,000, crowded together to St Florent on the Loire, where the whole body, abandoning their native land amid loud lamentations, crossed the river into Brittany (Oct. 18). Bonchamp died of his wounds at St Florent, after ennobling his last moments by

saving the lives of the Republican prisoners from the vengeance of his soldiers.

111. Henri de Larochejacquelein was now chosen general; and Lechelle, who had flattered himself that the insurrection was utterly crushed, marched in pursuit as soon as he became aware of the transfer of the theatre of war. The Vendeans were attacked at Chateau-Gontier (Oct. 25); but their prowess was now stimulated by despair, and animated by the exhortations and example of their heroic leader. So complete was the defeat of the Republicans, that scarce 7000 men could be rallied at Angers after the action; and while the mob of Paris was exulting in the thought that "la Vendée is no more!" it was announced to the Convention by General Lenoir, that "the rebels might now march to Paris if they chose." Had this bold step been taken, it might at once have terminated the war; but the hopes which had been held out to them of effective British succour, if they could secure a seaport, unfortunately determined them to attack Granville. Having no battering cannon, they boldly attempted to carry it by escalade (Nov. 14); but the resistance of the Republicans was as brave as the assault; and after a murderous conflict of thirty-six hours, the Vendeans were beaten off with a loss of 1800 men, and retreated from the coast only a few days before the arrival on it of a British flotilla, bearing to their aid 10,000 troops under Lord Moira, which returned to England when the failure at Granville became known to them.

112. This check proved extremely hurtful to the Vendean cause. The troops mutinied against Larochejacquelein; and though the authority of Stofflet succeeded in restoring order, the generals were forced to yield to the wishes of the soldiers, who had set their hearts on returning to la Vendée. Rossignol, with 35,000 men, attempted to bar their march, but in two sanguinary actions at Pontorson and Antrain, the Republicans were driven from the field by the furious onset of the Royalists, who, advancing to Angers, essayed to carry the town by a *coup-de-main*. But they were repulsed with loss; and, unable to pass the Loire in that direction, the Vendean host, worn out with hunger and

fatigue, and encumbered with a helpless train of women and children, turned their steps towards Mans. In this town they were assailed (Dec. 12) by 40,000 Republicans under Marceau, Westermann, and Kleber, and, after a heroic defence, forced in confusion to the plain, where men, women, and children, were involved in horrible and indiscriminate carnage. A few thousands who escaped from Mans were overwhelmed and slaughtered (Dec. 23) at Savenay, fighting to the last with invincible constancy; and of 80,000 souls who had crossed the Loire six weeks before, scarcely 8000 made their way back to la Vendée. Many of these were hunted down and put to death by the Republicans; while others, among whom were Mesdames de Larochejacquelein and Bonchamp, owed their lives to the courageous hospitality of the peasants.

113. While the bulk of the Royalists were absent on this fatal expedition, Charette had remained with few thousand men in la Vendée, and had fortified the Isle of Noirmoutier as a stronghold. It was captured, however, during his absence, by General Thurreau; and the gallant d'Elbée, who had been removed thither, after being disabled by his wounds in the battle of Chollet, was taken and put to death. Larochejacquelein soon afterwards fell in a skirmish; and the Vendean war would have ended, had the Republicans used their victory with moderation. But the darkest period of the tragedy was now only commencing; twelve corps, aptly denominated *infernal columns*, were formed by Thurreau, with orders to traverse the country in every direction—seize or destroy all the cattle and grain—slaughter all the people—and burn all the houses. These orders were too faithfully executed; and the fugitives from this ruthless proscription formed the germ of the redoubted Chouan bands, which, under Stofflet and the indomitable Charette, long upheld the Royalist cause in the western provinces.

114. But even the horrors perpetrated by Thurreau fell short of the scenes enacted at Nantes, where a revolutionary tribunal, presided over by Carrier, exceeded even the cruelties of Danton and Robespierre. "The principle was," says a Republican historian

"that it was necessary to destroy all the prisoners *en masse*;" nor were they long in carrying it into effect. As the guillotine and the dagger were too slow in their operations, and the executioners became exhausted with fatigue, the prisoners were carried out in vessels, and drowned by wholesale in the Loire, while armed men on the banks cut down all whom the waves threw ashore alive. In one of these *noyades*, as they were called, 100 priests perished together; in another, 140 women were consigned to death on mere suspicion. Many hundreds of infants were among the victims; and to the entreaties of the citizens in their favour, Carrier replied, "They are vipers; let them be stifled." The waters of the Loire were infected by the multitude of corpses, and even the fish became poisonous from eating putrid flesh. In one month, 15,000 persons were either slaughtered or died in prison at Nantes: the total victims of the Reign of Terror at that place exceeded 30,000.

115. The Vendeans in general met death with the most heroic fortitude; and the Breton peasants, though numbers of them were shot for sheltering the proscribed, persevered with generous and undaunted humanity in their efforts in behalf of these hapless fugitives. "The poor people also in Nantes," says Madame de Larochejacquelein, "were exceedingly kind; the ferocious class who aided in the massacres and *noyades* were the little shopkeepers and more opulent artisans,"—words which too truly designate the sphere in which revolutionary fervour is always most violent and sanguinary.

VI. *Reign of Terror—Execution of the Queen Marie-Antoinette, and of Danton.*

116. On the fall of the Girondists, the most extravagant joy prevailed among the Jacobins at their decisive triumph, and they forthwith proceeded to form a new government, of which the Committee of Public Salvation was the nucleus. Robespierre, St Just, Couthon, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois, were elected members, and speedily ejected their more moderate col-

leagues; Carnot became minister-of-war, and the other departments of government were divided among the remainder. The Convention, silent and powerless, was compelled to pass a decree, vesting all the powers of the State in the Committee till the condlusion of a general peace; and thus the Terrorists, having completed the destruction of their enemies, prepared to arrest the evils which they themselves had caused, by the sanguinary arm of despotism.

117. The control of the Jacobins was not, however, established without resistance in the provinces. In almost all the towns, the national guards were at first refractory; but the municipal authorities, elected by universal suffrage, were everywhere in the interest of the democrats, and the power thus wielded universally prevailed. In the south, whence came most of the Girondist deputies, the abhorrence of anarchical principles burst out in the revolt whose bloody suppression has been previously narrated.

118. The terrific power held over the lives and fortunes of individuals by the Committee of Public Salvation was riveted more firmly than ever by the Law of the Suspected (Sept. 17), which subjected to arrest all who were in any way obnoxious to the ruling powers, or even related to any of the emigrants. The revolutionary committees were frightfully multiplied throughout France—50,000 were soon in operation, embracing not less than 540,000 members, each of whom received three francs in assignats daily from the State; and in the immense numbers thus personally interested in its preservation, is to be found the true secret of the long duration of the Reign of Terror. The prisons were everywhere crowded with victims; the federalists and royalists were sent to the scaffold; and many, whose only crime was wealth, were forced to purchase safety by surrendering it to the State. In the Parisian prisons, the ordinary malefactors were mingled with all yet remaining of dignity, beauty, or virtue; and the scenes which ensued, from the action of the unconquerable elasticity of the French character on this unparalleled association, exhibited the most extraordinary of spectacles.

119. In the midst of these events, one of the tyrants fell by the

hand of a female enthusiast. Charlotte Corday, a young lady of Rouen, of great beauty and masculine courage, conceived the idea that the bloodshed might be checked by the death of Marat, whom she regarded as the originator of all the atrocities. Filled with this resolution, she repaired to Paris, and, obtaining access to him under pretence of communicating intelligence of some Girondist deputies who had found refuge at Caen, stabbed him to the heart. She suffered death with the serenity of a heroine and a martyr; and the apotheosis of Marat was celebrated with extraordinary pomp by the Jacobins, who took this opportunity to arrest 73 members of the Convention, the broken remains of the Girondist party.

120. Marie-Antoinette was the next victim. Since the death of the King, the royal family had continued in the Temple, subjected to every privation and insult; the young Dauphin, by an ingenious refinement of cruelty, had been separated from his mother; and on the 2d August the Queen was transferred to a dungeon of the Conciergerie. After being closely confined there more than two months, she was brought (Oct. 14) before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The trial of a queen by her subjects was new in the history of the world; and though sorrow and confinement had whitened her once beautiful hair, her figure and air still excited admiration; but she was condemned as soon as the form of trial was gone through, and suffered (Oct. 16) on the same spot where her husband perished, with a firmness and Christian hope worthy of the daughter of the Cæsars. Few human beings have passed, in a life of thirty-nine years, through more awful vicissitudes, and her character passed pure and unsullied through the revolutionary furnace.

121. The death of the Queen was followed by an act of wanton barbarity—the violation of the royal tombs at St Denis. The bodies of the deceased kings were scattered in the air; the glorious names of Turenne and Duguesclin could not save their graves from profanation; and the example was followed up by a general destruction of the monuments of antiquity through France. Nothing now remained to the Revolutionists but to

defy heaven itself; and accordingly (Nov. 7) Christianity was solemnly abjured, at the instance of the municipality, by Gobel, the apostate bishop of Paris. The contagion of infidelity soon became universal. The churches were plundered; and a female of extraordinary beauty, but loose character, was introduced into the Convention, and afterwards publicly enthroned in Notre Dame, as the representative of the Goddess of Reason! The calendar had already been changed; the Sabbath and the services of religion were now abolished, and each month was divided into three decades. Marriage was declared a civil contract, and divorce made legal on any grounds, however frivolous; the natural consequence of which was an unexampled corruption of morals. All academies, schools, and colleges, were suppressed; even the hospitals and public charities were not spared in the general havoc, and all their domains were sold as national property.

122. The Decemvirs next proceeded to destroy their former friends, the earliest supporters of the Revolution. Bailly, the first president of the Assembly, was the first who fell (Nov. 11) under Jacobin vengeance; Barnave, Dutertre, and others soon followed; and Condorcet only avoided the guillotine by suicide. The generals Custine and Houchard atoned with their lives for their ill success; and the Duke of Orleans, doomed by the voice of his former friend Robespierre, died, regretted by none, with a firmness of which his former life had shown no promise. Still two parties remained opposed to the Decemvirs, and yet more bitterly to each other—the Anarchists of the municipality and the Dantonists or moderate Jacobins, headed by Danton, Westermann, Camille Desmoulins, &c. This latter party had become estranged from Robespierre since the revolt of the 31st May, with the real objects of which they had been imperfectly acquainted; and the schism was gradually approaching an open rupture. The exasperation of the strife between the Dantonists and the Anarchists, however, prevented this for a time from becoming apparent; and Robespierre, dexterously profiting by this singular situation of parties, came to a secret agreement

with the municipality, by which he gave up the Dantonists to their vengeance, on condition of their abandoning the Anarchist leaders—Hebert, Clootz, Gobel the apostate bishop, Chaumette, and their followers—to the Decemvirs.

123. The Anarchists were first proscribed, and fell (March 24, 1794) almost without a struggle. Their efforts to rouse the populace once more to insurrection proved fruitless, and the unmanly cowardice of these wretches in their last moments showed the native baseness of their dispositions. But Danton and his partisans were not long allowed to exult over their downfall. The effort to reconcile him with his former friend Robespierre failed; and on the night of 30th March he was arrested with Herault de Sechelles, Camille Desmoulins, Lacroix, and Westermann. On entering the prison, Danton exclaimed, "At last I perceive that in revolutions power finally rests with the most abandoned!" Memorable words from such lips!

124. Their arrest produced a violent agitation, both in Paris and the Convention, and Legendre loudly protested against it. But the fetters of the Assembly were too firmly riveted to be shaken off, and they crouched before the denunciations of Robespierre and St Just, who charged the accused with having been accomplices in every conspiracy, royalist or anarchist. The absurdity of thus supposing them in league with their bitterest enemies was obvious; but the overawed Assembly sent them to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Their indignant defence was cut short by Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser—a man in whom every human passion, even that of avarice, seemed extinct, and who was intent only on bloodshed. They were sentenced to death, and met their fate with stoical intrepidity. "We are sacrificed," said Danton, "to the ambition of a few rascally brigands; but they will not long enjoy their triumph. I drag Robespierre after me in my fall."

VII. *Reign of Terror—Fall of Robespierre.*

125. The death of Danton was followed by immediate and unqualified submission from every part of France, and even his old friend Legendre declared himself satisfied of his guilt. The Committee of Public Salvation, now confident in its own strength, proceeded to disband the revolutionary army of Paris, and suppress all popular societies which were not offshoots from the great parent club of the Jacobins. The situations of the different ministers were also abolished, and twelve committees appointed to carry on the details of government. The anarchy of revolution had destroyed itself; and from its ruins rose the stern and relentless despotism of a few political fanatics. Robespierre was their undisputed leader; but he was associated with two others more pitiless than himself—St Just and Couthon. The former, the true picture of an austere and gloomy fanatic, was at once the most resolute, the most sincere, and the most inflexible of his party; the latter, mild in countenance and half paralysed in figure, was the creature and tool of Robespierre. Guided by this triumvirate, who excluded all who retained any sentiments of humanity, the Jacobin Club became the complete quintessence of cruelty, and the work of extermination went boldly on. "The vessel of Revolution," said St Just, "can arrive in port only on a sea reddened with waves of blood!"

126. Seven thousand captives were soon collected in the Parisian prisons, and the number throughout France exceeded 200,000. All the comforts at first allowed to prisoners of fortune were withdrawn, and only the coarsest and most unwholesome fare was allowed. The progress of the executions not proving rapid enough for the views of Fouquier Tinville, he pretended to have discovered a conspiracy in the prisons; and those whom he declared implicated were instantly led to the guillotine. The procession of death left the prison each day at a stated hour; at first fifteen victims were selected daily, but the number was soon augmented to thirty, and ultimately to eighty. The arrests increased in proportion; no one felt secure for an hour; and

numbers committed suicide from inability to bear suspense. "Had the reign of Robespierre," says Fréron, "lasted longer, multitudes would have thrown themselves under the guillotine: the love of life was extinct in every heart."

127. In the midst of these atrocities, the Convention was occupied in honouring the civic virtues, to the celebration of which were appropriated a certain number of the decadal fêtes. A remarkable speech was pronounced by Robespierre at this period, in which he distinctly avowed his belief in the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul; and on the 21st Prairial (June 7) a magnificent fête, in honour of the Supreme Being, was celebrated in the garden of the Tuileries, in which Robespierre officiated as pontiff. As a commentary on this, a decree appeared on the following day, by which evidence against the accused was dispensed with when the tribunal felt convinced; and, armed with this accession of power, the proscriptions proceeded during the next two months with redoubled vigour. Among the crowd of victims were the venerable Malesherbes, the intrepid defender of Louis XVI.; Madame Elizabeth, the sister of the monarch; Beauharnais, the first husband of the Empress Josephine; and Madame Dubarri, the infamous mistress of Louis XV. The son of Buffon, the daughter of Vernet, perished without regard to the illustrious names they bore: Lavoisier was cut off in the midst of his profound chemical researches: a little time longer would have swept away all the literary talent, as well as the nobility of France. A few questions sufficed for a trial; and on leaving court, or next morning at latest, they were led to die. Fouquier Tinville even proposed to erect a guillotine in the court-room for instant use; but Collot d'Herbois objected to this, as "tending to demoralise punishment." The cruelties in the provinces kept pace with those of the capital; and Carrier at Nantes, and Lebon at Arras, even went beyond their models.

128. But there is a limit to human suffering—an hour when nature will no longer submit, and courage rises out of despair. The middle classes, who formed the strength of the national guard,

began to be alarmed at the rapid progress and *evident descent* of the proscriptions, which, beginning with the nobles and clergy, were fast approaching every class above the lowest. In the last days of the Reign of Terror, mechanics and artisans are found on the lists of the doomed; and the revulsion of public feeling was openly manifested. The Convention itself began to tremble, as it was known that many of its leading members were objects of suspicion to the tyrant, whose apprehensions had been increased to the highest degree by a fruitless attempt to assassinate him. Henriot, with others of his violent partisans, strongly urged a new insurrection against the Convention; and Robespierre himself, in the Jacobin Club, made little secret of his intention to decimate the Assembly by the extermination of his old associates of the Mountain,—Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, Thuriot, Vadier, &c. On the 8th Thermidor (July 26) the contest began in the National Convention. The discourse of Robespierre was dark and enigmatical; he declared that a conspiracy existed in the bosom of the Convention, and demanded the punishment of the traitors. The menaced deputies, however, defended themselves with intrepidity. "It is no longer time for dissembling," was the bold exclamation of Cambon; "one man paralyses the Assembly, and that man is Robespierre." Billaud Varennes, Vadier, and Fréron followed in the same strain; and Robespierre retired, surprised at the resistance he had experienced, but confident of success from the armed movement which had been fixed for the following day.

129. The respite thus afforded was employed by his antagonists in effecting a coalition of their forces: the relics of the Girondists, and the Jacobins of the Mountain, moved by the eminence of the common danger, agreed to bury their differences in oblivion; and Robespierre was confronted in the Convention, on the 27th July, by a phalanx of determined and desperate men. Tallien, in an impassioned harangue, recapitulated the enormities of which the tyrant had been guilty, denounced the plot which he was then framing against the Convention, and ended by impeaching him of treason, with Dumas, Henriot, and others of his satellites.

Robespierre in vain endeavoured to obtain a hearing in the midst of the tumult of applause which followed this address; his voice was drowned by vociferations of "Down with the tyrant!" He quitted the hall in dismay, and was immediately arrested and imprisoned, with his principal adherents. But the municipality was still firm: Robespierre was released by a detachment of national guards, and brought in triumph to the Hotel de Ville; and the armed sections, surrounding the hall of the Convention, pointed their artillery against its walls. The fate of the Assembly for the moment appeared to tremble in the balance.

130. In this dreadful extremity, the firmness of Tallien and his friends did not desert them. They instantly passed decrees declaring Robespierre, Henriot, and all their associates of the municipality, to be *hors la loi* (outlaws), and summoned the national guard to rally for the defence of their representatives. The agitation in the city became dreadful; but Henriot, unable to persuade his cannoneers to fire on the Convention, withdrew to the Hotel de Ville, whither he was pursued by Barras, at the head of such of the national guards as remained faithful to the government. A terrible contest appeared inevitable; but the insurgent troops at first hesitated, and finally refused to resist the decree of the Convention; and the conspirators, finding themselves unsupported, gave way to despair. Lebas died by his own hand; but Robespierre, whose jaw had been shattered by a pistol-shot, was seized and dragged in triumph to the Convention, with St Just, Henriot, Couthon, Coffinhal, and all their party. Their trial and condemnation by the Revolutionary Tribunal was soon despatched; and at four in the morning (July 29) they were sent to the scaffold. All Paris was in motion to see the death of the tyrants, none of whom, except St Just, showed any of the firmness which had been so often displayed by their victims. Couthon wept with terror; and Robespierre, mangled and bleeding, uttered a dreadful yell when the executioner tore the bandage from his mutilated features. For some minutes he was exhibited, a ghastly spectacle, to the multitude, whose shouts of execration rang in his ears as the axe descended.

VIII. *Internal State of France during the Reign of Terror.*

131. Nothing could have enabled France to make head against both her internal difficulties, and the attack of the European league in 1793, except the immense levies of 1,500,000 men, and the confiscation of half the land in the kingdom, on which was founded a boundless issue of assignats. These great measures, which none but a revolutionary government could have attempted, had at the same time the effect of perpetuating the revolutionary system, by the important interests thus made to depend upon it. During the unparalleled and almost demoniac energy thus suddenly and powerfully developed, France was unconquerable; and it was their combined operation which brought it triumphant through that unprecedented crisis.

132. The civil force exerted at this period was not less wonderful than the military power; 50,000 revolutionary committees were organised, embracing above 500,000 members, whose joint salaries amounted to £24,000,000 annually. All the active and resolute men in France were thus drawn into either the civil or the military service. After the fall of Robespierre, it appeared that the national expenditure had exceeded £12,000,000 a-month—an enormous outlay, which could only be met by an incessant issue of paper-money, in which all government payments were made. But, as a natural consequence, the depreciation of these securities increased in proportion with their quantity, till they at length sank to a twentieth part of their nominal value. The prices of articles of consumption consequently rose, while the means of purchase were wanting; and the alarming height to which the distress and discontent of the lower orders speedily mounted, necessitated the law of the maximum (May 4, 1793), by which all holders of grain, &c., were compelled to bring it in, and sell it at prices fixed by each commune. The necessity of feeding the sovereign multitude was obvious and imperative: in Paris, at one time, not fewer than 636,000 persons received daily rations; and the forced requisitions not only of grain, but of horses,

ammunition, and stores of every sort, became an almost intolerable burden to proprietors, who were paid only in worthless assignats. The armies, the State, and the imperious populace of the cities, were in fact supported by public robbery committed on the agriculturists.

133. Another expedient of the government, during the Reign of Terror, was a *forced loan* on the opulent classes, according to the amount of their incomes; while the capital of the previous national debt was virtually extinguished, by being converted into perpetual annuities at five per cent, the State being for ever relieved from discharging the principal. All the measures of government, however, notwithstanding their despotic severity, could not sustain the value of the assignats, or keep down the price of provisions; the inevitable ruin which soon overtook the shopkeepers did not diminish the evil; and the Convention was besieged with violent petitions from the starving people. Metallic currency had almost wholly disappeared; and the change of all the weights and measures, with the introduction of the system of decimal notation, bewildered the ignorant as much as the constant fluctuations of the paper-money alarmed the merchants. A Committee of Subsistence was appointed, with absolute powers extending over all France; laws were passed, forbidding the baking bread of superior quality; all the animals intended for consumption in the capital were slaughtered in public, and the butchers allowed to deliver only half a pound of meat per head every five days to each family. But all these arbitrary measures did little to mitigate the scarcity; and the impossibility of maintaining the needy and imperious mob, on whose pleasure their own existence depended, was the grand difficulty of the ruling powers throughout the Reign of Terror.

134. Such were the effects produced by the Revolution, before the overthrow of Robespierre, on the value of property. Never in the world before had so great an experiment been made, and never were the disasters of popular ascendency so fully exemplified. The changes which had been begun in order to avert national bankruptcy, had led to the most unheard-of disasters.

The King, the nobles, and the clergy, who had resigned their exclusive rights to forward the cause of liberty, had either fallen by the guillotine, or were wandering, houseless and destitute exiles, in foreign lands. The merchants, whose jealousy of the nobles had first fostered the flame, were consumed in the conflagration; the commerce, colonies, and manufactures of the country were blasted by a relentless despotism, and a ruinous system of paper currency. The capitalists, who were the principal public creditors, were crushed by the operation of the same cause; while the miserable fundholders of small amounts lost the whole of their little incomes, and were reduced to utter destitution. As the movement advanced, the shopkeepers, whose bayonets and whose popular fervour so long supported the National Assembly, sank before the fury of plebeian revenge and the law of the maximum; the artisans, deprived of employment by the same causes, became needy suppliants on the government for their daily bread; and the peasants, ground down by the maximum, found themselves stripped of the fruits of their labour at nominal prices, and themselves and their cattle torn from their homes for the service of the armies.

IX. *The War in Poland.*

135. Poland, the Sarmatia of the ancients, formerly extended from the Borysthenes to the Danube, and from the Euxine to the Baltic. Prussia, Moravia, Bohemia, Hungary, the Ukraine, Courland, Livonia, all are fragments of its mighty dominion; and the Huns, Goths, and Sclavonians, who overspread the greater part of Europe, emerged from its vast uncultivated plains. But notwithstanding its primitive power and extent, the history of Poland, from the earliest times, has been one of continual decay; the greatest triumphs have been immediately succeeded by the greatest reverses, till at length it became the prey of its ancient provinces; and the deliverer of Europe in one age was in the next swept from the book of nations.

136 The cause of this strange phenomenon is to be found in the

institutions of the nation, which retained up to modern times all the anarchical independence of the pastoral life. Placed beyond the bounds of the Roman empire, Poland received no infusion of ancient civilisation; it was never either conquered by, or the conqueror of, more polished nations than itself. The feudal system and the representative system continued alike unknown; municipalities and burghers there were none; the clergy had power only as temporal chiefs, and society consisted of only two classes—the serfs who were held in degrading bondage, and the freemen or citizens of the republic. Among these last the most complete and democratic equality prevailed, and it was by the concourse of the *whole* body that the diets of the nation were constituted. Armed and equipped in all the martial pomp of nomadic life, 100,000 horsemen met on the field of Volo, near Warsaw, to legislate and discuss public affairs sword in hand; and as each individual possessed the right of an absolute veto, the unanimity, which would otherwise have been hopeless, was generally attained by the slaughter of the recusants. Liberty and equality had been the ruling principles in Poland for 500 years before they became the watchwords of the French Revolution; and so jealously were they guarded that the jurisdictions of the waywodes, palatines, &c., were never suffered to become hereditary; even the Crown, though long enjoyed by the Piast and Jagellon families, was always elective. The kings themselves, unsupported by any military force, were little more than supreme judges; and all the efforts of the greatest monarchs, either for the increase of their own power, or the formation of a regular government, were unable either to overawe or subdue the fierce independence of the nobles.

137. It is true that the impossibility of summoning a general diet on every occasion necessitated the introduction (in 1467) of the representative system to a certain extent; but the deputies sent by the palatinates represented only the nobles, and were rigidly controlled by the madates of their constituents. Frequently the meetings were superseded by the electors themselves proceeding to hold what were termed "diets under the buckler;"

and after each session *post-comitial diets* were held, when the life of the deputy was in danger if he had deviated from his instructions. But in 1573, on the death of Sigismund-Augustus, the last Jagellon, even the command of the armies and the administration of justice were taken from the Crown—the former being vested in the two *hetmans* or marshals of Poland and Lithuania, and the latter in great supreme tribunals composed of nobles. Their history is throughout a series of desperate struggles with the Muscovites, the Tartars, the Turks, and the revolted Cossacks of the Ukraine; or of murderous civil wars between the armed confederations of the nobles, by whose unconquerable valour the State was, however, repeatedly saved, when apparently on the brink of ruin. Blindly attached to their customs, they were destined to drink to the dregs the bitter consequences of a pitiless aristocracy and a senseless equality.

138. The ceaseless anarchy and consequent weakness of Poland had early suggested to the adjoining states the idea of dismembering her territory; and their can be no doubt that her existence was prolonged a hundred years by the glorious triumphs and widespread renown of John Sobieski. Yet the whole reign of this heroic monarch was one incessant and fruitless struggle to "rescue the republic" (in his own words) "from the insane tyranny of a plebeian noblesse;" and with the death of this last of their national sovereigns the Polish power was virtually extinguished. From that day till the first partition in 1772, strangers had never ceased to reign in Poland; the Saxons, Swedes, Muscovites, Imperialists, and Prussians, by turns ruled its destiny, and the partitioning powers needed not to *conquer* a State which had already fallen to pieces. Taught by this terrible lesson, the Poles at length strove to amend their institutions: the ruinous privileges of the nobles were voluntarily abandoned; and the new constitution of May 1791, besides the abolition of the veto, secured religious toleration, and the gradual enfranchisement of the serfs. But it was now too late. The partisans of the old anarchy instantly took up arms, confederated at Targowitz, and invoked the willing aid of the Empress

Catherine, to restore the disorder so profitable to her. The result was the *second* partition, by Russia and Prussia, in 1793.

139. But the individual courage of the Poles still remained unbroken. Headed by the illustrious Kosciusko, they raised the national standard at Cracow (March 3, 1794), while the populace of Warsaw succeeded in defeating and expelling the Russian garrison of the capital. Notwithstanding the almost total want of regular troops, the native valour of the patriots enabled them to repulse a combined force of Russians and Prussians from before Warsaw. But the Russians, under Suwarroff and Fersen, speedily poured into the country in such numbers as to make resistance hopeless; and the insurrection received a death-blow from the loss of Kosciusko, who was taken prisoner (Oct. 4) in the fatal battle of Maczieiowicz. Warsaw, with its fortified suburb of Praga, still held out; but it was stormed (Nov. 4) by Suwarroff, and 20,000 of the garrison and inhabitants put to the sword—a dreadful carnage, which Russia expiated in the conflagration of Moscow. Poland was now no more; the king was sent prisoner into Russia, and the final partition of the monarchy followed. The remains of Kosciusko's bands, disdaining to live under Muscovite oppression, sought and found an asylum in the armies of France, and contributed by their bravery to bring Napoleon in trumph to the Kremlin.

X. *Campaign of* 1794.

140. While the land forces of France were gradually rising superior to the obstacles which first opposed their efforts, a different fate awaited her fleets. Power at sea cannot spring from the mere energy of destitute warriors with arms in their hands,—a nursery of seamen must be of gradual formation; and hence the naval superiority of Great Britain was apparent from the first. France, at the opening of the war, had 70 frigates and 75 ships of the line; but most of the officers had emigrated, and had been replaced by men deficient both in education and experience. Britain had 129 ships of the line, and above 100

frigates, while 85,000 seamen of the best description were easily drawn from her extensive merchant service.

141. At the commencement of the session of 1794, the British government, in order to check the rapid growth of illegal and revolutionary societies, resorted to the decisive step of proposing the suspension for six months of the Habeas Corpus; and this measure, notwithstanding the vehement opposition of Mr Fox, passed by a large majority. The trials of Hardy, Thirlwall, and Horne Tooke, for high treason, immediately followed; but their acquittal, in spite of the strong evidence adduced against them, was eminently fortunate at the period, as it demonstrated the independence of the courts of justice, and pleased the people with an apparent triumph. The continuance of the war was again fiercely contested in parliament; but the Commons, by a majority of 208 to 55, supported the government. The army was raised to a total amount of 140,000 men, including fencibles and militia, besides 40,000 foreign soldiers on the Continent in British pay; and a fresh loan of £11,000,000 supplied the deficiencies of the revenue.

142. Meanwhile the ascendency of the British navy produced its natural effects. In the West Indies, Tobago, Martinique, St Lucia, and Guadaloupe, were all taken in less than a month by Sir John Jarvis and Sir Charles Grey; and in the Mediterranean, where the destruction of the Toulon fleet had totally paralysed the French navy, Corsica, which was disaffected to republicanism, was subdued by a small force; and the offer of its crown to the King of England, by Paoli and the aristocrats, was accepted. But a more glorious triumph was to come. Twenty-six ships of the line, which the French had, by great exertions, equipped at Brest, put to sea under Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, for the protection of a large convoy of provisions coming from America, and were encountered (May 28) by the English Channel fleet, of equal force, under Lord Howe. Three days were spent in distant manœuvring; but on the 1st of June, a day ever memorable in the British naval annals, the decisive action was fought. Bearing down obliquely on the hostile fleet, with the advantage of the wind,

Lord Howe broke their line near the centre, and thus brought a preponderating force to bear on one-half their squadron. Twelve French ships were thus cut off and overpowered; but so shattered were the British by the gallantry of the defence, that four of the number escaped after having struck their colours. The Vengeur sank with most of her crew; but six remained in the hands of the British, while the remains of the defeated squadron took refuge in Brest. 8000 were killed or wounded on the side of the French, with a loss of only 1158 to the victors; but the American convoy escaped in the confusion, and got safe into a French port.

143. The vast military preparations of the Republic were meanwhile pushed on with unabated activity: 1,200,000 men in arms were at the orders of the Convention; and after all deductions of garrisons, invalids, &c., upwards of 700,000 remained disposable—a force much greater than all the European monarchies could bring against them. The genius of Carnot, and the system of merit-promotion on which he rigidly acted, gave increased efficiency to these formidable numbers; and incredible efforts were made to forward their organisation and equipment. The jealousies of the Allies, at the same time, had reached the verge of a rupture; and the King of Prussia, engaged in the siege of Warsaw, and unable to support a war at once on his eastern and western frontiers, gave official notice of his intention to withdraw from the confederacy. The Prussians were already retreating from the Rhine, when this injurious secession was prevented by the remonstrances of Mr Pitt; and the cabinet of Berlin, in consideration of an enormous subsidy from Great Britain, engaged to retain 62,000 troops in the field.

144. The campaign was opened on the part of the Allies by the capture of Landrecies, which yielded (April 27) after a severe bombardment of ten days, in spite of all the efforts of the Republicans to relieve it. But this advantage was counterbalanced by the defeat of Clairfait (April 25), whose corps, forming the right of the Allied line, was overwhelmed by a superior force under Souham and Moreau, and driven back on Tournay.

Various bloody but indecisive actions followed on the Sambre, and the French were at length repulsed across that river; but in West Flanders the Allies were less successful. On the 18th of May, the scattered columns of the Austrians were attacked and defeated near Turcoing by Souham, with the loss of 3000 men and sixty guns: the Duke of York himself owed his safety to the fleetness of his horse; and it was only the opportune arrival of Clairfait's division which saved them from total rout and destruction. An attempt to force the passage of the Scheldt (May 22) by the main force under Pichegru, led to a sanguinary action near Pont-a-chin, in which the French were repulsed; but none of these encounters led to any decisive result.

145. The policy of Austria had by this time undergone a change. The Imperial councillors, dismayed by the increasing energy of the French, and finding that no cordial or effective co-operation was to be expected from Prussia, began to regard the loss of the Low Countries, for a time at least, as inevitable, and to speculate on securing an equivalent on the side of Poland and Italy. This resolution, however, was for the present kept a profound secret; and though the Emperor quitted the army for Vienna, the contest continued to be waged with unabated vigour. At the end of May, the Republican generals, stimulated by a threat of the guillotine, attempted to recross the Sambre, and though at first repulsed, at length forced the passage and invested Charleroi. They were routed before the town (June 3), and again driven over the river; but on the arrival of Jourdan with 40,000 men from the Moselle, they again appeared before the fortress, again to be defeated by Cobourg, whose army on this occasion was little more than half that opposed to him. On the 18th of June, however, the indomitable Republicans crossed the Sambre for the fifth, and commenced the bombardment of Charleroi for the third time, and Cobourg assembled all his forces for its relief. Pichegru took advantage of his absence to besiege and take Ypres, and Charleroi capitulated to Jourdan on the 25th.

146. The surrender of Charleroi was unknown to the Imperialists, who, on the following day, offered battle for its relief with

75,000 men to 89,000 French on the plains of Fleurus. The battle was one of the most obstinately contested which had yet been fought, and ended without any decisive result. The French had given way on both wings, and their centre was shaken, when the fall of Charleroi became known to the Austrian generals, who, in obedience to their secret orders, immediately fell back. The advantages of victory thus remained with the French, who, pressing their opportunity, advanced from Charleroi ; and Cobourg, first evacuating Mons, abandoned Brussels, after some partial encounters, in the beginning of July, and retired behind the Dyle. The Prussians, meanwhile, had lain inactive on the Rhine during the whole campaign, and in spite of the indignant remonstrances of the British and Dutch, now peremptorily refused to co-operate with their allies ; and in consequence, Clairfait and the Duke of York, in maritime Flanders, found themselves utterly unable to make head against Pichegru. Tournay was evacuated ; Nieuport capitulated ; and at length (July 10) the victorious armies of Pichegru and Jourdan met at Brussels.

147. But the Austrian Cabinet, also, was no more able than the Prussian to bear the weight of a double contest on the Rhine and the Vistula, and was already desirous of an honourable extrication from the war. The Allied forces retired by diverging lines—the British and Hanoverians intent only on covering Antwerp and Holland, the Imperialists on approaching their magazines at Cologne and Coblentz ; thus affording every opportunity of attack to an enterprising enemy. But in pursuance of a secret convention with Cobourg, the Austrians were allowed to retreat unmolested ; while Landrecies, Quesnoy, Condé, and Valenciennes, were recaptured by the French, after slight resistance, before the end of August.

148. The rear of the Republicans being thus secured by the recapture of the frontier fortresses, they resumed the offensive at the end of August. The Duke of York, whose forces were very inferior in number to those opposed to them, retired behind the Meuse ; and after a number of partial actions during September, a general battle was fought at Ruremonde (Oct. 2) between Jour-

dan and Clairfait, who had superseded Cobourg in the chief command. The result was adverse to the Austrians, whose position was forced by the enthusiasm of the French grenadiers, headed by Bernadotte, and they retreated with the loss of 3000 men. This battle decided the fate of Flanders, which the Imperialists abandoned, withdrawing their whole force beyond the Rhine. Bonn and Cologne were occupied by the French ; and the strong fortress of Maestricht, with 350 pieces of cannon, was forced to capitulate (Nov. 4). The success of Pichegru on the side of Holland was not less decisive. Bois-le-Duc was taken in a fortnight (Oct. 10), after a resistance disgraceful to the Dutch arms ; and the Duke of York, after a fruitless attempt to maintain the line of the Waal, was forced to fall back behind that river. The French immediately besieged and took Venloo ; and the capture of Nimeguen (Nov. 4) completed the dismay of the Dutch, who unjustly reproached the British with having failed to save this important place from an army double their numbers. The Duke of York soon after set out for England, leaving the command to General Walmoden.

149. But it was now evident that the coalition was rapidly approaching its dissolution. Prussia had thrown off the mask, and opened negotiations with France at Bâle ; and in the Diet of the German Empire (Dec. 5) 57 votes were given for peace, and 36 for the mediation of Prussia. The Dutch States-General, alarmed by the spread of Jacobinism among their subjects, and considering themselves abandoned by the further retreat of Walmoden to Deventer, made urgent proposals of peace ; but they were rejected by the French government, and orders were sent to Pichegru to invade the country, while the unusual severity of the frost rendered the canals passable. The French accordingly (Jan. 8, 1795) crossed the Waal in force ; and the Stadtholder, perceiving all further resistance hopeless, embarked for England. Revolutionary movements in all the great towns immediately ensued : Amsterdam, Leyden, Utrecht, and Haarlem, welcomed the invaders as deliverers ; and, to complete the wonders of the campaign, the Dutch fleet, frozen up at the Texel, was captured by a body of French

cavalry which crossed the Zuyder Zee on the ice! The discipline and moderation of the Republican soldiers during this tide of success was admirable; but forced requisitions were made on the Dutch government to an enormous amount, and the famous Bank of Amsterdam with difficulty withstood the shock of this first taste of military domination.

150. Meanwhile, little advantage had been gained by either party on the Upper Rhine; but in the south, the Republican armies, after their forces were released by the fall of Lyons and Toulon, attained a decisive superiority. During April and May the passes of Mont Cenis and the Little St Bernard were carried by the French under Dumas; and Generals Massena and Buonaparte were equally successful in obtaining possession of the defiles on the frontier of Nice. But these advantages were not followed up by the government, and the troops remained inactive during the summer months.

151. The war with Spain was more decisive in its results. The efforts of the cabinet of Madrid were paralysed by the disorder of their finances; and their troops, recently so triumphant, were no longer able to cope with the Republicans under Dugommier, flushed as they were with their success at Toulon. The French, assuming the offensive, attacked the Spanish commander, La Union (April 30), in his lines at Ceret; the Spaniards, seized with a panic, fled in confusion to Figueras, abandoning 140 guns, with all their baggage and ammunition; and Collioure was retaken, after a brave defence, by the French. In the Western Pyrenees, Spain was invaded (June 3) through the valley of the Bastan; and during June and July all the Spanish positions were forced in detail. San Sebastian capitulated (Aug. 4) without a shot being fired, and Colomera had difficulty in arresting the advance of the enemy on Pampeluna; while the guillotine was erected at San Sebastian, and the blood of priests and nobles shed without mercy. On the eastern frontier, meanwhile, the fortress of Bellegarde had surrendered (Sept. 12) notwithstanding the efforts of La Union; and Dugommier, entering the Spanish territory, stormed the formidable lines near Figueras

(Sept. 17), but was himself killed in the moment of victory. A second general action (Nov. 20) terminated in another defeat of the Spaniards, who here lost their general, La Union. Figueras surrendered on 24th November; and Rosas, though strongly garrisoned, was reduced before the end of January 1795. These complicated disasters induced the Spanish government to make overtures for peace; but operations were suspended for a time by the severity of the winter.

152. The contest in la Vendée had, in the mean time, been revived by the barbarities of the Convention, and the infernal system of extermination pursued by Thurreau. The Royalists again rose in arms under Charette, and stormed several of his intrenched camps; while a new and terrible warfare, called the *Chouan War*, was kindled in Brittany by the cruelty with which the Breton peasants were persecuted for sheltering the fugitive Vendeans. Puisaye, Bourmont, George Cadouhal, and other Breton nobles, were the leaders of these new insurgents, 30,000 of whom, in guerilla bands of 2000 or 3000 each, overspread the country. A communication was opened with Britain; and so formidable did this insurrection soon become, that, before the end of the year, not less than 80,000 troops were employed in its suppression.

XI. *Campaign of* 1795.

153. The conquest of Holland, and the other successes of the French during 1794, led to a dissolution of the confederacy against the Republic early in the following year. On the 22d of January a peace with Prussia was signed at Bâle, by which the King acknowledged the Republic, and engaged not to oppose the extension of the French frontier to the Rhine: Holland, already in the hands of the French, was compelled to conclude with them an alliance offensive and defensive;—and the whole weight of the war thus fell on Austria and Britain. A treaty was accordingly concluded between these two powers (May 4), by which the Emperor, in consideration of a subsidy of £6,000,000, engaged to maintain 200,000 men in the field during the ensuing

campaign;—the British land forces were raised to 150,000, 108 ships of the line put in commission, new taxes imposed, and new loans contracted. An alliance, offensive and defensive, was further signed (Feb. 18) between Austria and Russia, and Britain: but the co-operation of the Czarina went no further than sending a squadron to join the North Sea blockading fleet under Admiral Duncan.

154. During the winter, the French had succeeded in equipping 13 ships of the line in Toulon, which sailed early in March with the intention of recovering Corsica. They were engaged, however (March 13), by an equal British force under Lord Hotham, and driven back with the loss of two ships captured: the land forces were disembarked, and the expedition given up. On the Piedmontese frontier, also, the Sardinian troops, reinforced by 15,000 Austrians, obtained some partial advantages during May and June against the French, whose troops were almost starving: but powerful reinforcements enabled the Republicans to hold their ground. The peace with Spain, however,—by which (July 20) the French Republic was recognised, and the Spanish half of St Domingo ceded,—enabled the government to detach the whole Pyrenean army to the support of General Scherer, who had succeeded Kellermann in the command of the army of Italy. On the 23d of November, the French attacked the Austrians in their position at Loano, and, after a conflict of two days, the enemy's centre was forced by Massena and Augereau, and the Imperialists fled with the loss of 7000 men, 80 guns, and all their stores. But the season was too far advanced to prosecute this success, and the victors took up winter quarters on the ground they had occupied.

155. The unconquerable Charette had maintained the contest in la Vendée, with a few thousand men, throughout the winter; but the fall of Robespierre had disposed the government to entertain more moderate views, and a pacification (which comprehended Stofflet and the Chouans) was at length concluded (April 1795) on terms highly advantageous and honourable to the insurgents. But the calm was not of long continuance.

The emigrants had long been soliciting the British government to assist them in effecting a landing on the western coast; and the undertaking was facilitated by the defeat of the Brest fleet, which, after a partial action, had been driven into l'Orient by Lord Bridport with the loss of three ships captured. On the 27th of June, accordingly, 10,000 men under Puisaye and d'Hervilly were landed in Quiberon Bay, with 80 guns, and stores and military clothing to an immense amount, intended to equip all the Royalists of western France. The Chouans flocked to join them; but their desultory mode of fighting was found unsuited for co-operation with regular troops; and after some indecisive actions, the Chouans returned to their own districts, while the emigrants were blockaded by Hoche in Fort Penthièvre and the peninsula of Quiberon—Charette and the Vendeans, in consequence of injudicious or misunderstood orders from the Royalist Committee at Paris, remaining inactive. On the arrival (July 15) of a strong reinforcement under the Comte de Sombreuil, Puisaye attempted to force the Republican intrenchments—but he was repulsed with loss into his own lines; and on the 20th, Hoche took advantage of a dark and windy night to attack the fort, and succeeded in carrying it by escalade. A horrible carnage ensued. The Royalists were driven into the sea, while the wind prevented the British squadron from standing close in to their relief: numbers were drowned, or fell under the fire of the enemy—Sombreuil, with the remainder, capitulated, on promise of safety, to General Humbert. But Tallien, who had been sent down as government commissioner, prevailed on the Convention to disregard this compact; and, notwithstanding the efforts of the brave Hoche, the prisoners, to the number of 800, men of the best blood of France, were tried by a military commission as rebels, and doomed to die. They perished with heroic fortitude; and the meadow, near Auray, where they met their fate, is still venerated by the inhabitants under the name of "the field of martyrs." This dreadful blow ruined the Royalist cause in the west, the efforts in favour of which amounted thenceforward only to an inconsiderable guerilla warfare.

156. The armies on the Rhine had remained almost motionless throughout the early part of the campaign; the surrender of Luxembourg (June 25), which had long been blockaded by the Republicans, being the only event of importance. This inaction arose partly from the extreme destitution of the French troops, of which the over-caution of the Austrian generals prevented their taking advantage; and partly from secret negotiations, by which it was hoped that Pichegru might be induced to follow the example of Dumourier, and embrace the cause of the Bourbons. These overtures, however, proved fruitless. Jourdan's army crossed the Rhine (Sept. 6) in the direction of Dusseldorf; and Pichegru, passing the river near Mannheim, compelled that important city to capitulate (Sept. 20). Jourdan now invested Mayence on the right bank; but Clairfait, who had received a reinforcement of 15,000 Hungarians, succeeded in turning the French left, and in compelling Jourdan to repass the Rhine in the utmost confusion, though with no great loss of men. Clairfait now assailed the lines before Mayence; and these vast works, with all their stores and artillery, were carried (Oct. 29) by the well-directed attacks of the Austrian general. Pichegru was at the same time compelled to fall back before Wurmser; and Mannheim, left to its own resources, was recaptured by the Austrians (Nov. 28), with its garrison of 9000 men. The French arms were thus everywhere worsted: but the Imperialists were equally exhausted with their opponents, and a suspension of hostilities was agreed on (Dec. 16), both armies going into winter quarters on the left bank of the Rhine.

157. The capture of the Cape of Good Hope (Sept. 16) by the British under Sir James Craig, was the only other important event of this year—the French marine being too completely broken by their defeats in the Mediterranean and at l'Orient to attempt anything of consequence. Thus the results of the campaign had, on the whole, been highly favourable to the Allies: the Republicans had been checked in the career of conquest, and driven with disgrace behind the Rhine, by the able movements of Clairfait and Wurmser; and the lassitude and financial

embarrassments following in the train of the previous unparalleled revolutionary exertions, seemed to indicate the approach of a successful termination of the war.

XII. *Establishment of the Directory.*

158. The leaders who had overthrown Robespierre were little better than himself; it was the effort of one set of assassins to save their own lives from the vengeance of another faction. But the revulsion of public feeling was not the less decisive. A new party now arose, formed of the moderates of all parties and the remnant of the Royalists, who were styled *Thermidorians*, from the day on which the tyrants fell, and who soon placed themselves in determined opposition to the Jacobin Club and the remnant of the formidable committees.

159. The first trial of strength took place (July 30) on the motion of Barère to continue Fouquier Tinville as public accuser, to which Fréron boldly replied, "I propose that we purge the earth of that monster, and send him to lick up in hell the blood which he has shed!" He was accordingly tried and condemned, dying with the saturnine insensibility which characterised him. The *law of suspected persons* was repealed, the Revolutionary Tribunal remodelled, and the captives gradually released. Ere long, the Thermidorians derived powerful support from a body called the *Jeunesse Dorée*, composed of youths of respectable birth, who were pledged to hostility to the Reign of Terror by the loss of parents or relations during its continuance. Their contests with the democrats were incessant, and a threat of Billaud Varennes, who hinted at the revival of past atrocities, occasioned the closing of the Jacobin Club. That ancient den of blood was assailed by the Jeunesse Dorée, supported by the national guards: the members were dispersed, and an attempt at reunion (Sept. 8) was punished by a more signal discomfiture. The reaction towards humanity was still further evinced by the condemnation of Carrier, the infamous agent of the *noyades* and other barbarities at Nantes, and by the repeal of the penal decree against

priests and nobles. The popular feeling ran every day more strongly in favour of the Jeunesse Dorée, whose favourite air, *Le Reveil du Peuple*, supplanted the Marseillaise hymn in the orchestras of the theatres. The maximum and other oppressive enactments were rescinded; and the reappearance of Louvet, Lanjuinais, Isnard, and other Girondists who had escaped proscription by flight, gave fresh strength to the Thermidorian party.

160. Tallien and his friends at length ventured on the impeachment of the remaining Jacobin leaders—Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barère, and Vadier; but this bold step inflamed all the fears of the democrats, already irritated by the scarcity of provisions and the depreciation of assignats. A revolt was organised in the faubourgs (April 1, 1795); and a formidable band of pikemen, drunken women, and all the revolting concomitants of the early revolutionary mobs, broke into the hall of the Convention; but the insurgents were dispersed by Pichegru and the Jeunesse Dorée; and the victory of the Thermidorians was used with a humanity to which France had been long a stranger. Collot d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and Barère were transported to Cayenne, and the remainder of the Jacobin leaders confined in the castle of Ham.

161. But the remnant of that sanguinary faction was not subdued; and they skilfully availed themselves of the misery to which famine had reduced the armed and ferocious masses of the faubourgs, to excite one more desperate effort for the recovery of their lost ascendency. The conspiracy, which had been for some time in agitation, exploded on the 20th May (1st of Prairial): —30,000 pikemen, vociferating for "Bread, the Jacobins, and the constitution of 1793," surrounded the Assembly—and the national guard mustered tardily and ineffectually to the rescue. The chair was occupied by Boissy d'Anglas, whose conduct in this extreme peril was worthy of Rome in its best days. His friend Feraud was murdered by the savage mob before his eyes; but he maintained his post throughout the day, and was only at last forced from it by his friends. The insurgents believed their victory complete, and were proceeding forthwith to orga-

nise a new government; but the Jeunesse Dorée and the troops of the Sections at length arrived in force, and, after a bloody strife, the pikemen were routed and expelled from the hall. On the following day, however, they returned in still greater numbers; cannon were planted on both sides; but the multitude were at length appeased, and a pacification effected. Taught by these narrow escapes, the Convention resolved on vigorous measures. Six of the Jacobin remnant suffered death; and the faubourgs, menaced by an overwhelming force of national guards and regular troops (May 24), were reduced to unconditional submission. Their cannon and the formidable pikes were taken from them, and the revolutionary committees suppressed: the national guards themselves were newly organised, and the workmen and indigent citizens excluded; and on 17th June the Revolutionary Tribunal itself was quietly suppressed by a simple decree. And thus ended the reign of the multitude, six years after its establishment at the storm of the Bastille. The populace, now disarmed, took no share in the further changes of government, which were brought about by the middle classes and the army.

162. The gradual relaxation of the rigours of the Reign of Terror forms an interesting epoch in this history. The assignats, indeed, presented an inextricable difficulty: they were originally intended to be withdrawn from circulation as funds were realised by the sale of the national lands; but as no purchasers could be found, the evil increased, till a national bankruptcy (as will appear in the sequel) was the result. These securities fell to a hundred and fiftieth part of their nominal value; and the abolition at the same time of the maximum, and the forced requisitions of food, reduced the inhabitants of cities to almost inconceivable distress. The Parisians experienced for months the horrors of a besieged town: for several weeks each citizen received only two ounces of coarse black bread daily, by virtue of a government ticket; and it was the despair thence arising which produced the great revolts by which the Thermidorians were so nearly overthrown, and the Reign of Terror restored.

163. In the general abandonment of democratic principles on the

fall of the Jacobins, the reaction, as is usual, went into the opposite extreme. Many of the Jeunesse Dorée openly became Royalists; and in the southern provinces terrible measures of retaliation were directed against the Terrorists, who were everywhere slaughtered by the relatives of those whom they had murdered. The death (June 9) of the infant king, Louis XVII., whom the 9th Thermidor came too late to save from the effects of previous ill-treatment, powerfully awakened the public sympathy; and the surviving child of Louis XVI. (afterwards Duchess of Angoulême) was liberated shortly after. Meanwhile the Convention was occupied in framing the new constitution (the third within a few years), which differed widely from its predecessors. The ruinous error of uniting all the legislative powers in one body had now been fully demonstrated; and the Assembly was divided into two councils—the Council of Five Hundred, which alone originated laws, and the Council of Ancients, composed of men of forty years of age and upwards, which had the power of passing or rejecting them. The privilege of electing members was at the same time transferred from the body of the people to the colleges of delegates; and the executive power was vested in five Directors, nominated by the Five Hundred, and approved by the Ancients, one of whom by rotation was to retire every year.

164. This new constitution excited the most violent ferment throughout France, in which Paris as usual took the lead, and which was brought to its height by a decree that two-thirds of the present Convention should remain in the new legislature. The Royalist agents, joined by many of the Thermidorians, who were disappointed in their expectations of power, fomented the popular discontent, and a fresh revolt was openly talked of. The Section Lepelletier, the richest and most powerful in Paris, became the focus of the Royalist effervescence; and a provisional government, called the Central Committee, was established by its leaders. The Convention, however, lost none of its energy. Though both the Jacobins and Royalists were opposed to them, the army still remained; and 5000 regular troops were soon assembled near Paris.

165. The collision commenced on 3d October (11th Vendemiaire),

when, the electors of Paris having assembled at the Théâtre Français, under the protection of the national guards, General Menou was ordered by the Convention to disperse them. But Menou lacked the decision requisite for civil contests: he entered into a parley, and withdrew without effecting anything; giving by his retreat fresh courage to the insurgents, who resolved to attack on the following day. But during the night Menou had been superseded in the command by Barras, who chose as his lieutenant a young artillery officer, named NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon. By his advice, the artillery at the camp of Sablons, amounting to fifty guns, was instantly brought in, and placed so as to command all the avenues to the Tuileries, against which the columns of national guards, 30,000 strong, advanced from all quarters. The defenders did not number more than 6000; but their powerful artillery gave them a decisive advantage over their opponents, who were without cannon, and whose dense ranks were enfiladed at every point by the murderous grape-shot of the regulars. By nine in the morning of the 4th, the victory of the troops was everywhere complete; and thus ended the last popular insurrection, the promoters of which were not the rabble, who had so long stained Paris with blood, but the flower of its citizens.

166. The Convention, swayed by the influence of the Girondists, used its triumph with moderation and magnanimity. Few executions followed; and the voice of Buonaparte was constantly heard on the side of clemency. The elections of the Councils of Ancients and of Five Hundred were equitably conducted. The Assembly, however, took the precaution, in order to guard against a return to royalty, to name for Directors five persons who had voted for the King's death—Lareveillère-Lepaux, Letourneur, Rewbell, Barras, and Carnot. Their last acts were the publication of a general amnesty, and the change of the name of the Place de la Revolution into that of Place de la Concorde. And thus the last days of an Assembly, stained with so much blood, were gilded by an act of clemency, of which, as Thibaudeau justly said, the annals of kings furnished few examples.

PART III.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DIRECTORY TO THE SEIZURE OF POWER BY BUONAPARTE.—1795-99.

I. *Campaign of* 1796 *in Germany.*

167. WHEN the Directory were called to the helm, on the suppression of the revolt of the Sections, they found the affairs of the Republic, both abroad and at home, in a very critical situation. The finances were in such inextricable confusion, that 10,000 francs in paper was equivalent to scarce 20 francs in specie; and the taxes, according to the estimate of the minister Ramel, were 1,500,000,000 francs (£60,000,000) in arrear. The troops, destitute of everything, had been disheartened by the late disasters on the Rhine, and the soldiers were deserting in great numbers; and the civil war in la Vendée was still unextinguished. On the other hand, the peace with Spain had enabled them to reinforce their armies both in la Vendée and on the Italian frontier. Prussia had retired from the struggle, and the Low Countries were subdued. Britain, baffled on the Continent, was not likely to take any effective part by land; and it was plain, therefore, that the whole weight of the contest must fall on the unaided strength of Austria.

168. A triple alliance had indeed been concluded (Sept. 27, 1795) between Austria, Russia, and Britain: but Russia was too far distant to afford material assistance; and Britain, at the end of 1795 and beginning of 1796, was internally little less distracted than France. Party spirit had become so violent, that many of the popular leaders had come to wish, and hesitated not to betray their wish, for the success of the enemy. The cry for parliamentary reform was exasperated by the high price of provisions, which, though naturally resulting from the increased consump-

tion required by the war, was attributed by the demagogues solely to the ministry: and the King himself was attacked by the populace when proceeding to open parliament (Oct. 29, 1795). Addresses for the continuance of the war were nevertheless carried by large majorities in both houses, in spite of the vehement opposition of Mr Fox and the Whigs. But still more violent debates arose, both in the parliament and the country, on the bills for preventing sedition, &c., popularly stigmatised as the Pitt and Grenville Acts; which prohibited all public meetings not held under the sanction of a magistrate, and authorised the instant arrest of all who used seditious language on these occasions. Mr Fox and his followers inveighed against these measures as equivalent to the establishment of despotism: but they were passed by overwhelming majorities; and were certainly not found, in practice, to produce the mischief which their opponents so confidently predicted. As a concession to the other party, an overture for peace was made (March 8, 1796) to the Directory; but the announced determination of France to retain the Low Countries at once closed the attempt at negotiation.

169. The first active operations of this memorable campaign were in la Vendée, where Hoche, one of the ablest and most moderate of the Republican leaders, heading an army of 100,000 men, succeeded in terminating the contest by the capture and execution of the Royalist chiefs, Stofflet and Charette. Meanwhile the cabinet of Vienna prosecuted its levies with activity. Clairfait, the victor of Mayence, was superseded in the chief command on the Rhine by the Archduke Charles—a step which, however ill-deserved by Clairfait, was soon justified by the great abilities of the young prince, "whose soul" (in the words of his great antagonist Napoleon) "belonged to the heroic age, but his heart to that of gold." The forces on the Rhine were nearly equal on both sides, but the Imperialists were greatly superior in cavalry. On the Lower Rhine, the Archduke had 71,000 infantry and 21,000 cavalry, to oppose the army of the Sambre and Meuse under Jourdan, which amounted to 63,000 foot and 11,000 horse; while Moreau on the Upper Rhine, with 71,000 infantry, and

6,500 cavalry, confronted Wurmser, who was at the head of 62,000 foot, and 22,000 horse. But of this latter force, 30,000 men and the general were despatched, early in the campaign, to reinforce the army of Italy.

170. The plans of the Aulic Council were, on the Upper Rhine, to attack Landau and Strasburg, while the Archduke passed the Moselle and reconquered Flanders. But they kept their armies unaccountably inactive till the end of May; though a victory at that time on the Sarre or Moselle would probably have called off Buonaparte from Italy, by compelling the French army on the Rhine to break up into garrisons for the frontier fortresses. At length (May 30) the French general, Kleber, passed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, and gained some advantages over the corps opposed to him: but the Archduke, bringing down on him his main forces from Mayence, drove him back with loss across the river. Moreau in the mean time, after misleading the Austrians by a feigned attack on Mannheim, succeeded, on the night of 23d June, in passing the Rhine at Strasburg with his whole army, and surprising Kehl—an exploit which has been highly celebrated, but the hazard of which was much lessened by the weakness and dispersion of the enemy's forces. The Archduke (now left sole in command by the departure of Wurmser for Italy) instantly hastened to repel this new danger; and a series of bloody but indecisive encounters ensued on the banks of the Murg and the skirts of the Black Forest. The Archduke at last, fearing the interruption of his communications, drew off, in the middle of July, towards Stuttgard and the Neckar; while the French detachments spread through the Black Forest to the Swiss frontier. At the same time, on the Lower Rhine, General Wartensleben had been forced back to the Maine by the now superior forces of Jourdan: and the French general, following up his advantage, had occupied Frankfort.

171. Germany was thus invaded at two separate points, by armies greatly superior in numbers to those opposed to them—that under the Archduke having left 30,000 men in garrison on the Rhine. But it was now that the consummate generalship of the

prince showed itself. Retiring slowly, and disputing every inch of ground without risking a pitched battle, he fell back from the Neckar to the Danube, breaking all the bridges; while Wartensleben, pursued by Jourdan, retreated in a similar manner to the Naab. But on 16th August, the Archduke, leaving Latour with 35,000 men to make head against Moreau, suddenly marched northwards with 28,000, and joining Wartensleben, fell with united and superior forces on Jourdan. The French vanguard, under Bernadotte, was crushed at Teining on the 22d; and two days later the main body was defeated at Amberg, and saved from destruction only by the firmness of Ney and the rearguard. The battle of Wurtzburg (Sept. 2) ended in a still more decisive overthrow of the Republicans, who fled rather than retreated across the Lahn, abandoning great part of their artillery. At Aschaffenburg, being reinforced by Marceau with the corps which had blockaded Mayence, Jourdan again (Sept. 16) awaited the attack of the Archduke, only again to be routed at all points; and another engagement (19th) at Altenkirchen, where the gallant Marceau was mortally wounded, completed the discomfiture of his army. The French recrossed the Rhine in the most complete state of disorganisation, having lost 20,000 men in their retreat from the frontiers of Bohemia.

172. While the Austrian prince was pursuing this victorious career on the Maine, Latour was hard pressed on the Danube by Moreau, whose army nearly doubled in number the force opposed to him. After defeating the Austrians, however, at Friedberg (Aug. 26), Moreau continued for three weeks occupied in inconsiderable movements in Bavaria; till the tidings of an attack upon Kehl (Sept. 13), after the battle of Wurtzburg, roused him to a sense of his critical position. On the 25th of that month he commenced his retreat of 200 miles from the Iser to the Rhine, with the hostile columns gathering round him from all quarters; but his army of 70,000 men was yet unbroken, and full of confidence in its commander. Turning on Latour before his communication with the other corps was complete, he inflicted on him a severe defeat (Oct. 2) at Biberach; and so ably were his measures

concerted, that he passed the dangerous defiles of the Black Forest without confusion or loss, and debouched into the valley of the Rhine before the Archduke arrived to intercept him. But here his good fortune ended:—in two successive battles at Emmendingen (Oct. 19) and Hohenblau (Oct. 20), the victory remained with the Austrians; and Moreau sought shelter for his shattered battalions on the left bank of the Rhine.

173. Germany being thus delivered from invaders, the Archduke proposed to the Aulic Council to detach a powerful reinforcement into Italy, in order to co-operate with Alvinzi and liberate Wurmser; but this well-judged advice was rejected, and positive orders given for the attack of Huningen and Kehl, which the French still held on the right bank of the Rhine. Kehl was accordingly invested (Oct. 9): but the siege, from the advanced season of the year, and the presence of the French army on the opposite bank, presented obstacles of no ordinary kind; and the obstinacy and length of the defence did honour to Desaix and St Cyr. At length, after the outer works had been stormed and the bulwarks riddled by 100,000 cannon-shot and 25,000 bombs, it capitulated on 9th January 1797—and Huningen shared the same fate on 1st February. Thus ended the German campaign of 1796, the military successes of which, on the part of the Austrians, were mainly owing to the application, by the Archduke, of those strategic principles which simultaneously conduced to the Italian triumphs of Buonaparte. But the moral effects which resulted from the French irruption into Germany were not less important. The cruel exactions and arbitrary conduct of the Republicans effectually opened the eyes of the people to the true nature of democratic ambition—their retreating armies were harassed, and the stragglers cut off, by the peasantry; and hence may be dated the growth of that patriotic spirit which ultimately rescued Germany from foreign subjugation.

174. The same year also saw a still closer bond formed between Prussia and France, by the conclusion of a convention at Berlin (Aug. 5) ostensibly for no other purpose than securing the neutrality of Northern Germany. But there was also a secret

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understanding, by which Prussia recognised the French boundary of the Rhine, and the principle of indemnifying the princes thus dispossessed by the secularisation of the ecclesiastical states of the Empire,—an atrocious system, the immediate result of which was to put the cabinet of Berlin at the mercy of France as to German affairs, and which soon after brought about the fall of the Germanic constitution and empire.

175. While these important transactions were in progress on the Continent, the British flag continued to ride triumphant on every part of the ocean; while the French fleets, blockaded in their ports, could neither protect their commerce, nor acquire maritime experience. During the present year, Grenada, St Lucia, Essequibo, and Demerara in the West Indies, and the Batavian settlements of Ceylon, Malacca, and Cochin in the East, were reduced by the British; and a powerful Dutch armament, destined to retake the Cape, was captured in Saldanha Bay by Admiral Elphinstone. St Domingo still continued distracted by the servile war which had been kindled by the extravagant visions of the French philanthropists; and neither were the British able to acquire, nor the French to retain, any control over its savage and infuriated population. But notwithstanding her naval successes, the situation of Britain was sufficiently discouraging. The easily excited jealousy of Spain against the British naval power had been artfully fanned by the Directory, till the court of Madrid was induced (Aug. 19) to conclude the treaty of St Ildefonso, for an offensive and defensive alliance with France; and this fatal compact, whence arose all the subsequent disasters of Spain, was followed up (Oct. 2) by a formal declaration of war against Great Britain. Thus Britain saw the whole European coast, from the Texel to Gibraltar, arrayed against her; and Mr Pitt, impressed with these dangers, again made overtures for a general peace. Lord Malmesbury, the British envoy, reached Paris on 22d October, and the negotiations continued for two months; but as the British government, in return for the offered recognition of the French Republic, and restoration of the French and Dutch colonies, insisted on the restoration of

Holland, the Low Countries, and Lombardy, to their former owners, they were at length abruptly broken off, and Lord Malmesbury ordered to leave Paris.

176. The Directory were probably induced to act in this manner by their hopes of the success of a measure, from the peril of which, in truth, Great Britain was saved rather by the winds of heaven than her own exertions. This was the invasion of Ireland, where a vast republican conspiracy, pervading the whole country, had for some time been organised, with the view of overturning the government, and breaking off the British connection. Hoche, with 25,000 of his best troops, was appointed for the service; and the expedition (15 ships of the line and 18 frigates and corvettes, besides transports) sailed on the 15th December. But the fleet was scattered by a storm: Hoche himself, who was on board a frigate, was separated from the rest, and with difficulty regained the French coast; and though Admiral Bouvet reached Bantry Bay with part of his squadron, he was unable to effect a landing, and arrived again at Brest on 31st December.

177. The close of this year was marked by the death of the Empress Catherine of Russia, after a reign of 36 years, in which her masculine abilities and great qualities as a sovereign contrast forcibly with her vices as a woman. Her latest project was the formation of a European confederacy against France, and she had given orders for a levy of 150,000 men for the German campaigns—a design which, if then carried into effect, might have hastened by nearly twenty years the close of the war, but which was speedily abandoned by her successor, the Emperor Paul. The end of the same year also witnessed the voluntary resignation of power by the most spotless character whom modern history has to commemorate—the illustrious Washington, who, having raised his country by his exertions to the rank of an independent state, closed his career by relinquishing the authority which a grateful people had bestowed.

II. *Italian Campaign of* 1796-7.

178. NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE was born at Ajaccio in Corsica, Aug. 15, 1769, in the same year with the Duke of Wellington: "Providence," said Louis XVIII., "owed us that counterpoise." His family, though in reduced circumstances, was noble; but his father died at the age of thirty-eight of a cancer in the stomach, the same complaint which afterwards proved fatal to Napoleon himself; and his early education devolved on his mother—a woman of great beauty and remarkable powers of mind. At an early age he was sent to the military school of Brienne, where he was the fellow-pupil of Pichegru; but his proficiency, though respectable, was not remarkable, except in his favourite study of mathematics. The quickness of his temper, though partially subdued, could never be extinguished; and in the private notes transmitted to government by the masters, he was characterised as "domineering, imperious, and headstrong." When fourteen, he was sent to complete his studies at the Ecole Militaire of Paris, and in 1785 received a commission as lieutenant of artillery. At this period he was not popular among his companions, who considered him haughty and irascible; but high expectations were even then formed of him by the few whose acquaintance he thought proper to cultivate. His powers of reasoning were already remarkable; his knowledge and general information not less so, considering his age and opportunities; and there can be little doubt that, had he not become the first conqueror, he would have been one of the greatest writers, as he was certainly one of the profoundest thinkers, of modern times.

179. On the outbreak of the Revolution, he adhered, like most of the young subalterns, to the popular party; but with the Reign of Terror his sentiments changed, and he then imbibed that profound hatred of Jacobinism, which he evinced and avowed throughout his after-life. His first service was in his own country; but he shortly afterwards received the direction of the artillery at the siege of Toulon, the successful result of which

was mainly due to his advice and exertions. Here he first encountered Junot, afterwards Marshal-Duke of Abrantes, and Duroc, one of his few personal friends; and the high reputation which he here acquired procured for him the command of the artillery in the army of Italy in the campaign of 1794. But in July of that year he was arrested after the fall of Robespierre, with whose brother he had been intimate; and though speedily released from confinement, he was deprived (Sept.) of his rank as general, and remained in obscurity, and almost in want, till brought forward by Barras in the manner detailed in page 96, to save the Directory and the Convention on the 13th Vendemiaire. A scarcely less important event, in reference to his ultimate fortunes, was the accidental acquaintance which he formed at this juncture with Madame Beauharnais (afterwards the Empress Josephine), whose first husband had fallen by the guillotine in the Reign of Terror. The grace and beauty of this celebrated lady produced an impression on the young general, which motives of ambition contributed to strengthen, as she was known to exercise considerable influence over Barras. Buonaparte married her, March 9, 1796, and with her received, through the joint interest of Barras and Carnot, the command of the Italian armies, for the headquarters of which he set out twelve days after his nuptials.

180. The force of which he now assumed the command did not amount to more than 42,000 men, in the most miserable state of equipment—the cavalry was almost dismounted, and the artillery did not exceed 60 pieces. They had neither tents, magazines, nor pay, and had for a long time been on half rations. The arsenals and garrisons in the rear, however, in some degree supplied these deficiencies; the soldiers themselves were mostly young, hardy, and inured to privation; and their chiefs, Massena, Augereau, Serrurier, and Berthier, already began to give tokens of their future eminence. Opposed to these, the Allies had 50,000 men and 200 guns, under Beaulieu and Colli; while 24,000 Sardinians confronted Kellermann's army of nearly equal strength, and guarded the avenues of Savoy—the French mostly

occupying the crests of the mountains, and their opponents the valleys leading to the Italian plains.

181. The plan of Buonaparte was to separate the Austrians from the Sardinians under Colli, by penetrating into Piedmont through the Col di Cadibone; but as this manœuvre necessitated the accumulation of the bulk of his troops on the extreme right, Beaulieu moved towards Genoa, in order to counteract it, and the armies came into contact at Montenotte. Had the attack of the Austrians been successful, it would have cut in two the French line of march; but the determined valour of Colonel Rampon and the advance, gave Buonaparte time to cross the ridge by night, and get in the rear of the enemy, who were enveloped and completely routed (April 12). Such was Buonaparte's first victory; and this success was followed up by Augereau, who routed the Sardinians at Millesimo, and captured General Provero with 1500 men; while Buonaparte himself, with Massena and La Harpe, carried the position of Dego by storm from the Austrians, and maintained it in spite of the gallant efforts of Wukassovich to regain it. The fertile plains of Piedmont now lay open to the victors, who turned all their efforts to crush the remaining strength of the Sardinian army: the intrenched camp of Ceva was turned; and Colli, defeated by Serrurier in a severe action at Mondovi (April 21), was compelled to abandon Cherasco to the French. The danger of the capital now struck the court of Turin with consternation; and though the French had no siege artillery, and were still inferior, particularly in cavalry, to the Allies, a negotiation was opened with Buonaparte, and the fortresses of Coni, Ceva, and Alessandria, given up as the price of an armistice. The definitive treaty was signed on 15th May, by which the King of Sardinia withdrew from the coalition, and ceded Savoy, Nice, and Western Piedmont to the French Republic, whose troops were allowed a free passage through his remaining dominions.

182. Beaulieu had retired behind the Po in order to cover the Milanese territory; and Buonaparte, whose rear was now secured by the Sardinian treaty, lost no time in pursuing him.

While the attention of the enemy was directed to Valence, he succeeded (May 7) in passing the Po at Placentia, below its junction with the Ticino; thus at once turning the river defences of Lombardy. The Austrian general forthwith advanced from Pavia with his army, now considerably reinforced, to repair this mischance; but his divisions were routed in detail at Fombio and Pizzighitone, and compelled to concentrate themselves behind the Adda, for the defence of Milan. The Duke of Parma was now compelled to purchase terms from the French, by the payment of 2,000,000 francs, and the surrender of twenty of his most valuable paintings—an unjustifiable species of spoliation now first introduced into warfare, but which was persevered in through all the subsequent conquests of the French. In the mean time Buonaparte pushed rapidly onwards for Milan. The passage of the Adda, at the wooden bridge of Lodi, was defended by 12,000 foot and 4000 horse, the élite of the Austrian army; but the French general, heading his grenadiers in person, forced the perilous defile (May 10) in the face of a tremendous fire of grape-shot, and the enemy retreated with the loss of 2000 men and 20 guns. The heroism displayed by their young commander in this action had an extraordinary effect on the soldiery, who bestowed on him the familiar surname, ever afterwards remembered, of the Little Corporal. Beaulieu now retired behind the Mincio, and Buonaparte entered Milan (May 15) with all the pomp of a victor, and amid the acclamations of the populace, who enthusiastically hailed him as their regenerator from the long thraldom of Transalpine oppression, and the destined restorer of republican freedom; while national guards were organised, and revolutionary authorities established throughout Lombardy.

183. But the hopes of the Milanese were soon cruelly dispelled by the heavy contributions levied by the victors, whose system of "making war support war" now began to develop itself. The enormous sum of 20,000,000 of francs (£800,000) was exacted from Milan alone; the Duke of Modena was compelled to pay 10,000,000, and to surrender his choicest paintings; the soldiers lived at free quarters; and *liberated* Italy was treated more severely

than a conquered state. The peasants at length rose in fierce revolt, but the insurrection was crushed with merciless severity; and Pavia, which had fallen into their hands, was given up to plunder, while the chief citizens were shot in cold blood by order of Napoleon. Having thus stifled the spirit of disaffection in his rear, he again moved in pursuit of Beaulieu, who, after strongly garrisoning Mantua, lay in position along the Mincio. The neutral territory of Venice was violated by each of the belligerents in the course of these operations, but the reclamations of the senate were equally disregarded by both; and Buonaparte, after dislodging Beaulieu from the Mincio by a successful action at Valleggio on 29th May, and establishing himself on the Adige, not only occupied Verona and Porto-Legnago, belonging to Venice, but so intimidated the Venetian commissioners, that they agreed to furnish gratuitously all the supplies which he required. Beaulieu retired with his beaten army to Roveredo, to defend the passes of the Tyrol; the King of Naples, alarmed at the retreat of the Austrians, obtained an armistice from the French, and withdrew his troops from the Imperial camp; and Buonaparte availed himself of the leisure thus obtained to crush the remaining hostility of Northern Italy. The Genoese Republic submitted at the first summons, renounced the Austrian alliance, and received French troops into its fortresses. The Pope was more severely dealt with, purchasing a respite only by the surrender of his frontier towns and most precious treasures of art, and a payment of 20,000,000 francs. But the seizure of Leghorn by Murat, though chiefly directed against the British merchandise in the port, was an outrage the more flagrant, as the Grand-duke of Tuscany, in whose territories it was committed, was one of the earliest allies of the French Republic, and was even then giving a splendid reception to Buonaparte at Florence.

184. During these transactions, Mantua, the only fortress retained by the Austrians in Lombardy, had been closely blockaded by Serrurier, and the Aulic Council of Vienna resolved upon the most energetic measures for its relief. Marshal Wurmser, as already mentioned, was summoned with 30,000 men from the

Upper Rhine to assume the chief command; while to oppose a force now again raised by these reinforcements to 60,000 effective men, Buonaparte had only half that number of disposable troops —15,000 (out of 55,000 which formed his entire army) being engaged before Mantua, and 10,000 in keeping up his communications. The aristocratic party already anticipated the verification of the proverb—that Italy was the tomb of the French; but the tactics of the Imperialists were fettered by their orders, drawn up by the Aulic Council in the distant cabinet of Vienna; and their army was split into two great divisions, commanded severally by Wurmser and Quasdanovich, and separated by the lake of Garda. Still the first renewal of the struggle was highly disadvantageous to the French: their outposts were everywhere driven in; and while Milan was threatened by Quasdanovich, the siege of Mantua was raised (Aug. 1) by the advance of Wurmser himself. But the passage of the Mincio at Castiglione was the term of Wurmser's success: by extending his line too widely, in order to effect a junction with Quasdanovich, he laid himself open to the attack of Buonaparte, who forced his centre with great loss (Aug. 3) at Lonato, while Augereau retook Castiglione. A decisive conflict at Medola (Aug. 5) ended in the defeat of the Austrians; and Wurmser again withdrew his shattered battalions to Roveredo, having in seven days lost 20,000 men and 60 guns, with no compensating advantage except the relief of Mantua.

185. For three weeks after this terrible struggle the contest was suspended, while both sides recruited their ranks: the French receiving important accessions, not only from France and Lombardy, but from the arrival of numerous Poles who were deprived of a home by the last partition of their country, and who formed the nucleus of the famous Polish legion. The two armies (each about 50,000) broke up at the same time—Wurmser descending the Brenta, while Buonaparte ascended the Adige, and fell on the detached corps of Davidovich, which had been left to guard Roveredo. After two days' severe fighting (Sept. 4-5) the Austrians were routed both at Roveredo and Calliano,

and the French entered Trent, the capital of the Italian Tyrol. But Wurmser still continued to press on for Verona, with the view of getting into the rear of the enemy; and Buonaparte, leaving Vaubois to deal with Davidovich, hastened back through the terrible gorges of the Val Sugana to encounter the indefatigable veteran. The battle of Bassano (Sept. 8), at the mouth of the defiles, ended in a disastrous defeat of the Imperialists; but the gallant Wurmser, with 20,000 men, succeeded in forcing his way, after a number of bloody skirmishes, into Mantua, which, before the beginning of October, was again blockaded by the French.

186. But the indomitable perseverance of the cabinet of Vienna was not yet exhausted: fresh drafts from the German armies, and new levies among the brave and loyal Tyrolese, raised their force once more to 60,000 men, the supreme command of whom was given to Alvinzi, a general of high reputation. Though Buonaparte had been reinforced by twelve fresh battalions from la Vendée, his strength was still far from adequate to cope with these masses, and with the formidable corps shut up with Wurmser in Mantua; and his letters to the Directory express his despondency. The first events of the renewed campaign appeared to confirm his anticipations: Vaubois was overwhelmed and driven from the Tyrol, all the country between the Brenta and Adige was rapidly lost; and at Caldiero (Nov. 11) the Republicans were, for the first time during the campaign, defeated in a pitched battle, with the loss of 3000 men. The situation of Buonaparte for a moment appeared desperate: but his genius did not desert him at this crisis; and on the night of the 14th, passing the Adige by a rapid movement, he plunged into the morasses of Arcola, and thus outflanked the impregnable position of Caldiero. The battles of the three next days were among the most terrible of the war. The soldiers on both sides fought with the most heroic gallantry: but the French were animated by the example and personal prowess of their leaders, particularly of Massena, and Buonaparte himself, who with his own hand planted the standard on the disputed bridge of Arcola; while

the efforts of their opponents were paralysed by the timidity of Alvinzi, and the treachery of some of his subordinates. The Austrians at length retired, baffled rather than defeated, and the remainder of the year was occupied by fruitless negotiations for peace at Vicenza.

187. The garrison of Mantua was by this time reduced to the last extremity by sickness and famine; and, on the reopening of hostilities, a division of 15,000 men under Provera was destined especially to force a way by the plain of Padua, and raise the siege of this important fortress; while Alvinzi, with the main body of 35,000, combated Buonaparte on the Upper Adige. On the 13th January 1797, Joubert was attacked by a vastly superior force on the elevated plateau of Rivoli; and when Buonaparte came up to his support on the following night, he found the position nearly surrounded by the watch-fires of five strong columns, which at daybreak on the 14th assaulted the plateau by different routes. The French left was broken by the onset of the Imperialists; but Massena (afterwards Duke of Rivoli), instantly charging with his corps, which had marched all night, restored the combat in that quarter. Still the battle raged in the front and on both flanks, and the Republicans were on the point of being taken in the rear by Lusignan, who had wound round them unperceived, when Buonaparte, by sending a flag of truce to Alvinzi, to announce some pretended propositions from Paris, gained time to alter his formations. The critical period was suffered to pass away, and when the action was resumed, the columns in front were crushed by the plunging fire from the heights, and driven back in inextricable confusion; while the corps of Lusignan, cut off in its turn, laid down its arms. But, not content with this brilliant victory, Buonaparte hastened on the same night to the environs of Mantua, where Provera was on the point of forcing the leaguer and releasing Wurmser. The arrival of the general-in-chief, however, changed the aspect of affairs; and Provera, surrounded by superior forces, was forced to surrender, with 6000 men (Jan 16). Thus in three days did Buonaparte rout two Austrian armies of much greater force, taken together, than

his own—taking from them 18,000 prisoners, 24 standards, and 60 guns; and inflicting on them, besides, such loss in killed and wounded, as totally disabled them from making any further effort to save Italy. History exhibits few examples of successes so decisive, achieved by forces so inconsiderable.

188. While the broken detachments of the Austrians, driven from Trent and the valley of the Adige, were only at length rallied on the Tagliamento and the head of the Drave, the pressure of famine and hopelessness of aid left Wurmser no alternative but capitulation. The terms granted by Buonaparte were honourable both to himself and his adversary; and the aged marshal, issuing from Mantua with 18,000 men, surrendered (Feb. 2) to Serrurier. Napoleon had already marched southwards to chastise the Pope, who had rashly plunged into hostilities during the strife on the Adige. The feeble forces of the Church vanished at the approach of the French; and Pius VI. with difficulty purchased the peace of Tolentino (Feb. 19) by the cession of Avignon, Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna, and a second heavy mulct in money and works of art.

189. With this treaty closed the campaign of 1796-7, glorious to the French arms, and memorable in the history of the world. From maintaining a painful contest on their own frontier, the Republicans found themselves transported to the Tyrol and the Tagliamento, threatening the Austrian Hereditary States, and subduing all Southern Italy. Much of Buonaparte's success was no doubt owing to the character of the troops he commanded. The overthrow of the fabric of French society, and the warlike spirit of the population, had filled the ranks from the middle and even higher classes of the people; and the result was a union of intelligence, skill, and ability among the private soldiers, such as had never before been witnessed in modern warfare. But, much as was owing to the troops, still more was to be ascribed to the general. In this struggle is to be seen the commencement of that new system of tactics which he afterwards brought to such perfection—that of accumulating troops on a central point, piercing the line of the enemy, and compensating

by rapidity of movement for inferiority of numbers. The misfortunes of the Austrians, on the other hand, were mainly owing to their injudicious system of dividing their force into separate bodies, and attacking, at the same time, at points so far distant that the different columns could give each other little aid.

III. *Internal Transactions and Naval Campaign of Great Britain in* 1797.

190. The aspect of affairs in Britain had never been so clouded during the eighteenth century as at the beginning of the year 1797. The failure of Lord Malmesbury's mission to Paris had closed every hope of an honourable termination to the war, while of all her original allies, Austria alone remained; the national burdens were continually increasing, and the three-per-cents had fallen to fifty-one; while party spirit raged with uncommon violence, and Ireland was in a state of partial insurrection. A still greater disaster resulted from the panic arising from the dread of invasion, and which produced such a run on all the banks, that the Bank of England itself was reduced to payment in sixpences, and an Order in Council appeared (Feb. 26) for the suspension of all cash payments. This measure, at first only temporary, was prolonged from time to time by parliamentary enactments, making bank-notes a legal tender; and it was not till 1819, after the conclusion of peace, that the recurrence to metallic currency took place.

191. The Opposition deemed this a favourable opportunity to renew their cherished project of parliamentary reform; and on 26th May, Mr (afterwards Lord) Grey brought forward a plan chiefly remarkable for containing the outlines of that subsequently carried into effect in 1831. It was negatived, however, after violent debates, by a majority of 258 against 93. After a similar strife of parties, the motion for the continuance of the war was carried by a great majority in both houses; and the requisite supplies were voted. The expenses of the war, for the year, amounted to no less than £42,800,000. The land force

amounted to 190,000 men, 61,000 of whom were in Britain, the remainder in the colonies. The ships in commission were 124 of the line, 198 50-gun ships and frigates, and 184 sloops: but this great force, being scattered all over the world, could not readily be concentrated in any considerable strength on one point. The naval forces of France and her allies were now, on the other hand, become very considerable; and Truguet had devised a plan for raising the blockade of the Dutch and French harbours by a Spanish fleet of 27 sail, and thus assembling 60 or 70 ships of the line in the Channel—a far greater force than Great Britain could, in that quarter, oppose to them. Yet this peril, great as it was, was as nothing compared to the famous Mutiny of the Fleet, which unexpectedly broke out at this juncture.

192. Unknown to the government, great discontent had for a long time prevailed in the navy. The exciting causes were principally the low rate of pay (which had not been raised since the time of Charles II.), the unequal distribution of prize-money, and undue severity in the maintenance of discipline. These grounds of complaint, with others not less well founded, gave rise to a general conspiracy, which broke out (April 15) in the Channel fleet under Lord Bridport. All the ships fell under the power of the insurgents; but they maintained perfect order, and memorialised the Admiralty and the Commons on their grievances: their demands being examined by government, and found to be reasonable, were granted; and on the 7th of May the fleet returned to its duty. But scarcely was the spirit of disaffection quelled in this quarter, when it broke out in a more alarming form (May 22) among the squadron at the Nore, which was soon after (June 6) joined by the force which had been cruising off the Texel under Lord Duncan. The mutineers appointed a seaman named Parker to the command; and, blockading the mouth of the Thames, announced their demands in such a tone of menacing audacity as insured their instant rejection by the government.

193. This second mutiny caused dreadful consternation in London; but the firmness of the King remained unshaken, and he was nobly seconded by the parliament. A bill was passed, prohibit-

ing all communication with the mutineers under pain of death. Sheerness and Tilbury Fort were armed and garrisoned for the defence of the Thames; and the sailors, finding the national feelings strongly arrayed against them, became gradually sensible that their enterprise was desperate. One by one the ships returned to their duty; and on 15th June all had submitted. Parker and several other ringleaders suffered death; but clemency was extended to the multitude: and the ultimate consequences of this formidable mutiny, from the redress given to the real grievances of the seamen, and the improvement thence arising in the condition of both officers and men, were highly beneficial to the service. In the reign of George III., and the administration of Mr Pitt, there is no more glorious event than the effectual and almost bloodless suppression of this dangerous revolt.

194. Notwithstanding all these dissensions, the British navy was never more terrible to its enemies than during this eventful year. On the 14th of February, the Spanish fleet of 27 sail of the line and 12 frigates, which had put to sea for the purpose of raising the blockade of the French harbours, was encountered off Cape St Vincent by Sir John Jarvis, who had only 15 ships and 6 frigates. By the old manœuvre of *breaking the line*, 9 of the Spanish ships were cut off from the rest; and the admiral, while attempting to regain them by wearing round the rear of the British line, was boldly assailed by NELSON and COLLINGWOOD,—the former of whom, in the Captain of 74 guns, engaged at once two of the enemy's gigantic vessels, the Santissima Trinidad of 136 guns, and the San Josef of 112; while the Salvador del Mundo, also of 112 guns, struck in a quarter of an hour to Collingwood. Nelson at length carried the San Josef by boarding, and received the Spanish admiral's sword on his own quarterdeck. The Santissima Trinidad—an enormous four-decker—though her colours were twice struck, escaped in the confusion; but the San Josef and the Salvador, with two 74-gun ships, remained in the hands of the British; and the Spanish armament, thus routed by little more than half its own force, retired in the deepest dejection to Cadiz, which was shortly after

insulted by a bombardment from the gallant Nelson. A more important victory than that of Sir John Jarvis (created in consequence Earl St Vincent) was never gained at sea, from the evident superiority of skill and seamanship which it demonstrated in the British navy.

195. The battle of St Vincent disconcerted the plans of Truguet for the naval campaign; but later in the season a second attempt to reach Brest was made by a Dutch fleet of 15 sail of the line and 11 frigates, under the command of De Winter, a man of tried courage and experience. The British blockading fleet, under Admiral Duncan, consisted of 16 ships and 3 frigates; and the battle was fought (Oct. 16) off Camperdown, about nine miles from the shore of Holland. The manœuvres of the British admiral were directed to cut off the enemy's retreat to his own shores; and this having been accomplished, the action commenced yard-arm to yard-arm, and continued with the utmost fury for more than three hours. The Dutch sailors fought with the most admirable skill and courage, and proved themselves worthy descendants of Van Tromp and De Ruyter; but the prowess of the British was irresistible. 12 sail of the line, including the flagship, two 56-gun ships, and 2 frigates, struck their colours; but the nearness of the shore enabled two of the prizes to escape, and one 74-gun ship foundered. The obstinacy of the conflict was evidenced by the nearly equal number of killed and wounded, which amounted to 1040 English, and 1160 Dutch. But no triumph was ever more complete and decisive; and its moral effects were equally important, since it was gained by the same fleet which had so lately struck terror into every class by the mutiny at the Nore.

196. The only remaining operations of the year were the capture of Trinidad in February, by a force which soon after was repulsed from before Porto Rico; and an abortive attempt at a descent in Pembroke Bay by about 1400 French. But the great domestic event of the year was the death of Mr Burke, in whom the force of intellect, ardour of imagination, and richness of genius, were combined to an extent unrivalled perhaps in any other age

or country, and to whom it was just permitted to see the commencement of those triumphs, the way to which had been opened by his own genius and foresight.

IV. *Campaign of* 1797:—*Fall of Venice—Treaty of Campo Formio.*

197. The death of Catherine had dissolved the projected armaments of Russia—her successor, the Emperor Paul, evincing little disposition to mingle in the wars of Southern Europe. Austria was thus still left single-handed; and the length of time requisite to withdraw troops from the Rhine, to defend the Alpine frontier of the Hereditary States, gave an opportunity for a blow to be struck, by an early effort, at the heart of her power. But the jealousy of the Directory prevented them from adequately reinforcing the army of Buonaparte; and while Hoche received the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, only 20,000 men, under Bernadotte and Delmas, were sent to the army of Italy, which was thus raised to an effective total of 61,000, besides 16,000 employed in securing the rear and communications. Anxious, however, to anticipate the arrival of the reinforcements from the Rhine and the Hungarian levies, Buonaparte resolved on hazarding an irruption into Austria, while the Archduke had as yet only 35,000 men on the Tagliamento—an enterprise fraught with fearful risk, from the insecure nature of his relations with Venice, and the insufficient protection which he could afford to his communications on the flank and rear.

198. On the 10th of March, therefore, all the columns moved forward from Bassano, though the higher passes were still encumbered with deep snow. The plan of Buonaparte was to turn the Austrian right by means of Massena's division; and this manœuvre having so far succeeded as to compel the Archduke to fall back from the Piave to the Tagliamento, Buonaparte with the main body passed the latter stream (March 16) by stratagem. A partial action ensued, in which the Austrians were repulsed; and thus the prestige of the first encounter between the deliverer of Germany and the conqueror of Italy remained with the latter.

Bernadotte and Serrurier now passed the Isonzo (March 19), and occupied Laybach and Trieste. Massena seized the Col-de-Tarwis (an important pass on the crest of the Alps, commanding the Carinthian and Dalmatian valleys), and maintained it, amid ice and snow, against the utmost efforts of the Austrians, under the Archduke in person (March 22). The corps of Bayalitch, retreating up the Isonzo, was cut off by this movement, and capitulated to the number of nearly 4000 men, with 25 guns; and the French, descending the northern side of the Alps, and crossing the Drave at Villach, advanced to Clagenfurth.

199. Soon after this they were joined by Joubert, who, after important successes in the Tyrol, had been at length compelled to evacuate it by the general rising of the warlike peasantry. On the 31st March, Buonaparte made an unsuccessful attempt to negotiate by letter with the Archduke, but without suspending his pursuit of the retreating Imperialists. On the 2d April, the stupendous defiles of Neumarkt, though defended by the Archduke in person, were forced by the invaders, who pushed on to Judemburg; while the Austrian corps were hastily collected from all quarters, to make a final effort before Vienna. But the firmness of the Court at length gave way before the imminence of the danger; and on 7th April a suspension of arms was agreed to at Leoben.

200. The danger of Buonaparte, by his own subsequent confession, was at this moment extreme. With the armies of Germany and Hungary gathering in his front, and his rear threatened by a flank movement from the Tyrol, the occupation of Vienna would only have made his ruin more signal; and the victor being thus disposed to moderation, preliminaries were soon signed (April 9). Flanders and Savoy were to be ceded to France; the Cisalpine Republic, including Lombardy, with Modena, Cremona, &c., was to be established; while, in return for these concessions, the Emperor was to receive the whole Continental possessions of Venice, with the Oglio as his boundary—Venice being again indemnified at the expense of the Pope. Buonaparte himself has owned that these arrangements were made "in hatred of

Venice;" and both their injustice, and the subsequent fate of the Venetian Republic, must be laid entirely to his own charge.

201. The wealth and population of the Venetian territories still entitled the republic to a respectable rank among European states; but, without any rude external shock, its power had been sapped at the core by ages of corruption; and the Queen of the Adriatic had long veiled her weakness by a cautious neutrality. But the progress of the French arms had inspired the youth of her cities with an ardent wish to throw off the yoke of the oligarchy; and these democratic aspirations had been fomented, by Buonaparte's order, by Landrieux, one of his staff, who at the same time, with double perfidy, sought to alarm the Venetian government by exaggerated reports of the conspiracies which had come to his knowledge. On the 12th of March, the revolt openly broke out at Bergamo, and the example was followed by Brescia, Crema, and all the large towns; while the French soldiers, though taking no overt part in the movement, encouraged the insurgents. Buonaparte, when applied to by the Venetian envoys, refused to interfere; and the government was still vacillating between the necessity for action and the fear of offending the French, when a furious counter-insurrection broke out early in April. The peasants of the mountain valleys poured down on the plains, and, attacking indiscriminately the democrats and the French, gained considerable advantages: at Verona, the wounded French in the hospital were cruelly put to death—and thus Buonaparte was furnished with only too fair an excuse for the work of retribution.

202. No sooner was the armistice of Leoben concluded, than the plains were covered with French troops—the peasants were disarmed and their leaders shot; while the senate, thunderstruck at this new aspect of affairs, did all in their power to avert their fate. They had still 14,000 troops in the capital, which was powerfully defended by batteries and gun-boats, and well provisioned: but the poison of democracy had pervaded the people; and when Buonaparte (May 3) published from Palma-Nuova his declaration of war, the knell of the republic was sounded. The

rabble instantly rose against the oligarchy, revolutionary committees were formed, and the senate was compelled to abdicate its authority (May 12). The labouring classes in vain attempted to resist; the French were introduced in triumph, and brought by Venetian boats to the Place of St Mark, where no foreign standard had been seen for fifteen hundred years, but where the colours of independence were never again to wave. The treasures, ships, and works of art (among which were the famous brazen Horses of St Mark), were seized by the French; and the Golden Book, the record of the aristocracy, was burnt at the foot of the tree of liberty.

203. During these memorable transactions in the Alps, the war had languished on the Rhine, where the French army, from the exhaustion of the public finances, was destitute of the equipage necessary for passing the river. Moreau at length supplied the deficiency from his private resources, and made the attempt at Diersheim (April 19). The French failed in surprising the Austrians; but effecting a lodgment, first on an islet, and at length on the opposite bank, they at last made good their landing in face of the enemy, and repulsed them with considerable loss—an exploit regarded as one of the most memorable deeds of arms in the war. Hoche, on the Lower Rhine, had passed the river at Neuwied (April 18), but the armistice of Leoben put a stop to all operations on both sides.

204. On 16th November, in this year, the King of Prussia died, leaving to his son, Frederick-William III., a kingdom of which he had augmented the territory nearly one-third, mostly out of the spoils of Poland. The new King, who was twenty-seven years of age at his accession, differed greatly in character from his father. Severe and regular in private life, he was a pattern of conjugal fidelity and the domestic virtues; but his diffidence of his own capacity threw him, in the early part of his reign, too much under the government of his ministers. He commenced his rule by the redress of various abuses, and by compelling the Countess Lichtenau, the profligate mistress of his father, to surrender great part of her enormous wealth—a mea-

sure forced on him by the public voice; but the foreign policy of Prussia was still, unfortunately for herself and Europe, directed to preserve even increased amity with France.

205. Meanwhile Buonaparte, sheathing his victorious sword, was holding with Josephine a court of more than regal splendour at the Chateau of Montebello, near Milan, while the negotiations for the final treaty were in progress. Genoa had hitherto maintained both its neutrality and its aristocratic constitution, as settled by Doria; but a democratic revolt was fomented, as at Venice, by the agents of France; and though the senate at first succeeded (April 23) in defeating the insurgents, the threat of armed intervention from France compelled submission; and Genoa, with a new democratic constitution, became a mere outwork of the French republic. Piedmont also experienced the bitter humiliation of the French alliance; and a fresh attempt at negotiation at Lisle, on the part of Great Britain, was almost instantly broken off by the arrogance of the Directory. The conferences at Montebello and Udina were in the mean time prolonged for many months; for though the high contracting parties, Austria and France, perfectly agreed on the principle of indemnifying each other at the expense of their weaker neighbours, the details were not so easily arranged; and threats of recommencing hostilities had already been vented, when the impetuosity of Napoleon overawed the Imperial commissioners, and the treaty of CAMPO FORMIO was signed on the 17th October.

206. By this peace France acquired Flanders, with the Rhine and the Maritime Alps as a frontier. The Ionian Isles, Mantua, and Mayence, were also ceded; and Lombardy, with Modena, Bologna, Romagna, &c., and the Venetian territory to the Adige, formed the Cisalpine Republic. On the other hand, Austria acquired the city of Venice, with Istria and Dalmatia, as well as all its continental possessions in Italy, with Verona, Peschiera, and Porto-Legnago—a very sufficient equivalent for what had been resigned. There were also various secret articles relative to Germany, which were to be settled by a congress at Rastadt.

V. *Expedition to Egypt.*

207. The importance of Egypt has been duly appreciated only by the greatest conquerors of ancient and modern times—by Alexander the Great and by Napoleon. Placed in the centre between Europe and Asia, on the confines of Eastern wealth and Western civilisation, this celebrated country is indicated by its geographical position as the great emporium of the commerce of the world. The greatest and most durable monuments of human industry, and the earliest efforts of civilisation, are to be sought in this primeval seat of mankind; which the revolution of ages must inevitably, sooner or later, reinstate in its pristine importance. Even under Louis XIV. the great Leibnitz had pointed out that "the true commercial route to India" lay through Egypt—and Buonaparte early conceived the opinion, which he held through life, that it was only by the possession of Egypt, and the consequent conversion of the Mediterranean into a French lake, that India could be reached, or the British power seriously affected. After the conclusion of the Italian campaign, his visions of Eastern conquest revived; and so completely was his mind engrossed by this idea, that he spent hours in examining the books relative to Egypt, which had been brought from the Ambrosian library to Paris.

208. After settling the affairs of the Cisalpine Republic, and delivering over Venice to Austria, Buonaparte returned from Italy across Switzerland to Paris. His progress was a continual triumph; and soon after his arrival, he was received in state (Jan. 2, 1798) by the Directory in their palace of the Luxembourg, on the occasion of the presentation of the treaty of Campo Formio. A magnificent standard, inscribed with the wondrous enumeration of the triumphs of the army of Italy, was borne by Joubert and Andreossi; and Talleyrand, then minister of foreign affairs, addressed the youthful general in a strain of eloquent panegyric, his reply to which was characteristically terse and laconic. Numerous other fêtes were given him by the public bodies; but he studiously withdrew himself from the general

gaze, associating chiefly with members of the Institute, and wearing its costume. The Directory, in truth, already began to fear the conqueror of Italy as a formidable rival: his dislike of the Jacobin party, now dominant, had been more than once openly expressed; and the expedition against England, to the command of which he had been named, seemed to afford a pretext for getting creditably rid of him. Under the name of the Army of England, 150,000 troops were collected on the shores of the Channel; but the battles of St Vincent and Camperdown had secured the British government from apprehension; the fleets off Brest and the coast of Spain had been strengthened, and a squadron under Nelson formed in the Mediterranean; and Buonaparte, after a short visit to the coast, gave up the project as hopeless. He now again turned his energies towards the Egyptian expedition, to which the Directory at length consented. The 3,000,000 francs lately seized at Berne (p. 133), were assigned for the expenses; and the fleet of Admiral Brueys, consisting of 13 ships of the line and 14 frigates, was destined for this service, the vast preparations for which filled all the ports of Italy and Southern France. Among his lieutenants, besides those who had so ably seconded him in Italy, were Desaix and Kleber, who were as yet unknown to him: and the most illustrious *savants* of the age, Monge, Geoffroy St Hilaire, Denon, &c., joined the expedition for the purpose of scientific research. The news of a disagreement between the court of Vienna and Bernadotte, the French ambassador, retarded its departure for fifteen days: but the Directors were now too thoroughly alive to their danger from Buonaparte, to allow him a chance of evasion in order to reap laurels in another Austrian war.

209. At length (May 9) Buonaparte arrived at Toulon; and on the 19th the magnificent armament under his orders, amid the acclamations of the people and the thunders of artillery, set sail from the harbour. The fleet, after the junction of the squadrons from Genoa and Ajaccio, consisted of 15 men-of-war, 14 frigates, and numerous smaller vessels, with a convoy of 400 transports, bearing 36,000 soldiers. This formidable force appeared off

Malta on 10th June; and the impregnable fortifications, which had baffled all the efforts of the Turks in the days of Soliman the Magnificent, were yielded without firing a shot, by the cowardice of the Grand-Master Hompesch, and the treachery of the French knights, who had been previously tampered with by Buonaparte's agents. The accumulated treasures of the Order, the plate of the churches and hospitals, and the vast warlike stores of the arsenals, were seized and embarked: a garrison of 3000 men under General Vaubois was left to maintain this important conquest; and after a delay of only nine days, the fleet, laden with plunder, resumed its voyage to Egypt. On the night of the 22d, they crossed the track of Nelson's squadron, which was seeking to intercept them, at so short a distance that the British signal-guns were distinctly heard. An encounter at this juncture might have changed the future history of the world: but the French held on their course unobserved; and at daybreak (July 1), the low sandy shores of Egypt lay stretched before them. On the morning of the following day, before the disembarkation of the troops was completed, Buonaparte pushed forward with 5000 men against Alexandria, which, after a short resistance from the Turks, was carried by assault.

210. The population of Egypt at this period consisted of about 2,500,000, divided into four classes. Two of these, the Copts or native Christians, and the Turks or Janissaries, descended from the troops left in the country on the Ottoman conquest, did not number more than 200,000 each: the great mass of the people were the Arabs, of whom there were upwards of 2,000,000. The highest class of these comprised the landed proprietors, the doctors of the law, &c.: the great body of the people were *fellahs* or cultivators, and many still adhered to the wandering life of their Bedoween forefathers. But the actual rulers of the land were the Mamlukes, a singular militia, amounting to 10,000 or 12,000 of the finest cavalry in the world, who were constantly recruited by young slaves from Circassia, bred up in the households of their Beys. Of these chiefs there were ordinarily twenty-four, who divided the country in feudal sovereignty, tyrannising

over the inhabitants, and left scarcely a shadow of authority to the Pasha sent from the Porte. At this period the sovereignty was virtually divided by two of the most powerful Beys, Ibrahim and Mourad; the former of whom managed the civil government, while Mourad, younger and more warlike than his colleague, commanded the troops.

211. As the season of the rise of the Nile was approaching, Buonaparte was anxious to advance on Cairo before military operations were stopped by the inundation; and on 6th July the army, reduced to 30,000 men by the garrisons left in Malta and at Alexandria, set out on its march. He had previously addressed to the troops a proclamation exhorting them "to manifest for the Koran the same respect they had shown for the religions of Moses and Christ!"—a phrase conveying a faithful picture of the feelings of his soldiers, who were mostly ignorant, not only of the faith, but of the very tenets of Christianity; hardly one of them, as Lavalette has recorded, had ever been in a church! Another proclamation assured the Egyptians that *the French were also true Moslems*, and that, having destroyed the Pope and the knights of Malta, the eternal enemies of Islam, they had now come to rescue Egypt from the usurped sway of the Mamlukes!

212. During the passage of the desert the troops experienced all the horrors of thirst; but their sufferings were relieved by their arrival on the Nile, where they joined their flotilla. The first encounter with the Mamlukes at Chebreiss (July 14) terminated in the repulse of the enemy; and the decisive battle of the Pyramids was fought on the 21st. Six thousand Mamlukes, with 12,000 Arabs and auxiliaries, were assembled under the command of Mourad Bey for the defence of Cairo; and their camp was intrenched and strengthened with artillery. But Buonaparte directed his attack to the extreme right beyond the range of their guns: and all the reckless gallantry of the Mamlukes, who charged the French squares on every side, and dashed their horses headlong on the bayonets, was unable to withstand the tremendous fire of grape and musketry with which they were met and repulsed. They were finally driven from the field in

horrible confusion: 2000 fell in the battle; and many were drowned in the Nile. Mourad Bey, with a small force, escaped into Upper Egypt,—Ibrahim fled into Syria; and, two days after the battle, Buonaparte entered Cairo, where his soldiers at length forgot their toils in the indulgence of Oriental luxury.

213. The French were now virtually masters of Egypt, and the battle of the Pyramids struck terror far into Asia and Africa; while the impartiality of the civil government established by Buonaparte, and his studied compliance with their religious and national usages, in some measure conciliated the sheikhs and people. Ibrahim Bey, who had returned to Egypt, was again routed and driven back to Syria; and while Buonaparte was planning at Cairo the dismemberment of the Othman empire, all the diplomacy of Talleyrand and Ruffin was exerted at Constantinople to lull the Porte into the belief that the hostility of France was directed only against the rebellious Beys. But it was impossible long to blind the Divan to the tendency of French policy: Ruffin was sent to the Seven Towers; and a Turkish manifesto appeared (Sept. 10) denouncing the treachery of the Republic with all the eloquence of honest indignation, and formally declaring war against France. Even the national animosity of the Turks and Russians was suspended by their joint hatred of the common enemy; and the united squadrons, steering through the Hellespont, blockaded Corfu.

214. But in the mean time a desperate reverse had befallen Buonaparte by sea, brought about by the genius of that illustrious man who seemed to have been at this time the instrument of Providence to balance the destiny of nations. After having narrowly missed the French fleet on its voyage to Egypt, Nelson had traversed the Levant backwards and forwards in search of them; and at length (Aug. 1) returned to Alexandria, where he found the men-of-war under Brueys at anchor in the bay of Aboukir, the inner harbour of Alexandria not having sufficient depth of water. Their order of battle, supported on one extremity by land batteries, and on the other by shoals, had been considered impregnable to attack: but Nelson at once resolved to penetrate

between the shore and the hostile line; and thus commenced the battle of the Nile. The number of ships was equal on either side: but the French had greatly the advantage in the number* of guns and men over the British, whose vessels were all seventy-fours, while their opponents had the Orient of 120, besides two 80-gun ships. The British ships, led by Captain Foley in the Goliath, successively passed between the outmost French ship and the shoal, opening their fire as they ranged in-shore; in such a way that an overwhelming force was brought to bear against two-thirds of the enemy's squadron, while the remainder were moored at too great a distance to join with effect in the action. In spite, therefore, of the determined resistance of the French, the battle, which had begun at 3 P. M., soon inclined in favour of the British: before nine, three ships had struck and two were dismasted; and the huge Orient, bursting into flames, which all the efforts of her crew were unable to subdue, blew up with an explosion so tremendous that the fire on both sides was for some time suspended as if by consent. The fire slackened after midnight, and by day-break the magnitude of the victory was apparent; the whole French line had struck, except two men-of-war and two frigates which stood out to sea—the shattered state of the British ships preventing pursuit. No sooner was the triumph complete, than perfect stillness pervaded the victorious armament; while thanksgivings were offered up by the whole fleet for the success vouchsafed to them by the Almighty.

215. Early in the battle, the British admiral had received a severe wound on the head: but he would not allow it to be inspected till those wounded before him had been attended, and regained the deck to give orders for the assistance of the Orient's sinking crew. Nor was the enthusiastic courage of the French less conspicuous. Brueys fell on his quarter-deck; Casa-Bianca, captain of the Orient, was mortally wounded before his ship blew up; and most of the other captains were either killed or disabled. Of 13 ships of the line, 9 were taken and 2 burnt; of 4 frigates, 1 was sunk and 1 burnt; 5225 men were killed, wounded, or

*English, 1012 guns, 8068 men; French, 1196 guns, 11,230 men.

missing; 3105 taken prisoners, and sent on shore. The British lost 895 killed and wounded.

216. Such was the battle of the Nile, which Nelson truly termed, "not a victory, but a conquest!" Had Nelson possessed a few frigates or bomb-vessels, all the transports in the harbour of Alexandria might have been destroyed; but even as it was, it was a mortal stroke to the French army, who were thus exiled, without hope of return, on an inhospitable shore.

217. In this critical situation, however, the firmness of Buonaparte, far from forsaking him, only prompted him to redouble his efforts for organising the resources of the country in which he was now isolated. Mills, hospitals, printing-presses, and foundéries were established; canals re-explored, and the geography and antiquities of the country sedulously investigated. Desaix pursued Mourad Bey into Upper Egypt, and completely routed him at Sidiman (Oct. 7); and the French sway was further riveted by the suppression of a formidable revolt (Oct. 21) in Cairo, the leaders of which were thrown into the Nile. But the ardent mind of Buonaparte had now begun to conceive new and gigantic plans of conquest: not only did he resolve on anticipating, by an invasion of Syria, the advance of a Turkish army there mustering for the attack of Egypt, but he confidently expected that, by rousing the natives of that country and Asia Minor, he might assemble an Asiatic host round a nucleus of French veterans, which would enable him either to march on Constantinople, and erect a new empire in the East, or to invade India through Persia, and overturn the dominion of the British! But for the accomplishment of these magnificent projects, only 13,000 infantry, with 900 horse, could be spared from the reduced army of Egypt; and with these Buonaparte marched, Feb. 11, 1799. Arish, the frontier town of Syria, surrendered, but Jaffa held out, and was taken by storm (March 6) after a gallant resistance. Four thousand of the Turkish garrison laid down their arms on the promise of quarter; but it was found impossible to feed this multitude of captives, and they were all shot in cold blood—an act of atrocious cruelty, which Buonaparte and his apologists have

in vain endeavoured to extenuate, and which probably wrought its own speedy retribution by animating the desperate defence of Acre.

218. It was on the 16th of March that the French appeared before this celebrated fortress, where Achmed-Djezzar, Pasha of Syria, had shut himself up with his troops and treasures. Though the battering-train had been captured on its passage from Egypt by sea by a well-known English officer, Sir Sidney Smith, who lay with a squadron in the roads of Acre, the besiegers pushed their advances so vigorously, that an assault was made on 28th March; but this, and a second attack on 1st April, were repulsed with loss by the Turks. A force of 30,000 Syrian Moslems had in the mean time been drawn together in the rear of the invaders; but these irregular masses were repulsed near Nazareth (April 8) by Kleber, and finally routed and dispersed with great slaughter (April 15) at Mount Tabor, by Buonaparte with only 6000 men. The siege of Acre was now resumed, but with no better success than before: the defenders, reinforced by the arrival of a Turkish squadron, and aided by the British seamen and marines, held their ground with a fanatic bravery which all the efforts of the French were unable to overcome; and after losing 3000 men in repeated fruitless assaults, Buonaparte, for the first time in his life (May 20), ordered a retreat.

219. Buonaparte was deeply affected by this repulse, which destroyed his splendid dreams of Oriental conquest; and he frequently referred to it afterwards as "the event which made him miss his destiny." The retreat to Egypt was marked by all the horrors of war: the plague broke out in the army, and the Arabs and British incessantly harassed the march. At Jaffa, as is generally believed, a number of the sick, whom it was impossible to remove, were poisoned by the general's orders; but as they were thus saved from a cruel death at the hands of the Turks, the act may perhaps be justified on grounds, not only of necessity, but of humanity. Meanwhile the government of Egypt had been administered with prudence and success, in Buonaparte's absence, by Desaix, who had repressed a fanatical revolt in Lower Egypt,

and had driven Mourad Bey into Nubia. But a fresh danger now presented itself in the disembarkation (July 11) of a strong Turkish force at Aboukir. Buonaparte attacked them here (July 25); and the Turks, who had no cavalry, were overpowered, after a gallant resistance, by the impetuous charges of the horse under Murat. Hardly one of their force escaped: 5000, disdaining quarter, were drowned in the bay; 2000 were slain; and 2000, with their general, Mustapha Pasha, taken prisoners.

220. But the intelligence which now reached Buonaparte of the reverses of the French in Italy and Switzerland, in the renewed war with the Allies, joined with the hopelessness of further great successes in Egypt, determined him to return to the scenes of his early triumphs; and on 22d August he suddenly embarked at Alexandria, with Lannes, Murat, Berthier, Marmont, and others of his most trusted followers, and sailed with two frigates for Europe. Though several times in danger from the British cruisers, his good fortune did not desert him; and after touching, for a few days, at his native town of Ajaccio, he arrived in the bay of Frejus (Oct. 8), and was received with unbounded enthusiasm by the people. The quarantine laws were by common consent disregarded: Buonaparte landed in a few hours, and set off the same day for Paris.

VI. *Establishment of the Affiliated Republics.*

221. The two years of Continental peace which followed the treaty of Campo Formio are eminently instructive in a political point of view, as putting to the test the alleged pacific tendency of the revolutionary system, and showing by actual experiment how wholly the existence of a turbulent democracy, like that of France, the popular passions roused by which can find an adequate vent only in the enterprise of foreign warfare, is incompatible with the independence of adjoining states.

222. Of all the late enemies of the Republic, Great Britain alone remained in arms; and the contest was continued, on her part, not from inclination, but from the apparent impossibility of

obtaining peace on reasonable terms. Her preparations, therefore, were principally defensive: the seas were guarded by 104 ships of the line, with 300 frigates and smaller vessels, manned by 100,000 seamen:—109,000 regulars, and 63,000 militia, were in arms. But the threat of invasion had given rise to a new feature in her military policy, the *volunteer system*, or general arming of the people—a measure strongly proving the confidence which the ministers now placed in the general patriotism of the people, and which the result showed to be well founded. In a few weeks, 150,000 volunteers were enrolled and equipped; and in the success of this first great attempt to enlist popular energy *against* revolutionary principles, may be found the model of those dauntless bands by which, fifteen years later, the liberation of Germany was accomplished. The budget for the year, exclusive of the charges for the debt and the sinking-fund, amounted to £28,450,000—and the interest of a fresh loan of £15,000,000 was provided for, as far as practicable, by trebling for a limited period part of the assessed taxes.

223. The ruined finances of France, meanwhile, were partially reinstated by the summary measure of national bankruptcy (p. 154), and the policy of the Directory began to evince that passion for foreign aggression which invariably characterises democracy. The first victim was Holland, which—though a central democratic government had been established on its conquest by Pichegru—still adhered to the ancient federation of the provinces, the diets of which were mostly swayed by the old patrician families. Openly supported by the French minister Delacroix, and an armed force under Joubert, the democrats rose in revolt (Jan. 22, 1796), imprisoned the leaders of the opposite party, and declared the federal union superseded by a republic *one and indivisible*. A Council of Ancients, and a Chamber of Deputies, with five Directors, were established, in every respect like those at Paris: but this new government soon became so hateful to the people that the French Directory, fearing the loss of their influence in Holland, authorised General Daendels to overthrow it. A revolution was accordingly effected, by military force (May 4), with-

out pretence even of authority from the people: and a provisional government was formed, consisting of Daendels and two associates, all entirely in the interest of France.

224. Even the seclusion and perfect neutrality of Switzerland could no longer save it from the same devouring ambition. Though the constitutions of the cantons were various,—Berne and others being highly aristocratic, and the Forest Cantons no less democratic,—security to persons and property, and religious freedom, were enjoyed by all; and the practical blessings of the system were demonstrated by the prosperity of the peasantry and the density of the population—features rarely found in unison. The principal defect of the general constitution was the political subjection of some cantons to others, and the exclusion of the subject districts from equality of rights: thus the Pays de Vaud was subject to Berne, the Italian bailiwicks to Uri, &c. Of this circumstance the Directors availed themselves to carry into effect their projects, which had long been concerted with Ochs, La Harpe, and other leaders of the Swiss democrats. Their first demand (1797), for the dismissal of the British resident Wickham, had been complied with by the Diet; but, in October of the same year, an open rupture was brought on by Buonaparte, who not only supported the Valteline in its insurrection against the Grisons, but seized the disputed territory, and annexed it, by his own authority, to the Cisalpine Republic.

225. Revolts in the Valais and the Pays de Vaud immediately followed; and the Diet, which assembled at Arau to deliberate on this emergency, received a notification (Dec. 17) from the French envoy, Mengaud, that the insurgents had been taken under the protection of the Directory. To support this iniquitous procedure, 10,000 troops were advanced to the frontier; while Ochs and Mengaud were busily revolutionising northern Switzerland, and the tricolor was already hoisted at Zurich and Bâle. The Directory now openly announced that they would be satisfied only by the establishment of a revolutionary constitution; and the senate of Berne, driven to desperation, summoned the Alpine shepherds to arms. The call was instantly obeyed by 20,000

heroic mountaineers, who, headed by Steiger and d'Erlach, opposed an undaunted front to the invaders. But this glorious example was not imitated by the towns: Soleure and Friburg surrendered (March 2); and many of the peasants, believing themselves betrayed, disbanded and returned home. A bloody battle, however, took place before Berne on the 5th: but the patriotic resolution of the Swiss, in whose ranks old men, children, and even women, fought with the courage of despair, was overborne by the numbers and artillery of the French: the gallant d'Erlach was murdered by his own men, who accused him of treachery; and Berne capitulated the same evening.

226. The first care of the victors was to seize the arsenal and the public treasure, which was estimated at £800,000, the savings of ages, and which is said to have been their chief incentive, as its capture enabled the Directory to fit out the expedition to Egypt. A Directory, with its usual democratic concomitants, was appointed, and the new constitution proclaimed (Feb. 12) at Arau. Lucerne, Zurich, with all the level parts of Switzerland, speedily joined the innovating party; and Geneva was seized and united to France. But the enormous exactions of the French speedily alarmed all classes; and the mountain cantons, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, &c., stimulated by their clergy, and animated by the traditions of their forefathers, unanimously rejected the new constitution, and prepared to resist it to the uttermost. They assumed the offensive without delay, and occupied Lucerne; but were soon driven back into their mountains, where 3000 Schwytzers, under the heroic Aloys Reding, encountered and held at bay more than twice their number of French, at Morgarten. But the contest was too hopeless to be continued; and a convention put a stop, for some months, to hostilities. The exaction of an oath to the new Swiss Directory, however, rekindled the flame; and 3000 peasants of Unterwalden, with a few auxiliaries from Schwytz and Uri, after opposing 16,000 French troops with devoted valour (Sept. 9), perished to a man on their bayonets. An alliance, offensive and defensive, with France had already (Aug. 4) been forced on the new Swiss government; the

Grisons alone (by invoking the aid of Austria, which was guaranteed by old treaties) preserved their freedom and ancient institutions. No act of the whole revolution was so effectual in opening the eyes of its European partisans, as this cruel and unprovoked attack on the unoffending Swiss: even the Whig leaders in England confessed that "the mask had fallen from the face of revolutionary France, if, indeed, it had ever worn it."

227. Since the French conquests in Italy, and the treaty of Campo Formio, the Pope had been entirely at their mercy. His resources were exhausted by the immense payments stipulated by the treaty of Tolentino; and the French embassy at Rome became a focus of revolutionary intrigue. The great age and feebleness of Pius VI., whose decease was daily expected, induced the Directory to forward orders to their agents, Jerome Buonaparte and Duphot, to delay the explosion till after his death; but their activity had been too quick for these instructions. On 27th December an immense crowd assembled before the French embassy, loudly demanding the proclamation of the "Roman Republic;" but a skirmish ensued with a body of Papal dragoons, and Duphot was killed while encouraging the insurgents. The ambassador, Jerome Buonaparte, immediately left Rome: war was declared; and Berthier, rapidly advancing with 18,000 men, appeared before the Eternal City (Feb. 10, 1798), where he was tumultuously welcomed by the noisy multitude. The aged Pope, refusing with the firmness of a martyr to abdicate or submit, was dragged by force from his palace: even his rings were torn from his fingers; and he was sent under a guard into Tuscany. But the veneration with which he was here treated excited the apprehensions of his persecutors; and after frequently changing the place of his confinement, he was dragged across the Alps and Apennines to Valence, where he died (Aug. 29, 1799), in the 82d year of his age and 24th of his pontificate.

228. But, long before the venerable pontiff had sunk beneath his sufferings, Rome had experienced the bitterness of republican fraternisation. Not only were unheard-of contributions in money and stores exacted from the city, but it was subjected to

a systematic pillage, unexampled even in French revolutionary warfare. The churches, the convents, the palaces were stripped even to the bare walls: the galleries and works of art were confiscated: even the private clothes of the Pope were sold, and his sacerdotal vestments burned, in order to extract from the ashes the gold which adorned them. The cardinals were banished or imprisoned: all the church and monastery lands were declared national property; and so infamous was the spoliation as to excite the indignation even of the army. While the generals and commissaries were enriching themselves, the inferior officers and soldiers were half naked and almost starving; and the arrival of Massena, who was notorious for his previous extortions, produced a violent mutiny (Feb. 24), both at Rome and Mantua, which was only appeased by his departure. The work was concluded by the imposition, on the Roman Republic, of a new constitution, on the French model, and an alliance offensive and defensive with France.

229. A treaty had been concluded (March 29) between France and its infant offspring, the Cisalpine Republic, by which 25,000 French troops were to be quartered in the territory of the latter. But this virtual subjugation was highly unpopular with the Cisalpine democrats; and various ineffectual efforts were made to shake off the yoke of their overbearing ally, till the unequal contest ended (Dec. 6, 1798) in the dissolution of the legislature by French bayonets, and the establishment of a new constitution dictated by a French ambassador. The King of Sardinia was the next victim. Since the peace of 1796, this monarch had been subject to constant insult and humiliation from his republican allies, till at length (June 1798) a democratic revolt was fomented, and openly supported by the Ligurian Republic of Genoa. The French availed themselves of this outbreak to cajole and menace the King into putting the citadel of Turin into their hands for security—a concession which rendered him a mere state-prisoner in their hands. The violent seizure of the remaining fortresses, by the French general Grouchy, soon followed: the King, finding his life in danger, with difficulty escaped (Dec.)

to Sardinia, and all his Continental dominions fell into the hands of the French.

230. While these events were in progress in Northern Italy, the kingdom of Naples was already overthrown. The Neapolitan cabinet, justly alarmed at the fate of the other Italian states, had for some time been preparing against the threatened danger by increasing their military establishments, and concluding an alliance with Austria: but the news of the battle of the Nile, and the arrival of Nelson at Naples with his victorious fleet, raised to such a height the enthusiasm of the war party, which was headed by the Queen and Lady Hamilton (wife of the British ambassador), that immediate hostilities were rashly resolved on. The Austrian general, Mack, had been sent from Vienna to take the command of the army: but this officer, though a skilful strategist on paper, was totally without the qualities necessary for success in the field; and the result was in accordance. The incapacity of the general, and the cowardice of the troops, rendered the campaign one series of blunders and disasters; for though the superiority of their numbers, and the wide dispersion of the French corps, enabled the Neapolitans to occupy Rome (Nov. 29) and enter Tuscany, they were driven back at every point, in the utmost confusion and dismay, as soon as the French had collected their forces. Championnet re-entered Rome (Dec. 10); and the court, not conceiving themselves safe in their own capital, embarked, with all their treasures and most valuable effects (Dec. 21), on board the British fleet for Sicily.

231. Championnet immediately followed up his success by the invasion of Naples, which his troops entered at five different points. The enemy everywhere fled at his approach, and Gaeta, the strongest place in the kingdom, surrendered without firing a shot. But his progress was stayed by the strong ramparts of Capua; and the peasantry, whose ferocious valour remarkably contrasted with the pusillanimity of the soldiers, harassed his insulated columns with such determined fury, that his communications were nearly cut off. But Mack, who had lost all confidence in the Neapolitans, unexpectedly relieved him by offering

to give up Capua, with two other fortresses, as the price of an armistice for two months (Jan. 11, 1799), and shortly after consulted his own safety, which was threatened by his soldiers, by taking refuge in the French camp. Championnet, having reunited his scattered forces, moved on the capital; but the lazzaroni of Naples, though deserted by their king, their army, and their natural leaders, fought with the most infuriated bravery in defence of their country. The desperate conflict continued from the 21st to the 23d of January in the environs, the gate, and even the streets of the city; and it was not till the castles of "The Egg" and of St Elmo had been seized by a body of Neapolitan democrats in the interest of the French that the lazzaroni leaders submitted. The usual results of French conquest succeeded; all the public treasures and effects were confiscated; and a new democratic state was proclaimed, under the name of the Parthenopeian Republic.

232. While Italy was thus everywhere falling under the yoke of the French Directory, Great Britain underwent a perilous political crisis on the side of Ireland. Without entering into the various causes which had contributed, during the five centuries since the English conquest, to the continued sufferings of this unhappy country, it must be allowed that the uniform policy pursued towards it during the whole reign of George III. had been eminently indulgent and beneficent. From 1780 to 1798, the most galling parts of the oppressive code, imposed after the Revolution of 1688, had been removed: but sedition continued unabated; and the leaders of the malcontents had been for some years in intimate correspondence with France. An association called the "United Irishmen," and comprising many hundred thousand members, had been organised throughout the kingdom, under a most complete and efficacious system of secret subordination, the names of the chiefs being unknown to the inferior agents, who obeyed the orders of an invisible power. Their real object—the overthrow of the British government, and the formation of a republic allied to France—was veiled by the pretence of seeking parliamentary reform; while the lower

orders were allured by the prospect of liberation from tithes tc the Protestant clergy, and the Restoration of the Roman Catholic faith. The armed assistance of France had been secured by a treaty concluded at Paris in June 1796 by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Wolfe Tone, and O'Connor, the leaders of the insurrection; but the dispersion of the French fleet at Bantry, and the victory of Camperdown, ruined these hopes. The insurgents, becoming desperate, broke out into violence, which was retaliated by the Protestant yeomanry and the *Orangemen*, a society formed for the support of the British ascendency. At the beginning of 1798 matters came to a crisis; fourteen of the chiefs, whose names had been revealed, were seized in Dublin (March 12); and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who escaped at the time, was mortally wounded some time after in resisting his arrest.

233. Notwithstanding the capture of the leaders, the rebellion broke out at once, in many different points, about the end of May. The attempt on Dublin was frustrated by the vigilance of the lord-lieutenant; but fierce encounters took place in various quarters between the royal troops and the insurgents. The latter were generally worsted; but their main force, 15,000 strong, gained a victory at Enniscorthy, and captured Wexford. They were, however, again routed at New Ross and Newtownbarry; and at length (June 21) they sustained a total defeat at Vinegar-hill, in the county of Wexford. The insurrection was now completely got under, and an amnesty had been granted by the government; when the Directory, which had been unaccountably supine during the height of the civil war, made an attempt to revive the contest by landing 1100 men (Aug. 22), under General Humbert, at Killala. A militia force of 4000 men was utterly routed at Castlebar; but the French were eventually compelled to surrender (Sept. 8) to a corps under Lord Cornwallis. A French squadron, which shortly after repeated the attempt, was captured by Sir John Borlase Warren; and Wolfe Tone, who was on board, prevented a public execution by suicide.

234. The British naval annals of this year (1798) present nothing of note, except the capture of Minorca; but the unbounded

arrogance of the Directory had nearly involved France in a naval war with the United States. The dispute arose from a decree (Jan.) declaring contraband the cargoes of all ships, neutral or otherwise, which had touched at a British port: letters of marque were issued, and numerous vessels belonging to Americans (who were then the great neutral carriers of the world) captured by French privateers. The envoys sent to Paris were denied a public audience of the Directors; while it was privately intimated to them that a public loan of £1,000,000 from the States to the Republic, and a further gift or bribe of £50,000 for the private use of the Directors, was indispensable for their favourable reception. This disgraceful proposal was indignantly rejected; the envoys left Paris, and all commercial intercourse with France was suspended. The Hanse Towns, less fortunate, were compelled to purchase inviolability for their neutral flag by the payment of £150,000.

235. At the end of this year, France had no less than six affiliated republics at her side—the Batavian, Cisalpine, Ligurian, Helvetic, Roman, and Parthenopeian—and her dominion was thus virtually established from the Texel to the extremity of Calabria. Meanwhile the negotiations at Rastadt, notwithstanding their length and intricacy, had led to no satisfactory result. When the secret articles of Campo Formio transpired, which stipulated the extension of the Republican frontier to the Rhine, loud reclamations broke out from the German princes thus dispossessed, against this dismemberment of the Empire; but the Imperial ministers replied with truth, that Austria had exhausted her resources in efforts to maintain the integrity of Germany: "If she has been unsuccessful, let those answer for it who contributed nothing towards the common cause." The question of indemnifying the deprived princes next came under consideration; but before this was settled, the conferences were brought to an unexpected close. The residence of Bernadotte, the French ambassador at Vienna, had been attacked and outraged by the mob, whom he had irritated by an imprudent parade of revolutionary emblems;—and before this insult had been satis-

factorily explained, the march of a Russian army through Moravia gave fresh umbrage. The Directory declared that the crossing of the Germanic frontier by the Russians would be considered a declaration of war; and as this notice was disregarded, the negotiations at Rastadt came virtually to an end.

VII. *Campaign of* 1799.

236. The battle of the Nile, by destroying the spell of Republican invincibility, had everywhere revived the spirit of resistance to France. Austria felt that she might now retrieve her losses, and was ready for the field with an admirably equipped army of 250,000 men, with an immense artillery, and supported by 60,000 Russians under Suwarroff, whom the Czar had at length sent to aid the common cause. Turkey was preparing her fleets and armies to enclose the victor of the Pyramids in the kingdom he had won; and an offensive and defensive alliance had been concluded (Dec. 18, 1798) between Great Britain and Russia, in which Britain agreed to advance £225,000, and a monthly subsidy of £75,000, as the price of Russian co-operation.

237. Foreseeing the fresh confederacy thus formed against them, the French Directory had resorted without scruple to every means of recruiting their shattered finances; while, to fill the ranks of the army, which had been greatly thinned by the subsidence of the revolutionary fervour, they enacted the famous Law of the Conscription, by which every Frenchman from 20 to 45 was declared liable to military service, and to be drawn by lot as the youngest, second, or third class was to be called on. A levy of 200,000 men on this principle was immediately ordered. Holland and Switzerland were each called on for a contingent of 18,000 men;—and the Republic was again ready for the field. But 35,000 of her best troops, and her ablest general, were exiles in Egypt; and of all her vast armies only 170,000 men were disposable for the actual shock of war. The Austrian forces were superior both in number and equipment; and the arrival of the Russians, who had not yet come up, would soon still further

increase their superiority. Hostilities commenced by the passage of the Upper Rhine by Jourdan, on 1st March; while Massena simultaneously invaded the Grisons and the Tyrol. On 6th March the Austrian general Auffenberg, surrounded by Massena in the Grisons, was compelled to lay down his arms, with 2000 men; while Oudinot on the left drove Hotze within the intrenchments of Feldkirch. Lecourbe, crossing from Bellinzona by the terrible defile of the Via-Mala, advanced against the Austrian position at Martinsbruck, while Loison and Dessoles assailed it in rear (March 25); and Laudon, the Imperial commander, escaped with only a few hundred men by the Gebatch glacier. But, in the mean time, Feldkirch, strong both in its fortifications and its position, had baffled with great loss all the attacks of Massena and Oudinot, and they fell back across the Rhine.

238. Jourdan, during these movements, had taken up a strong position between the Danube and the lake of Constance: but he was here attacked (March 21) by the Archduke, and compelled to fall back with considerable loss before the numerical superiority of the Imperialists, to Stockach, the point where the roads to Suabia and Switzerland unite. As he could not retire further without abandoning his communications with Massena, he attacked the Austrians on the morning of the 26th March, and a general battle ensued. The right wing of the enemy was turned by the vigorous onset of Soult and St Cyr; but the Archduke instantly repaired in person to the menaced point with the flower of his troops, and a furious struggle took place. The French held their vantage-ground with obstinate valour, and the Princes of Furstenberg and Anhalt-Bernberg were killed in heading the Austrian grenadiers; but Soult was at length compelled to give way, and the retreating columns were charged and overwhelmed by the Imperial cuirassiers. The loss was nearly equal—about 5000 on each side; but the victory of the Austrians was decisive. The orders of the Aulic Council, however, prevented the Archduke from pursuing the French before Switzerland was cleared of the enemy; and they were allowed to retreat unmolested through the Black Forest, and across the Rhine (April 7).

239. Jourdan soon after resigned the command in disgust, and the armies on the Rhine and in the Alps were united under Massena. Drawing back his advanced posts on the Inn and Upper Adige, and abandoning the Rhine, this able general concentrated his forces on an inner line of defence, on the river Limmat or Linth, a stream running through the lake of Zurich, in which town he fixed his headquarters. On 30th April the Imperialists made a general attack on his whole line in the Grisons, while the peasants of the small cantons rose in insurrection in his rear; but though the Austrians failed in forcing the French communications at Luciensteg, Massena was compelled to withdraw his troops from the Engadine, in order to crush the revolters, who were punished with all the severity of military execution. A second attack on Luciensteg (May 14) was more successful: after a desperate conflict, that important fortified post was carried by Hotze, and its defenders made prisoners. The French were now again compelled to fall back: Lecourbe, with the right wing, held the line of the river Reuss, while the bulk of the army assembled round the headquarters at Zurich; till the Archduke crossing the Rhine at Stein and Eglisau (May 22), forced the French centre at Steigpass (May 25), and effected his junction with Hotze, who had crossed the upper part of the stream in the Grisons. Loison, on the extreme right, was meanwhile defeated at Monte-Cenere by Hohenzollern, and at length (May 29) driven with loss over the snowy summit of the St Gothard to Wasen.

240. Massena, with his characteristic obstinacy, still held his defensive position at Zurich, the natural strength of which he had improved by the erection of formidable redoubts. On the 5th of June, the whole extent of his lines was attacked by the Austrian main army under the Archduke; and though, after a bloody conflict, the assailants were repulsed with a loss of 3000 men, the French commander retreated during the night, and took up fresh ground on Mount Albis, between the lake of Zurich and the Aar. The vast stores in the arsenals of Zurich fell into the hands of the Imperialists; the provisional government of the

Helvetic Republic fled from Lucerne to Berne; and the contingent of 18,000 men, which the Swiss had been forced to furnish for the French armies, deserted their unwelcome allies by whole battalions, and were almost entirely dissolved.

241. The commencement of hostilities in Italy was equally unfavourable to the Republican arms. Scherer had only 57,000 men, including conscripts, ready on the Adige to oppose 58,000 Imperialists, with 6000 horse lying on the Tagliamento under Kray, supported by a reserve of 25,000 in Carinthia, and provided with an exceedingly numerous and effective field-artillery, in which arm they had made great improvements during the two years' peace. The anxiety of the French general, however, to anticipate the arrival of the Russians under Suwarroff, led him to commence an attack (March 26) on the Austrian positions, which was at first successful, and the Republicans nearly reached the walls of Verona; but this partial advantage was counterbalanced by the rout and dispersion of the left wing, and the action led to no decisive results. It soon became obvious, however, that the genius of Buonaparte was not possessed by his successor: the French sustained severe loss in repeated attempts to cross the Adige, till, after numerous counter-marches and partial actions, the two armies encountered each other (April 5) on the marshy plain of Magnano: the French having 41,000 men in the field, the Austrians nearly 45,000. The nature of the ground, intersected with numerous small streams, was unfavourable to combined operations; each division combated almost separately, and the fortune of the day was inclining in favour of the French, when it was restored by the advance of Kray in person with the reserve. The French right wing was entirely routed and driven off the field, and the whole army gave way in disorder, with the loss of 4000 prisoners, and the same number killed and wounded. The Republicans retreated in confusion behind the Mincio, loudly murmuring at the incapacity of their general; while the Austrians, slowly pursuing, were joined, a few days after the battle, by 20,000 Russians under the famous Suwarroff.

242. Moreau at the same time succeeded Scherer in the command of the French army of Italy; but it was reduced by sickness and the sword to 28,000 combatants, and, abandoning the immense stores and reserve artillery at Cremona, he fell back behind the Adda. The frontier fortresses of the Cisalpine Republic were thus left to their own resources: Peschiera was carried by assault; Brescia surrendered to Kray (April 20); Mantua and Ferrara were blockaded, and Suwarroff prepared to force the passage of the Adda. All the points favourable to this design had been carefully fortified by the French; but the divisions of Ott and Wukassovich succeeded (on the night of April 25-6) in effecting the passage by surprise at different points, and thus intercepting the communications between the French corps. Serrurier was totally cut off, and obliged to surrender with 7000 men: the French retreated in confusion behind the Ticino, and Suwarroff entered Milan in triumph (April 29). Moreau, in the mean time, whose forces now amounted to scarce a third of those opposed to him, continued to retire, in two columns, on Turin and Alessandria, there to await the arrival of Macdonald and his army from Naples. He repulsed with loss an attempt of the Russian corps of Rosenberg to cross the Po at Valenza (May 11); but, finding his ground rendered untenable by a general insurrection of the Piedmontese peasants, he attempted to retreat by the crest of the Apennines towards Turin. Suwarroff, however, had made a rapid movement towards that city, which was surprised (May 27) by his advanced guard under Wukassovich: the castle of Milan had fallen on the 24th, thus completing the conquest of Lombardy; and Moreau was compelled to turn his steps towards Genoa, the only rallying-point where he could hope to be joined by Macdonald. The great road, however, was blocked up by the town of Ceva, which was successfully defended by the insurgents, aided by a small Austrian force; and Moreau's situation would have been hopeless had not the exertions of the French engineers succeeded in making the mountain paths of the Apennines practicable for artillery —and by these tracks he arrived safe at Loano, after leaving a

garrison at Coni. Suwarroff, well aware of the value of time in war, was eager to attack Moreau's discomfited army in the Ligurian Alps before the arrival of Macdonald; but the positive orders of the Aulic Council restrained him from attempting anything further in this quarter till Mantua had fallen; and he had accordingly to confine his operations to spreading his troops through Piedmont, and up to the old frontiers of France.

243. Meanwhile Macdonald—leaving behind him an insurrection in Southern Italy, which the co-operation of Nelson's fleet soon made successful—moved rapidly northwards with 35,000 men to the assistance of Moreau. The plan now concerted between these two generals was to threaten the communications of the Allies by a demonstration on the Lower Po—a scheme rendered feasible by the immense dispersion of the Allied corps. Macdonald, accordingly, after re-organising his troops, crossed the Apennines, and drove the Imperialists with loss from Modena, Parma, and Placentia (June 12 and 13). But no sooner did Suwarroff learn his advance, than (emulating the energetic resolution by which Napoleon had overthrown Wurmser on the Adige three years before) he instantly called in all his advanced posts, directed Kray to raise the siege of Mantua, and by the 15th had assembled 30,000 foot and 6000 horse at Garofalo. The armies met on the morning of the 17th, in the plain between the Apennines and the Po, intersected by the classic stream of the Trebbia. The combat of the first day, though severe, was indecisive, and the two hosts bivouacked on the same ground occupied two thousand years before by the Romans and Carthaginians. On the 18th, however, the Russian marshal directed his best troops, under Rosenberg and Bagrathion, against the division of Victor and the Poles under Dombrowsky, on the French left, thus hoping to cut off the communication between Macdonald and Moreau. The Republicans were driven over the Trebbia; but at night the Russians resumed their former ground, and it was not till the 19th that the sanguinary conflict was decided. On that day Macdonald, assuming the offensive, crossed the Trebbia, and attempted to turn at once both flanks of the

enemy; but the invincible firmness of the Russian infantry sustained the shock, and the scale was turned by a well-timed charge of the reserve under Prince Lichtenstein. The victory in this terrible battle, the most bloody and obstinate since the beginning of the war, remained with the Allies; and Macdonald decamped during the night, having lost 12,000 in killed and wounded out of 36,000.

244. The loss of the victors was almost equally severe; but they pressed with unabated vigour the disastrous retreat of the French over the Apennines, inflicting on them a loss in prisoners nearly equal to that sustained in the battle. The pursuit of Suwarroff was, however, checked by news of the advance of Moreau, who had inflicted a severe defeat on Bellegarde, near Alessandria; but who retreated to his former position on learning the fall of the citadel of Turin (June 20), and the approach of the victorious Suwarroff. Macdonald, meanwhile, gained Genoa (July 17), after a long and painful circuit, with his shattered forces, in the most deplorable condition; and Joubert soon after arrived to take the command of both armies. At length Mantua, after a pertinacious defence against Kray, was compelled to surrender on 30th July; the citadel of Alessandria had already (July 21) yielded to Bellegarde, and Tortona and Coni were invested: but in the mean time the French force at Genoa had been raised to 48,000 men, including 3000 horse, by the arrival of the army of Naples (July 29), and Joubert instantly advanced to relieve the beleaguered fortresses. He had not, however, learned the fall of Mantua, and was unprepared for the superiority of force which the consequent junction of Kray's corps had given the main army of the Allies, whose numbers exceeded the French by 15,000, when the two hosts came in contact near Novi on the evening of 14th August. At five on the following morning, the French position was assaulted at all points: the Republicans, taken by surprise among the vineyards and ravines at the foot of the Apennines, were thrown into disorder; and Joubert himself was killed while gallantly striving to re-form his broken battalions. But the arrival of Moreau restored the battle; the

Imperialists were again driven down the slopes; and the firm array of the Republicans, though pressed during the whole day by combined and furious charges, remained unbroken at four P.M. The resolution of Suwarroff was still unshaken; and a fresh attack by Melas, who had just come up with his division, having at length succeeded in turning the French right, Moreau was compelled to order a general retreat, which was soon converted into a rout. The whole army disbanded and fled in confusion: Colli, with his entire brigade, was made prisoner, Grouchy and Perignon were wounded and taken, and the total loss amounted to 7000 killed and wounded, 3000 prisoners, and 37 pieces of cannon. Moreau regained his former position in the defiles of the Apennines, and Tortona immediately surrendered to the Allies.

245. Switzerland in the mean time had become the theatre of even more important events. Since the capture of Zurich, the Archduke had been watching the Republicans on the Limmat, and expecting the arrival of Korsakoff; but the Aulic Council, with unaccountable infatuation, ordered him at this important juncture to repair with the bulk of his army to the Rhine, leaving Switzerland to Korsakoff and the Russians. Before these injudicious orders, however, could be carried into effect, Massena had boldly assumed the offensive (Aug. 14) by a false attack on Zurich, intended to mask the operations of his right wing, which meanwhile, under Lecourbe, was directed against the St Gothard, in order to cut off the communication between the Allied forces in Switzerland and in Italy. These attacks proved completely successful. The Imperialists were driven by Lecourbe and Oudinot from Schwytz, and afterwards from Altdorf, up the valley of the Reuss; and Colonel Strauch having quitted the important ridges of the Grimsel and the Furca to repel the advance of General Thurreau in the Valais, they were seized during his absence by General Gudin; while Lecourbe, pursuing his career of victory on the Reuss, repaired the chasm of the Devil's Bridge in the pass of Schollenen, which had been blown up by the retreating Austrians (Aug. 15). The Imperialists, now finding

their flank menaced by Gudin from Urseren, fell back to the Crispalt, near the source of the Rhine, where they were assailed (Aug. 16) and repulsed with loss to Ilantz; a French detachment at the same time seizing the St Gothard, and establishing itself at Airolo, on the southern declivity. Lecourbe's left had meanwhile cleared the banks of the lake of Zurich of the enemy, who were driven back into Glarus.

246. To obtain these brilliant successes on the right, Massena had been obliged to weaken his left wing; and the Archduke, now reinforced by 20,000 Russians, attempted to avail himself of this circumstance to force the passage of the Limmat, below Zurich (Aug. 16 and 17); but this enterprise, the success of which might have altered the fate of the war, failed from the defective construction of the pontoons; and the positive orders of the Aulic Council forbade his remaining longer in Switzerland. Accordingly, leaving 25,000 men under Hotze to support Korsakoff, he marched for the Upper Rhine, where the French, at his approach, abandoned the siege of Philipsburg, and retired to Mannheim; but this important post, the defences of which were imperfectly restored, was carried by a *coup-de-main* (Sept. 18), and the French driven with severe loss over the Rhine.

247. But this success was dearly bought by the disasters in Switzerland, which followed the Archduke's departure. It had been arranged that Suwarroff was to move from Bellinzona (Sept. 21), and after retaking the St Gothard, combine with Korsakoff in a front attack on Massena, while Hotze assailed him in flank. But Massena, who was now the superior in numbers, determined to anticipate the arrival of Suwarroff by striking a blow, for which the presumptuous confidence of Korsakoff gave him increased facility. On the evening of 24th September, the passage of the river was surprised below Zurich, and the heights of Closter-Fahr carried by storm; and, in the course of the next day, Korsakoff, with his main army, was completely hemmed in at Zurich by the superior generalship of the French commander, who summoned the Russians to surrender. But the bravery shown by Korsakoff in these desperate circumstances

equalled his former arrogance: on the 28th, the Russian columns, issuing from the town, forced their way with the courage of despair through the surrounding masses of French, while a slender rear-guard defended the ramparts of Zurich till the remainder had extricated themselves. The town was at length entered, and a frightful carnage ensued in the streets, in the midst of which the illustrious Lavater was barbarously shot by a French soldier: while Korsakoff, after losing 8000 killed and wounded, 5000 prisoners, 100 pieces of cannon, and all his ammunition, stores, and military chest, succeeded in reaching Schaffhausen. The attack of Soult above the lake (Sept. 25) was equally triumphant. The gallant Hotze, who commanded in that quarter, was killed in the first encounter; and the Austrians, giving way in consternation, were driven over the Thur, and at length over the Rhine, with the loss of 20 guns and 3000 prisoners.

248. Suwarroff in the mean time was gallantly performing his part of the plan. On the 23d of September, the French posts at Airolo and St Gothard were carried, after a desperate resistance, by the Russian main force, while their flank was turned by Rosenberg; and Lecourbe, hastily retreating, broke down the Devil's Bridge to check the advance of the enemy. A scene of useless butchery followed, the two parties firing on each other from the opposite brinks of the impassable abyss; but the flank of the French was at length turned, the bridge repaired, and the Russians, pressing on in triumph, joined the Austrian division of Auffenberg, at Wasen, and repulsed the French beyond Altdorf. But this was the limit of the old marshal's success. After effecting with severe loss the passage of the tremendous defiles and ridges of the Schachenthal, between Altdorf and Mutten, he found that Linken and Jellachich, who were to have moved from Coire to co-operate with him, had again retreated on learning the disaster at Zurich; and Suwarroff found himself in the midst of the enemy, with Massena on one side and Molitor on the other. With the utmost difficulty the veteran conqueror was prevailed upon, for the first time in his life, to order a

retreat, which had become indispensable, and the heads of his columns were turned towards Glarus and the Grisons. But though the attack of Massena on their rear in the Muttenthal was repulsed with the loss of 2000 men, their onward route was barred at Naefels by Molitor, who defied all the efforts of Prince Bagrathion to dislodge him; and in the midst of a heavy fall of snow, which obliterated the mountain paths, the Russian army wound its way (Oct. 5) in single file over the rugged and sterile peaks of the Alps of Glarus. Numbers perished of cold, or fell over the precipices; but nothing could overcome the unconquerable spirit of the soldiers: without fire or stores, and compelled to bivouac on the snow, they still struggled on through incredible hardships, till the dreadful march terminated (Oct. 10) at Ilantz. Such was the famous passage of the Alps by Suwarroff. Korsakoff in the meanwhile (Oct. 1-7) had maintained a desperate conflict near Constance, till the return of the Archduke checked the efforts of the French; and the Allies, abandoning the St Gothard, and all the other posts they still held in Switzerland, concentrated their forces on the Rhine, which became the boundary of the two armies.

249. While these desperate conflicts were in progress in Southern Europe, Britain was preparing, in conjunction with Russia, an expedition against Holland, on a scale more commensurate with her power than any which she had yet sent forth. The Directory were alarmed by the reports of the vast naval preparations in the British harbours; but they could spare no soldiers to reinforce Brune, who had only 15,000 French and 20,000 Dutch troops. On the 28th of August the first British division, 17,000 strong, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, effected its landing at the Helder, in the face of the Batavians under Daendels; and the fleet under Admiral Story at the Texel, consisting of eight ships of the line and numerous frigates and smaller vessels, surrendered without firing a shot. An attempt of a greatly superior French force under Vandamme (Sept. 10) to dislodge the British from their positions, was repulsed with considerable slaughter; and between the 12th and 15th, the invaders were

raised to 35,000 by the arrival of 17,000 Russians and 12,000 British,—the Duke of York taking the chief command. The Allies now advanced from the Helder, and an obstinate engagement ensued (Sept. 10) in front of Alkmaar: the British were victorious on the centre and left; but this advantage was neutralised by the rout of the Russians on the right, and both armies reoccupied their former lines. The attack was renewed, however, on the arrival of reinforcements (Oct. 2), when Brune was routed and driven from the lines of Alkmaar; but a second well-contested action (Oct. 6), though the barren honours of the field remained with the Allies, failed in its intended object of giving them possession of Haarlem as a central point whence to maintain their footing in the country. Their situation, notwithstanding their successes, was now becoming highly precarious, from the inclemency of the season, the increasing sickness of the troops, and the want of supplies. They were compelled to fall back on their former positions, closely pursued by Brune, till (Oct. 8) the Duke of York, finding that only eleven days' provision remained for the troops, whose number was reduced to 20,000 effective men, entered into a convention with the French commander for the evacuation of Holland, which was carried into effect before the end of November.

250. In Italy, after the disastrous battle of Novi, the Directory had given the leadership of the armies, both of Italy and Savoy, to the gallant Championnet; but he could muster only 54,000 troops and 6000 raw conscripts to oppose Melas, who had succeeded Suwarroff in the command, and who had 68,000, besides his garrisons and detachments. The proposition of Championnet had been to fall back, with his army still entire, to the other side of the Alps: but his orders were positive to attempt the relief of Coni, then besieged by the Austrians; and after a desultory warfare for several weeks, he commenced a decisive movement for that purpose at the end of October, with 35,000 men. But before the different French columns could effect a junction, they were separately assailed by Melas: the divisions of Grenier and Victor were overwhelmed at Genola (Nov. 4), and defeated with the

loss of 7000 men; and though St Cyr repulsed the Imperialists (Nov. 10) on the plateau of Novi, Coni was left to its fate, and surrendered with all its garrison (Dec. 4). An epidemic disorder broke out in the French army, to which Championnet himself, and numerous soldiers, fell victims: the troops, giving way to despair, abandoned their standards by hundreds and returned to France; and it was with difficulty that the eloquent exhortations of St Cyr succeeded in keeping together a sufficient number to defend the Bochetta pass, in front of Genoa, the loss of which would have entailed destruction on the whole army. The discomfited Republicans were driven back on their own frontiers; and, excepting Genoa, the tricolor flag was everywhere expelled from Italy.

251. At the same time the campaign on the Rhine was drawing to a close. The army of Massena was not strong enough to follow up the brilliant success at Zurich, and the jealousies of the Austrians and Russians, who mutually laid on each other the blame of the late disasters, prevented their acting cordially in concert against him. Suwarroff at length, in a fit of exasperation, drew off his troops to winter quarters in Bavaria, and took no further share in the war; and a fruitless attempt in November against Philipsburg, by Lecourbe, who had been transferred to the command on the Lower Rhine, closed the operations in that quarter.

VIII. *Internal state of France—the Directory—return of Buonaparte from Egypt—he is elected First Consul.*

252. Meanwhile, in France, the illusions of republicanism had passed away; the rapid vicissitudes had overturned the previous ideas of all men, while the rule of the middle classes and of the mob had come and vanished like sanguinary but fleeting visions. Society emerged weakened and disjointed from the chaos; and all classes, despairing of any real amelioration, rushed headlong into the luxuries of private life. Female influence resumed its previous ascendency, and society its wonted order; and never

were manners more corrupt, or festivities more prodigal, than under the Directory. The transition was easy from democratic extravagance to sensuality: and the passions, unrestrained by any religious belief, were indulged without control.

253. The elections of the third part of the deputies who were to be newly chosen (p. 95), ended mostly in the return of men of moderate principles; but their influence was inconsiderable compared with that exercised by the remaining members of the old Assembly. Two hundred and fifty of their number were chosen by ballot to form the Council of Ancients; and the choice of Directors, after some hesitation, fell on Barras, Rewbell, Lareveillère-Lepaux, Letourneur, and Carnot. Of these, Barras was evidently the one most qualified to take the lead, from the audacity and decision which he had often shown, and particularly on the late revolt of the Sections; but his indolent and voluptuous, though haughty temperament, fitted him rather to command in perilous emergencies than to conduct the ordinary routine of business. Rewbell, on the contrary, though devoid of distinguished talent or eloquence, was useful from his habits of business and knowledge of forms. Lareveillère-Lepaux, a sincere Republican and Girondist, was of a mild and gentle disposition, with no marked characteristic but fanaticism in the cause of natural religion against Christianity; and Letourneur was an old officer of artillery. It was on the genius of Carnot alone that the administration depended for its general efficiency.

254. Among the innumerable difficulties which beset the Directors on their accession to power, the most pressing was that of the assignats, which had fallen at length to one-thousandth part of their nominal value. To conceal and check this enormous depreciation, a new paper-money was issued, called *territorial mandates*, intended to withdraw the assignats at the rate of thirty to one; and this expedient, as the holder was entitled to exchange his paper, by summary process, for the land on which it was secured, met with transient success. But it was impossible to sustain at par a paper-money which was worth nothing in foreign states: the *mandates* speedily shared the fate of the

assignats; and though the gold and silver which began to pour in from foreign conquest supplied in some measure the general want of a circulating medium, the fundholders and public officers, who were still paid in mandates, were reduced almost to starvation. The armies in the interior were not less deplorably situated; the roads were covered with troops of brigands, formed of deserters, whom hunger had driven from their standards; and the general distress was turned to account by foreign speculators, whose command of metallic treasure enabled them to buy up the most costly effects at incredibly inadequate prices.

255. The crisis at length arrived. On the 16th July 1796, the national bankruptcy was in effect proclaimed, by a decree which authorised all persons to transact business in whatever money they chose, and reduced the mandates to their current value. Thus ended, after six years, the system of fictitious paper credit, which on the one hand had ruined the public creditors, and all those formerly opulent; and, on the other, had virtually annulled all debts by the elusory form in which payment might be made, and had enabled the holders of government paper to purchase the national domains for almost nothing. Such a revolution in individual fortunes had never before been effected. The Directory was now compelled to adapt the expenditure as far as possible to the real revenue, which was calculated at £50,000,000 for 1796: but it fell short of this sum, while the outlay far exceeded the estimates. The income of 1797 was only £27,000,000; and after the trial and failure of various temporary schemes, the bankruptcy of the nation was avowed; and two-thirds of the public burdens summarily extinguished (Aug. 18, 1797), by conversion into valueless bills, which obtained scarcely even a momentary currency.

256. The attempts of the Directors, during the first year, to restore order to the chaos of society, were eminently successful. The odious law of the maximum was repealed; the press was again free; the metallic currency restored; and the internal police of the country restored to its former security. But religion still remained prostrate; the churches were closed, and the sacra-

ments unknown. A generation grew up, ignorant of the first elements of the faith of their fathers; and a chasm was thus made in the social institutions of France, which nothing has subsequently been able to repair. Lareveillère-Lepaux attempted to establish a system of Theophilanthropy, with temples, and a sort of liturgy; but this and similar attempts to supersede Revelation wholly failed.

257. But this repose was not destined long to endure; and it was by the Jacobins that it was first disturbed. This desperate faction had formed a new club at the Pantheon, headed by an outrageous democrat calling himself *Gracchus* Babœuff; but their violent declamations attracted the notice of government, and the club was forcibly closed. Thus thwarted, the Jacobins adopted more covert measures. By means of secret committees, they attempted to tamper with the troops in the camp at Grenelle, and to organise a revolt for 21st May, when the Directors were to have been murdered, and the Reign of Terror revived in even more than its former horror. But the troops refused to join the insurgents; Babœuff and Darthé, his principal follower, were tried, and after attempting suicide on condemnation, were executed; thirty-one of the inferior agents were shot by a military commission, and the conspiracy was totally crushed.

258. The terror excited in the public mind by these efforts of the Jacobins roused anew the hopes of the royalists, who strove to guide the reaction in favour of their own views. Their first attempts proved abortive; but in the elections of 1797, when one-third of the members of the two councils were changed, they obtained so decided a superiority, as to give them a great majority both in the Five Hundred and the Ancients. Pichegru and Barbe-Marbois, both royalists, became presidents of the councils; and when Letourneur retired in rotation from the Directory, he was succeeded by Barthelemy, an anti-republican. The periodical press fell almost entirely into the hands of the royalists, whose movements were directed by the Club of Clichy, while the rendezvous of the opposite party was the Club of Salm. Even Carnot, the most sincere of republicans, was known to

be disposed to royalism, from his aversion to the late scenes of violence; and so strong was the retrograde torrent, that the laws against priests and emigrants were repealed, and an attempt of the Directors to control the royalist press was negatived by the Council of Ancients. It was ascertained that the next election would almost wholly extinguish the revolutionary party; and the Ancients had already resolved to transfer the legislature to Rouen, near those western provinces which had always been the stronghold of the Bourbonists. But the army was still strongly republican; and Barras, Rewbell, and Lareveillère-Lepaux, who saw the scaffold before them as regicides in the event of a restoration, resolved on decisive measures.

259. The co-operation of the military chiefs, Hoche and Buonaparte, had been secured by Barras: the latter sent Lavalette and Augereau to Paris to support the government, and addressed to the army of Italy (July 14) a proclamation breathing the strongest republican sentiments, which were vehemently responded to by the soldiery.

260. Thus powerfully seconded, the Directors proceeded to act vigorously: the ministers, who were all suspected of royalism, were replaced by a fresh cabinet, including Talleyrand and Hoche; and 12,000 men from the army of the latter were quartered round Paris, in violation of the new constitution, which forbade troops to be brought within twelve leagues of the legislature. The opposite party foresaw the impending shock, but they were strong only in numbers and eloquence, and had little military force at their disposal. On the night of the 17th Fructidor (Sept. 3), the troops commanded by Augereau entered the city and surrounded the Tuileries; the guards of the councils, in spite of the exhortations of their commandant Ramel, refused to act against their fellow-soldiers; and by six o'clock next morning, Pichegru, Barthelemy, Camille-Jourdan, Troncon-Ducondary, Boissy-d'Anglas, and several hundreds of their party, were in prison,—Carnot alone escaping to Geneva.

261. The use made by the three Directors of their victory was as tyrannical as the means by which it was gained were uncon-

stitutional. Acting under their orders, the remnant of the two councils condemned fifteen of their most illustrious captives, including Pichegru and Barthelemy, to transportation to Guiana, a sentence worse than death itself: several hundreds of priests, who had recently returned to France, were subjected to the same punishment. Pichegru, with a few companions, escaped soon after his arrival: of the remainder, only eight priests, with two of the political delinquents, survived the pestilential climate for two years, when they were recalled on the accession of Buonaparte. The triumphant faction in France meanwhile proceeded in their career of despotism: the freedom of the press and trial by jury were abolished; the revolutionary laws against the priests, emigrants, and nobles, were re-enacted in their cruel rigour, and the terrors of Jacobin rule appeared on the point of revival. The judges and authorities throughout the departments were arbitrarily changed; and the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, concerted with the leaders of the army, and carried into effect by military force, is the true era of the commencement of military despotism in France. The springs of the movement were throughout directed by Buonaparte; and though he strongly disapproved of the abuse of their triumph by the revolutionary leaders, he did not the less clearly perceive, in its inevitable results, the furtherance of the projects of his own ambition.

262. But on the removal of the armies to the frontier, on the resumption of hostilities in 1799, the public voice could no longer be stifled, and the embarrassment of the finances, with the disasters at the opening of the campaign, blew the discontent into a flame. The new elections of a third part of the legislature (March) returned representatives mostly adverse to the government established by the bayonets of Augereau; and complaints arose in all quarters, the first result of which was the restoration of the liberty of the press. Rewbell had retired in rotation from the Directory, and had been succeeded by Sièyes, who soon entered into a league with his colleague Barras, and the generals Joubert and Augereau, for a change in the government, and the overthrow of the three other Directors, Lareveillère-Lepaux, Treil-

hard and Merlin. The conspiracy was supported by a great majority in both councils; and matters were soon brought to a crisis by the committees of war, expenditure, and finance, which insisted on information relative to the disorders in their respective departments. Treilhard at length yielded to the storm, and retired from office; Lareveillère-Lepaux and Merlin, after an obstinate resistance, were compelled to follow his example—Gohier, Moulins, and Roger Ducos, being appointed their successors. This was called the revolution of the 30th Prairial (May 25).

263. The new Directors, however, were no better qualified than their predecessors to meet the shocks which assailed the State both without and within. Scarcely were they installed in office when dismay was spread by the forcing of the lines of Zurich, and the defeat at the Trebbia; and the Jacobins, availing themselves of the general panic, once more emerged from their lurking-places, reopened their clubs, and recommenced their harangues. To supply the immediate exigencies of the State, it was found necessary to levy forced loans, and to put in exercise the powers of the conscription; but the authority of government was almost paralysed in the provinces, and the Vendeans and Chouans were again in arms and triumphant under Chatillon and Bourmont, the future conqueror of Algiers. A barbarous enactment, called the Law of Hostages, by which the relations of emigrants were made responsible for all disorders committed in their native districts, totally failed in its intended effect; the forced loan was slowly and sparingly collected; and the Jacobins declaimed with increased fury in favour of an agrarian law, which had been the favourite idea of Babœuff. In this extreme peril, the nomination of the celebrated Fouché as minister of police produced important results. An old Jacobin, a regicide, and atheist, a principal in the massacres at Lyons, he at once perceived that the ascendant of his old associates was irrecoverably on the wane, and accordingly addressed himself without scruple to their subversion. On the 12th of August the Jacobin Club was again and for ever closed; and the furious attacks which this bold measure drew on the government were sum-

marily crushed by the suppression of eleven journals. Still the conviction forced itself on all minds, that the sinking fortunes of the Republic could be saved from utter ruin only by the appearance of some military chief of commanding talents at the helm: "What we want," said Sièyes, "is a head and a sword." At this crisis of public opinion, it was announced that Napoleon Buonaparte, the victor of Mount Tabor and Aboukir, had landed (Oct. 8) at Frejus.

264. The progress of the conqueror of Egypt, from Frejus to Paris, was one continual triumph. All day the people flocked in crowds to see the hero who was to save the Republic; and his course at night was marked by bonfires on the hills. On 16th October he arrived at Paris, and on the following day was presented in state to the Directory. Splendid encomiums were pronounced on his victories, but mutual distrust was visible throughout the interview. So general, indeed, had the conviction become of the impossibility of longer maintaining the republican form of government, that intrigues were far advanced for restoring monarchy, in which Sièyes, Barras, and even Buonaparte's brothers, were deeply implicated. Buonaparte, however, though convinced that the moment had arrived for seizing supreme power, had as yet no fixed plan of operations; and his conduct at this critical juncture is a memorable instance of his profound knowledge of human nature. Though his saloon was constantly crowded with generals and men of distinction, he avoided showing himself in public, wore only the costume of the Institute, and invited none but scientific men to his dinners in the Rue Chantereine. But under this unobtrusive bearing, his ambitious designs were actively forwarded. Most of the military chiefs were already gained to his views; though Moreau was for some time reluctant, and the republicanism of Bernadotte proved invincible either by arguments or promises. Sièyes, Talleyrand, and Fouché were also more or less favourable; but Gohier and Moulins refused their accession. Barras in vain endeavoured to sound his intentions; and it was between Sièyes and Buonaparte himself, after a banquet at the Council of

Ancients (Nov. 6), that the details of the conspiracy were finally arranged.

265. The chiefs of the different parties, meanwhile, were amused with the declarations most acceptable to each; and on the 18th Brumaire (Nov. 8) the first impulse was to be given. On that day the officers of the garrison and of the national guard were to be presented to him by previous appointment; and three regiments of cavalry, which had requested him to review them, were desired to be in readiness. The Council of Ancients, meanwhile, passed a decree for transferring the legislature to St Cloud, the execution of which was intrusted to Buonaparte; and the assembled officers, filled with enthusiasm, unanimously promised him their support. Attended by this splendid staff, he presented himself at the bar of the Ancients, whom he addressed in these words: "Citizen-representatives, the Republic was about to perish, when you, the collected wisdom of the nation, saved it. I come, with all the generals, to offer you our support. *We are resolved to have a republic:* I swear it in my own name, and in that of my companions in arms." The Assembly broke up, and Buonaparte proceeded to pass in review the regiments of the garrison.

266. The decree of the Ancients, meanwhile, was received with violent agitation by the Five Hundred, by whom it was wholly unexpected; and Lucien Buonaparte, their president, had difficulty in restraining their indignation. Meanwhile, the Directory was dissolved. Sièyes and Ducos, who were in the secret, resigned; Barras was disposed of without much difficulty; and Gohier and Moulins, who remained firm, were put under arrest by Moreau. Fouché, Cambacérès, and all the public authorities, joined the movement; and before night the government was annihilated.

267. On the following morning (Nov. 9, Brumaire 19) 5000 troops surrounded St Cloud; and the legislature was now to deliberate, not under the pikes of the mob, but the bayonets of the soldiery. The Five Hundred, however, manifested so violent a spirit of opposition, that the minority of the Ancients resumed courage

to protest against the impending change; and even the troops, attached as they were to Napoleon, hesitated to act against the legislature. The peril of Buonaparte was extreme; and he resolved to present himself with his staff at the bar of the Ancients: but his agitation rendered his address almost unintelligible, and his appeal to the soldiers roused the opposition to fury. A democrat named Linglet called on him to swear to the constitution; but Buonaparte, regaining his energy, denounced the repeated violations of the constitution of which the Directors had been guilty, and concluded by threatening the vengeance of his followers against any one who should dare to propose putting him *hors la loi*. It was a proposition of this kind which had proved fatal to Robespierre; and the Five Hundred, who had assembled in the Orangery while the scene in the Ancients was in progress, were already on the point of forcing Lucien to put the question of outlawry to the vote.

268. No time was to be lost in averting this danger; and Buonaparte hastened to the hall of the Five Hundred, which he entered alone, leaving his military attendants at the door. But he was instantly surrounded by a furious crowd, exclaiming "Death to the dictator! no Cromwell!" and the soldiers, alarmed at the danger of their general, rushed forwards and tore him from the hall. Lucien, left unsupported in the president's chair, in vain endeavoured to allay the tempest, and defend his brother, till he was removed by another party of soldiers. Buonaparte had now mounted on horseback, and was haranguing the troops in the court, when Lucien, arriving to his support, exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, "Citizen-Soldiers! the President of the Council of Five Hundred declares to you, that that body is enthralled by a factious band armed with daggers, who interdict all freedom of deliberation. Let force expel those who remain in the Orangery: they are representatives, not of the people, but of the poniard." A battalion, headed by Murat and Leclerc, accordingly entered the council; the voices of Jourdan and other deputies, who attempted to remonstrate, were drowned by the roll of the drums; and the members, seeing the bayonet at their breasts, escaped

in dismay through the windows and every exit which presented itself.

269. The Ancients were thunderstruck at hearing that actual force had been employed to dissolve the Five Hundred; but they had no other alternative than to receive the explanations tendered by Lucien. The same night about sixty members of the two councils assembled, and passed a decree abolishing the Directory, adjourning the councils for three months, and vesting the authority meanwhile in three provisional consuls—Buonaparte, Sièyes, and Ducos. All ranks of the people, worn out with past convulsions, felt that repose could be obtained only under the shadow of military authority, and joyfully acquiesced in the change: the nation was as unanimous in 1799 to terminate the era of revolution as in 1789 it had been to commence it. The universal satisfaction was augmented by the clemency with which Buonaparte used his victory. No proscriptions and few arrests followed the triumph of order over revolution; on the contrary, the law of the hostages, and the forced loan, were abolished; the priests and others proscribed on the 18th Fructidor were allowed to return; and liberty was restored to no fewer than 9000 state prisoners. Thirty-seven only of the more violent Jacobins and Republicans were ordered to be transported to Guiana; but even this sentence was never put in execution.

270. The new constitution yet remained to be fixed; and on this point Sièyes and Buonaparte were at variance. The former wished to vest the executive in a Grand Elector, who was to be irresponsible, but to exercise no immediate power except that of naming two consuls of the exterior and interior, who were to wield the actual powers of government. The practical absurdity of this plan was obvious to every one; and it was decidedly negatived by Buonaparte, who clearly saw the necessity of monarchical rule for France; but in order to disguise this fact, and soothe republican jealousy, it was at last agreed that there should be three consuls, of whom one alone should possess real authority the other two being only his advisers. Government alone had the right of proposing laws; and the legislature consisted of—

1. A Conservative Senate, nominated by the consuls, and of which the members held their places for life; 2. A Tribunate, which was to discuss the legislative measures with the Council of State, and which comprised one hundred members; and, 3. A Legislative Body of three hundred, without the power of debate. The members of these bodies were to be taken from a list called the Notables of France, chosen by an election of one-tenth from among the notables of the departments, who again were one-tenth among the notables of the communes; and it was only in the elections of these last that the citizens at large were now to be allowed a voice. The notables of France, under this system, amounted to no more than 6000 persons, and from them all the offices of state were to be filled; while the influence of the people was in effect, by the process of triple election, completely destroyed. All the members of the legislature received pensions from the State,—the senators, £1000 a-year, the tribunes £650, and the members of the legislative body £400 a-year.

271. On the 24th of December the constitution was proclaimed; and, though destroying all the objects for which the people had combated during ten years, was gladly adopted by the immense majority of the nation, who hailed in it the termination of revolutionary convulsion. The appointments were at once filled up without waiting for the lists of notables, from which, according to theory, they were to have been selected. Sièyes and Ducos withdrew from the consulate, and their places were filled by Cambacérès and Lebrun, men of moderation and probity, and well fitted for their functions, Talleyrand became minister of foreign affairs, and Fouché of police. Thus ended the changes of the French Revolution, in the establishment, by universal consent, of a government which swept away every remnant of freedom, and consigned the State to the tranquillity of military despotism.

PART IV.

FROM BUONAPARTE'S ELECTION TO THE CONSULATE TO HIS ASSUMPTION OF THE IMPERIAL CROWN.—1799–1804.

I. *Measures of France and Britain.*

272. THE first step of Buonaparte, on mounting the consular throne, was to propose peace to England, through a letter addressed directly to the King (Dec. 25); but his overtures were deemed inadmissible, and the negotiation came to nothing. Buonaparte, as he afterwards admitted, had no serious intention at this time of concluding peace: for he was well aware that his power depended on his glory, and his glory on his victories; and that it was only by the splendour of fresh military triumphs that he could hope to render it permanent.

273. The British government, finding the continuance of the war inevitable, took the most vigorous measures for its prosecution. The state of public credit, as exhibited in the budget, was in the highest degree favourable. The boundless wealth of Great Britain was proved by a loan of £18,500,000 being obtained, in the eighth year of the war, at 4¾ per cent; but both the financier and the public overlooked the grievous burden ultimately destined to result by borrowing in the three per cents, in which an obligation of £100 was incurred for every £60 advanced. Since the great financial crisis and limitation of cash payments in 1797, British prosperity had steadily and rapidly increased; the stimulus given to national industry by the vast government expenditure arising from the war, had occasioned a general rise both in prices and incomes, which was not affected to any considerable extent even by the severe scarcity of provisions which followed the bad harvest of 1799. The armaments for the year amounted to 168,000 regular troops, and 80,000 militia; 510 ships of war, including 124 of the line, were in commission, and 120,000 seamen

and marines voted for the sea-service. Since the beginning of the war (as appeared from parliamentary returns) only 208,000 men had been raised for the troops of the line—a number which might easily have been levied in a single year from the population; and which, if ably conducted and thrown into the scale against France, would certainly have terminated the war. A subsidy of £2,500,000 was likewise voted to Austria, who, as the secession of Russia from the league against France was soon unequivocal, was making great efforts to bear the brunt of the contest alone.

274. The session was signalised by several domestic measures of importance—the renewal of the Bank Charter for twenty-one years, in consideration of which a loan of £3,000,000, without interest, was advanced by the Directors—the continuance of the suspension of the Habeas-Corpus Act—the Indian budget of Mr Dundas—and, lastly, the memorable union of Ireland with Great Britain. The debates on this great question, though highly important in British, are not of sufficient moment for quotation in European history: it will here be sufficient to state the principal articles of the Treaty of Union. Twenty-eight temporal and 4 spiritual peers, with 100 commoners, were sent by Ireland to the imperial parliament; the churches of England and Ireland were united; commercial privileges fairly communicated; and the general expenditure ordered to be defrayed, for twenty years after the union, in the proportion of twenty for Great Britain and two for Ireland. It was not without most violent opposition, however, that this great measure was carried in the Irish parliament; in the British, the majority in the Commons was 208 to 26, and in the Lords 75 to 7.

275. Meanwhile France had exhausted both her own resources and those of the affiliated republics on her frontier, by forced loans and requisitions of all sorts; public credit was utterly exhausted, and there was a deficit of £21,000,000 in the revenue of the preceding year. But the establishment of the firm and vigorous government of the First Consul arrested these disorders as if by enchantment. The capitalists again came forward with

advances; the unsold national domains began to find purchasers, from the increasing confidence in government; and even a tax of twenty-five per cent on real property, which was substituted for the forced loans, however intolerable it would have been under ordinary circumstances, now gave general satisfaction.

276. The pacification of la Vendée was the next object; and the rapidity with which it was effected, proves how much the long duration of its troubles had been owing to republican cruelty. The insurgent leaders soon became convinced that they had now a different person to deal with, both in the field and the cabinet, from the weak and tyrannical Directors; and negotiations were speedily opened. Chatillon and d'Autichamps first submitted; Suzannet and the Abbé Bernier (afterwards made Bishop of Orleans by Buonaparte) followed their example. Count Louis de Frotte alone was executed, under circumstances of great perfidy: but both in la Vendée and Brittany the chiefs gradually came in; and, on 28th February 1801, the complete pacification of the country was announced by the publication of a general and unqualified annesty.

277. The measures of Buonaparte were next directed to detach Russia from the alliance against France—an attempt facilitated by her maritime jealousy of Britain, and by the exasperation of Paul and his generals at the result of the recent campaign. By releasing the Russian prisoners in his hands, and other adroit acts of courtesy, he so completely succeeded, that the British ambassador was dismissed from St Petersburg, and Baron Springborton appeared at the Tuileries as envoy from Russia. The military measures of the First Consul (on the refusal of Great Britain to treat) were equally energetic. By one of his spirit-stirring proclamations, he gave an almost magical impulse to the declining military ardour of the nation. 120,000 men were raised by the conscription; the veterans hastened to join the standard of their old leader; and the stores and equipments were repaired with almost incredible celerity. But it was not to such objects alone that his energies were directed. The liberty of the press was virtually extinguished by a decree (Dec. 24, 1799)

which placed all the Parisian journals under the surveillance of the minister of police; and the organisation of a secret police, independent of the public one under Fouché, commenced that wretched system of espionage which has hitherto been continued in France. In all these changes, the object constantly in view was the obliteration of republican ideas. The Greek and Roman costumes in vogue were replaced by the military uniform; and the official residence of the consuls was fixed at the Tuileries, upon which they entered (Feb. 19, 1800), after a grand procession, in which the splendour of the troops afforded a painful contrast to the mean appearance of the civil authorities. The ceremonial of a court was resumed at the levees of the First Consul, over which Josephine presided with the grace and dignity of one born to be a queen. The death of Washington, at the same time, was announced to the army in an eulogistic order of the day, directing all the banners to be enveloped for ten days in black crape, "in memory of a great man who had struggled with tyranny, and consolidated the liberty of his country."

278. Though he did not yet openly break with the Republicans, he lost no opportunity of showing his estimation of them. Carnot, Barthelemy, and other eminent persons exiled by the Directory, were recalled and invested with situations of trust; and Target, who had refused the office of advocate of Louis XVI., was superseded in the office of President of the Court of Cassation by Tronchet, who had accepted and nobly discharged this perilous duty. The fête of the murder of Louis was at the same time suppressed; and the Revolutionary calendar, with its decades, gradually disused. These symptoms of a return to the old order of things raised high the hopes of the Bourbons; and Louis XVIII. wrote several letters to Buonaparte, in the expectation of enlisting him in his cause. But Buonaparte, though he replied in courteous terms, saw clearly the impossibility of securing the new interests and vested rights which had arisen against the return of the deprived family and their adherents, and positively declined to have any connection with the exiled dynasty.

II. *Campaign in Germany and Italy—Armistices of Parsdorf and Alessandria.*

279. In forming their plans for the campaign of 1800, the Austrians erroneously supposed that Italy was the decisive quarter; and in calculating the forces likely to be brought against them, they were ignorant or incredulous of the rapid change produced by the seizure of supreme power by the First Consul. Their plan was to assume the offensive in Italy, capture Genoa, and invade Provence; while Buonaparte, on his side, aimed at liberating Italy by striking a blow at the Hereditary States in the heart of Germany. The command of the German army, however, was intrusted to Moreau, while Buonaparte in person was to direct the army of reserve on Italy—an arrangement rendered necessary by the unbounded confidence of the soldiers of the Rhine in their old commander, and by the positive refusal of Moreau to accept a divided command.

280. The Archduke Charles, who had earnestly recommended the Aulic Council to take advantage of their triumphant position to make peace, had been superseded in the command in Germany by General Kray. Headquarters were at Donauschingen, and he had 110,000 men in all under his orders; but the right and left wings, under Starray and the Prince of Reuss, were too widely separated from the main body—the former reaching to the Maine, the latter in the Tyrol. Moreau's whole force was nearly as numerous, but 28,000 were kept in reserve at Bâle; and the possession of the bridges of Kehl, New Brisach, and Bâle, gave him the means of crossing the Rhine at pleasure. In pursuance of a plan concerted with Buonaparte, he commenced operations (April 25) by directing several divisions across the Rhine at various points, apparently against the Austrian right, while the remainder of his columns were converging towards their magazines at Engen and Moeskirch. The manœuvre completely succeeded: the Imperial forces were concentrated for the defence of the right, while the corps of the Prince of Lorraine, forming the communication between their centre and left, was

overwhelmed by Lecourbe, who seized Stockach with all its stores on the same day (May 2) on which the main body under Moreau gained a victory over Kray before Engen, after an obstinate battle lasting till late at night. A second engagement at Moeskirch (May 4) terminated in a drawn battle, the corps of St Cyr not having reached the ground to turn the scale in favour of the French; but the Imperial general continued his retreat over the Danube, so vigorously pursued by the French, that Biberach was carried (May 9) before the magazines could be withdrawn: and two days later, the whole Austrian army, 80,000 foot and 12,000 horse, was concentrated within the intrenched camp of Ulm.

281. The strength and extent of these celebrated lines (which covered both banks of the Danube), with the ample munitions stored in them, rendered a blockade impossible; the attempt to pass them, either to the north or south, would have exposed Moreau to a flank attack; while his force was at the same time weakened by the necessity of detaching Moncey with 16,000 men to join the First Consul in Italy. The situation of the French general was therefore extremely perplexing; and six weeks were spent in dislodging the enemy from this stronghold —a striking proof of the prophetic wisdom of the Archduke Charles in its formation. The first attempt (May 16) was defeated with great loss at Erbach, where the Austrian cavalry, under the Archduke Ferdinand, overwhelmed the isolated corps of Ste. Suzanne, as it advanced on the left bank of the Danube; and a movement of the French on Augsburg, though they temporarily occupied that city and levied a contribution of £60,000, failed to shake the firmness of Kray, who gained an advantage (June 4) over the French left under Richepanse. Moreau's next plan was to pass the Danube below Ulm; and having, by the middle of June, concentrated great part of his army between the Austrians and Bavaria, and entered Augsburg a second time, he succeeded in crossing the river at Blindheim (19th), thus cutting off Kray's communications, and inflicted a severe defeat on Starray at Hochstedt. Kray, now leaving 10,000 men to garrison Ulm, successfully executed a circuitous forced march, with all his

artillery, round the Republican position, and reached Nordlingen in safety (23d); while the French, suddenly changing their route, entered Munich on the 28th, and almost surprised the Elector in his capital. This movement, which Kray arrived too late to impede, cut off the communications between the Austrian main army and the Prince of Reuss in the Tyrol; and Coire, Luciensteg, and Feldkirch were taken by the French corps of Lecourbe: but the truce concluded at Alessandria a month previous was now (July 15) extended to the armies in Germany under the title of the Armistice of Parsdorf, and both parties remained in occupation of their present positions.

282. But even these important events were eclipsed by those passing at the same time in Italy. The army occupying the Maritime Alps had been reduced to the extremity of privation; but it was speedily reinforced and re-equipped, and confidence was restored to the soldiers by the appointment of Massena to the command. The whole force, however, was only 28,000 men, against which 60,000 Austrians were put in motion early in April, directing all their efforts for the reduction of Genoa. This important city had been blockaded since the beginning of March by Lord Keith's fleet; and its position, on the steep declivity where the Apennines descend into the sea, increased the labour of the defence, by making it necessary to include within the fortifications the mountains to some distance in the rear, by which the city and inner works would otherwise be commanded. On the 6th of April, General Melas made an attack in three columns on the French defensive positions, and was completely successful. On the right, Soult was driven from Montenotte, the scene of Buonaparte's first triumph; while on the left, Suchet was entirely cut off from the main body, and thrown back towards France. The Austrian watchfires crowned the heights in all directions round the city; and though they were driven from this vantage-ground (April 7) by a vigorous sortie of Massena, the French general could not succeed, by the most determined efforts, in reopening his communications with Suchet, and was at length (April 21) compelled to seek shelter within the walls of the city.

Suchet himself had meanwhile (April 20) been utterly defeated by Elnitz at Monte-Giacomo, and driven back towards the Piedmontese frontier; but he was followed up by Melas (who left Ott with 25,000 men to blockade Genoa), again routed (May 2) at Borghetto, and driven over the frontier into France. Melas, who was soon after called off to oppose Buonaparte, left Elnitz to act on the line of the Var, where Suchet was posted; but two desperate attempts to storm the *têtes-du-pont* on that river (May 18 and 27) having been defeated, the Austrians quitted the soil of France and marched for Piedmont to rejoin Melas.

283. A succession of desultory but sanguinary conflicts were meanwhile taking place round Genoa, as Ott's force was insufficient for an assault: on one occasion Massena recaptured some of the fortified heights, but in an attempt on the Monte-Creto (May 13), the French were routed with great slaughter, and Soult made prisoner. The garrison was now completely shut up within the walls, where they soon began to feel the horrors of famine. The news of Buonaparte's passage of the Alps revived their hopes, but a fresh sortie (May 28) was repulsed with loss, the inhabitants were reduced to feed on skins, and even on the carcasses of those who had perished; and Massena, forced at length to yield to the accumulated horrors of his situation, surrendered (June 5) with 9000 men, the poor remains of his army. His gallantry secured him the most honourable terms of capitulation, which were observed with scrupulous faith by the Austrians and Lord Keith.

284. Meanwhile Buonaparte, aware as well of the difficulties of a front attack on the Imperialists as of the importance of the central position he held in Switzerland, had resolved on crossing the Alps, so as to interpose between the Austrians and their own country, and thus force them to fight with their front towards Lombardy, and their rear shut in by the Mediterranean and the Apennines, where defeat must be ruinous to them, while the French, if unsuccessful, could again retire into Switzerland. The formation of the force destined for this purpose had been carried on with indefatigable activity by Berthier since the com-

mencement of the year. Thirty thousand conscripts and 20,000 veterans from la Vendée formed the basis. But it was necessary to conceal the real force and destination of the army, lest the passes of the Great St Bernard should be preoccupied from the valley of Aosta; and, accordingly, Dijon was announced as its head-quarters. A few thousand raw troops here collected lulled the suspicions of the Austrian spies, while the real army of reserve was assembled about Lausanne, &c., where Buonaparte reviewed the vanguard (May 16). The St Bernard had been reported by Marescot, chief of the engineers, as "barely passable" for artillery. "It is *possible*: let us start, then," was the energetic reply of Buonaparte. The troops were forthwith set in motion, and commenced the passage of the mountain (May 16).

285. The march occupied four days: but the part which most severely tried the energies of the soldiers was the ascent from St Pierre to the summit of the mountain. The artillery carriages had been taken to pieces and packed on mules, the ammunition was transported in the same manner, and the guns themselves, placed in the trunks of firs hollowed out, were dragged up by main strength, a hundred soldiers being harnessed to each cannon, and relieved by others every half mile. At the hospice on the summit each soldier received refreshment from the hospitality of the monks; the perilous descent from St Remi was soon achieved, and Buonaparte himself, who had remained at the Priory of St Maurice, crossed on the 28th. But the inconsiderable fort of Bard had wellnigh proved an insurmountable obstacle. Placed on a pyramidal rock, midway between the opposing cliffs of the valley of Aosta, it commands not only the road, which runs close to its foot, but almost every practicable mountain path; and Lannes, who was moving down from Chatillon, at the head of the advanced guard, found the passage completely barred by the fire of its artillery. An escalade directed by Buonaparte proved unsuccessful; but the French engineers, wrapping up the wheels of the guns, and spreading straw in the streets, transported the artillery in the night (May 25) under the very ramparts of the unconscious Austrians, while the infantry

and cavalry passed by the mountain tracks. The army was reunited (28th) at Ivrea, which had previously been stormed by Lannes; Moncey, with 16,000 men from the Rhine, had crossed the St Gothard—other corps descended by Susa and the Simplon; so that 60,000 men, converging from various quarters, were assembled in Piedmont in the rear of the Imperialists.

286. Anxious to renew instantly in Italy the moral impression left by his former glories, Buonaparte advanced rapidly into Lombardy, and overthrowing a weak Austrian corps, which attempted to bar his passage of the Ticino, entered Milan in triumph (June 2). Placentia and Pavia, with all their stores, fell into the hands of the French; the republican authorities were everywhere reinstated; and Buonaparte, in one of his animated proclamations, applauded the zeal and success of his troops. Although his main army was now much weakened by the necessary dispersion of his corps, he still continued his rapid advance; and on 6th June the line of the Po was forced, and the Austrians thereby cut off from Mantua, and their reserves in Eastern Italy. A desperately contested action was fought at Montebello (June 9), in which the corps of Ott was driven back with the loss of 4000 men by the heroism of Lannes, and the French occupied a strong position in the pass of Stradella, between the Apennines and the Po.

287. Meanwhile Melas had concentrated his forces at Alessandria to meet the invaders. Though Genoa had fallen, his position was highly critical. The retreat of Elnitz from the Var was so vigorously pressed by Suchet (who had received considerable reinforcements), that he lost 9000 out of 17,000 men before reaching Ceva; and Melas, finding his rear thus threatened, while Buonaparte lay in his front, gallantly resolved to cut his way through the main French army towards the eastern provinces of the empire. His detachments were accordingly everywhere called in; Lord Keith was urged to bring over a corps of 12,000 British, who were idle at Minorca; and Buonaparte having advanced from Stradella, the two armies came into collision (June 16) on the memorable plain of Marengo, intersected by

the stream of the Bormida. The Austrians were about 31,000, including 7500 horse, with 200 pieces of cannon; the French numbered not more than 29,000, of whom only 3600 were cavalry.

288. By daybreak on the 14th, the Austrians passed the Bormida, and Buonaparte, who had not expected to be attacked, was compelled to receive the shock with greatly inferior numbers, as Desaix's division was still at some distance in the rear. After an obstinate conflict of four hours, the numbers and determination of the Austrians prevailed; Marengo was carried, the first line of the Republicans broken, and their whole army compelled to retreat across the open plain to rejoin their reserve. But their columns, closely pressed by the Imperialists, and galled by a tremendous fire, were thrown into disorder; the fatal cry of *Sauve qui peut!* was already heard in their ranks, and Melas, considering the battle gained, and exhausted with fatigue, left the field, intrusting to Zach the completion of the victory. At four o'clock, however, the arrival of Desaix with 4000 men saved the French army from impending ruin, and restored the battle for a time; but that gallant officer soon fell mortally wounded, and the victory was again inclining to the Austrians, when a flank charge by Kellermann with 800 horse decided the fate of the day. The apparition of this mass of cavalry, which had been hidden by some vineyards, struck panic into the Imperialists: their cavalry fled, trampling down the advancing infantry; Zach himself was made prisoner with 2000 men, and the confusion soon became irretrievable. The whole army disbanded and rushed towards the Bormida; and after twelve hours' incessant fighting, was at length with difficulty rallied on the ground it had held in the morning, having lost 7000 killed and wounded, 3000 prisoners, and 20 pieces of cannon.

289. The immediate effect of this victory was an armistice concluded the next day at Alessandria, by which twelve fortresses, including Genoa, Alessandria, Turin, and Coni, were given up to the French, with all their stores and artillery; while, till an answer could be received from Vienna, the Imperialists were to occupy

quarters between the Mincio and the Po, the French lying between the Po, the Chiesa, and the Oglio. The British arrived in the Bay of Genoa just in time to see the city given up to the Republicans; and Buonaparte, having thus in a few weeks completed the reconquest of Piedmont and the Milanese, proceeded to reorganise the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics, and soon after returned, by Mont Cenis and Lyons, to Paris, where he was received with songs of triumph and universal demonstrations of joy.

III. *Campaign of Hohenlinden—Peace of Luneville.*

290. Two days before the battle of Marengo was known at Vienna, a treaty had been signed between Britain and Austria, by which the former power advanced to the latter a loan of £2,000,000, each party agreeing to conclude no separate peace within twelve months. To this treaty, the Imperial ministers, notwithstanding their losses both in Italy and Germany, determined steadfastly to adhere; and though the Count de St Julien, who arrived at Paris as plenipotentiary in the middle of July, had signed preliminaries on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio, these articles were not ratified by the cabinet of Vienna, which notified to that of Paris, that it could no longer treat without the concurrence of Great Britain. Buonaparte, bent on saving Malta and Egypt, insisted on a naval armistice, with leave to send six frigates to Egypt, as the only condition on which he would open negotiations with Britain; and on the refusal of this unreasonable and unheard-of proposal, the attempt fell to the ground. The Austrians, thus reduced to extremity, were compelled (Sept. 28) to purchase an extension of the armistice in Germany and Italy by the cession of Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Philipsburg—a sacrifice which the necessity for gaining time rendered inevitable; and both armies availed themselves of the interval to reinforce their armies for the renewal of the struggle. Meanwhile Malta (Sept.), after a blockade of two years, was compelled by famine to surrender to the British.

291. The preparations of Austria, during the suspension of arms, were on a scale commensurate with her dignity, and worthy of the patriotism of her people; and efforts were made, though in vain, to rouse the Russian and Prussian cabinets to active co-operation. At the renewal of hostilities, 110,000 effective men were collected on the Inn to defend the frontier of the Hereditary States; but the Aulic Council committed their usual fault of weakening their force by spreading it over too great an extent, so that not more than 60,000 could be collected on the main points; and the gallant Kray was superseded in the command by the Archduke John, whose youth and inexperience were ill adapted to cope with the science of Moreau. In Italy, Marshal Bellegarde had 100,000 men, but this army, too, was weakened by the immense line it had to defend; and as the armistice, by a strange oversight, had not been extended to the Italian powers, the French generals had been allowed to crush, with great cruelty, a popular insurrection which broke out against them in Tuscany. A terrific massacre of the armed peasants took place (Oct. 16) at Arezzo; Leghorn was seized, and a vast quantity of British merchandise in the port confiscated. Two edicts, at the same time, issued from the Tuileries — one formally incorporating the Netherlands with France; the other (Oct. 16) extinguishing Swiss independence, by declaring that no authority would be recognised but that of the executive commission, to which Buonaparte transmitted his orders.

292. The French, meanwhile, had raised their army in Italy to 80,000 men, and that under Moreau to 110,000, all in the finest state of discipline and equipment which any forces of the Republic had ever attained; and hostilities recommenced at the end of November. The line afforded by the deep and rapid stream of the Inn, supported on the left by the fortress of Kufstein, and on the right by that of Braunau, and flanked by the two immense mountain-bastions of Bohemia, and the Tyrol, presented extraordinary capabilities for defence; but the Aulic Council resolved on an offensive movement, and the Imperialists broke up (Nov. 27) with the view of concentration on the right towards Land-

shut, so as to bring the weight of their army against the French left. The movements of Moreau, who was ignorant of this manœuvre of the enemy, were precisely such as to afford it success: the divisions of Grenier, Grandjean, and Hardy, were successively assailed and overthrown (Dec. 1); and had not the Archduke, by a halt on the 2d, given the French time to recover from their surprise, their whole army would probably have been defeated in detail. But Moreau, availing himself of this respite, retreated through the thick and gloomy forest of Hohenlinden to his former ground, where he awaited the assault of the Archduke.

293. Early on the morning of the 3d, a day ever memorable in the French military annals, the Austrians advanced through the forest defiles in three great columns, with all their artillery and waggons. The snow, which fell in thick flakes, made the cross paths almost impassable; and the centre, 40,000 strong, which marched by the great road from Muhldorf to Munich, outstripped the others, and prepared to issue into the plain about nine A.M. But it was furiously assailed by the French, and at length driven back into the forest; while the right, of 25,000 men under General Latour, which had come up during the conflict, was taken in flank by Ney, and also forced back with loss. While the Austrians, thus jammed up among long files of cannon and waggons, were already beginning to fall into confusion, the French corps of Richepanse, the march of which had been delayed, found itself unexpectedly in the rear of the enemy's centre, which was taken completely by surprise. Grouchy and Ney, at the same moment, charged in front, and the combined effort was irresistible. The disorder and rout of the Austrians became dreadful: the right, which was gradually gaining ground, joined in the panic; and the whole army took to flight in one tumultuous mass. In the universal wreck, about 100 guns, 300 waggons, and 7000 prisoners, were taken by the Republicans; and 7000 of the enemy were killed or wounded. Such was the great battle of Hohenlinden, which at once prostrated the strength of the Austrian monarchy.

294. The shattered forces of the Imperialists at first made a

show of maintaining themselves behind the Inn; but Moreau, resolving to push his advantages to the utmost, succeeded, by a bold manœuvre, in passing that river (Dec. 8) at Neupern and Rosenheim; and still pressing impetuously forward, passed the Salza at Lauffen (Dec. 13), and occupied Salzburg on the following day, notwithstanding a severe check inflicted on the corps of Lecourbe by the Austrian cavalry in front of the town. On the 19th, the Austrians were driven with severe loss over the Traun; and though the appointment of the Archduke Charles to the command for a moment revived the spirits of the soldiers, the struggle was found to be hopeless; and an armistice was signed at Steyer (Dec. 25), when the French advanced posts were within twenty leagues of Vienna.

295. The operations during the same period in the Grisons, where Macdonald commanded the second army of reserve, if inferior to those of the German campaign in magnitude, yield to none in romantic interest. This corps, which was announced as 40,000, in reality consisted of only 15,000 men, who were destined to menace the rear of the Imperialists on the Mincio, while Brune attacked them in front. But for this purpose it was necessary to cross the Splugen, the most difficult of all the passages from Switzerland to Italy; and so arduous was the undertaking at that season, that it was not till his remonstrances had been answered by reiterated orders from Buonaparte to proceed, that Macdonald prepared to attempt it. On the 27th of November accordingly, the ascent was commenced from the Via-Mala and the village of Splugen: but the head of the column was swept over the precipices by an avalanche, and the attempt could not be resumed till Dec. 1, when, by sending oxen and peasants in advance to clear and trample the snow, the advanced guard succeeded in effecting the passage. Two other columns followed on the 2d and 3d; but the march of the main body, on the 4th, was impeded by heavy snow and continual avalanches, through which the soldiers could be persuaded to advance only by the example of their heroic general, who led the way in person, sounding the loose snow with a pole. Animated by his example,

the troops at length surmounted the icy wilderness, though with the loss of many of their number, and reached Chiavenna, at the upper end of the lake of Como (Dec. 6). No more extraordinary performance is recorded in modern war, except perhaps the march of Suwarroff over the Schachenthal (p. 150-1), where the attacks of an active enemy were added to the obstacles of nature. Buonaparte's passage of the St Bernard, in fine weather and without opposition, will bear no comparison with either.

296. The next task was the difficult passage of the Col Apriga, between the valley of the Adda and that of the Oglio; and after this, to surmount the icy summit of Mount Tonal, between the Oglio and the Adige. But the defile of the latter, flanked on each side by inaccessible glaciers, had been fortified with immense blocks of ice cut like masonry; and before these frozen defences all the valour of the French proved fruitless. They were repulsed with slaughter in two assaults (Dec. 22 and 31), and obliged to abandon the enterprise. But in order to understand the importance of these operations, we must revert to the hostile movements in the Italian plains.

297. On the expiry of the armistice, the Imperial main army on the Mincio was 65,000 strong, including 15,000 horse, on a line flanked by the Po and the lake of Garda, and strengthened by the fortresses of Mantua, Peschiera, and Borghetto; while the French disposable force under Brune amounted to 61,000 foot and 9000 horse, with 178 guns—all now in the highest state of discipline and equipment. Twenty-five thousand more guarded the flanks and rear against the disaffection of the Italians, which the recent exactions had raised to the highest pitch; and 25,000 were in the hospitals. Hostilities recommenced on 16th December, and on the 20th, the Austrian defences on the Mincio (which is not fordable in winter) were attacked at four different points. It was Brune's intention to cross at Mozambano on his left; but Dupont, who had been ordered to make a feigned attack on the right, converted it into a real one on seeing the Austrians give way; and though nearly sacrificed by the hesitation of Brune to send troops to his aid, succeeded (26th) in

establishing a bridge at Molino. The whole French army passed the Mincio; and the enemy, abandoning Borghetto, fell back to the Adige, with the loss of 7000 men. Their army, however, was so weakened by the garrisons left on the Mincio, that Bellegarde continued his retreat up the Adige to join Wukassovich and Laudon, who were advancing from the Italian Tyrol; the French passed the latter river (Jan. 1, 1801), and severe conflicts ensued on the already celebrated positions of Caldiero and Rivoli, till the Austrians took post on the impregnable heights of Calliano.

298. But Macdonald, since his check at Mount Tonal, had entered the Italian Tyrol by another route in several columns. Wukassovich, pursued by Macdonald himself, was driven from Trent; and Laudon, who had been left to maintain the important defile of La Pietra against Moncey, found himself surrounded, and only escaped over the narrow mountain-tracks to Bassano by the unworthy subterfuge of a fraudulent armistice. Bellegarde, now effecting his junction with these corps, retired leisurely to Treviso, and prepared to give battle, with numbers now superior, on the plains before that town, where his cavalry could act with effect. Brune's army, however, was severely weakened by the numerous blockading divisions left in the rear; and he consented (Jan. 16) to the armistice of Treviso, on condition of the surrender of all the Italian fortresses except Mantua,—an exception which drew on him the vehement displeasure of Buonaparte.

299. Before the general pacification, however, which was soon after signed at Luneville, it is necessary to notice some occurrences during this period in Italy. An insurrection in Piedmont against the French (Jan. 1801) was suppressed by Soult and Murat; and a Neapolitan army of 16,000 men, which had advanced through the Roman states into Tuscany, was routed, almost without firing a shot, by 6000 men under Miollis. A formidable invasion of Naples was in preparation to avenge this attempt, when the intercession of the Czar (to secure which the Queen of Naples had repaired in person to St Petersburg) procured a respite; and the treaty of Foligno was signed (Feb. 9), remarkable for

containing, in its prohibition of British merchandise, the first germ of the famous *Continental System*. The fortresses and harbours of the Neapolitan territories were placed in the hands of Soult; and a force was despatched to reduce Elba, which had been ceded to France; but the little British garrison under Colonel Airly gallantly defended the place for five months, and only at last yielded it in virtue of an express condition in the treaty of Amiens.

300. The treaty of Luneville was at length signed (Feb. 9), on conditions not materially differing from those of Campo Formio. Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine were ceded anew to France; Modena was annexed to the Cisalpine Republic, and the Grand-duke of Tuscany gave up his dominions to the youthful Duke of Parma,—a branch of the Spanish family: the new republics were acknowledged; and Venice, with the boundary of the Adige, left to Austria. But by insisting on the signature of the Emperor not only as sovereign of the Hereditary States, but as head of the Empire (a step opposed to the fundamental laws of the Germanic body, but rendered inevitable by the exigencies of the case), Buonaparte sowed the seeds of future dissension in Germany, of which he well knew how to take advantage. The Diet, indeed, ratified the step, in consideration of the painful necessity of the moment; but the discord which arose from the unsettled question of indemnity to the dispossessed princes continued to distract Germany, and was the first predisposing cause to that league which, under the name of the Confederation of the Rhine, so well served the purposes of French ambition, and dissolved the venerable fabric of the German empire.

IV. *The Northern Maritime Confederacy.*

301. The system of international maritime law, which has for centuries been recognised and acted on by the naval powers of Europe, with reference to neutral vessels, may be summed up in the following propositions:—1. That neutral nations shall not be allowed to carry on, in behalf of a belligerent power, those

branches of its commerce from which they are excluded in time of peace. 2. That every belligerent power may capture the property of its enemies found at sea, and detain neutral ships, if laden therewith. 3. That neutrals shall not be suffered to supply the belligerent with naval and military stores, and other articles designated as *contraband of war;* and that neutral vessels so laden are lawful prize to the armed ships of the other belligerent. 4. That neutral vessels may be detained and seized if they attempt to enter a port, or if they are destined for a port, blockaded by an efficient force of the other belligerent, after due notice given to the neutral. 5. That, therefore, neutral ships, whether under convoy or not, may be visited and searched as a matter of right, by the cruisers of the belligerents.

302. These rights, though more frequently exercised by the British as the natural result of their maritime superiority, had never been claimed as an exclusive privilege by that nation, but had been equally held good by the courts of every naval power. Though sometimes waived by special agreement in favour of particular states, they had never been disputed in theory till 1780, when the northern powers (Russia, Sweden, and Denmark), seeing the British hard pressed by the French and Spanish fleets at the close of the American war, entered into the famous league called the Armed Neutrality, for the establishment of a new maritime code, on the principle that "free ships make free goods" —and that "the flag covers the merchandise."

303. These principles, however, were found so much at variance with the practice of European warfare, that, in 1787, when Sweden went to war with Russia, and Russia with the Porte, the old code was returned to—and the Armed Neutrality was expressly abandoned in a maritime treaty between Russia and Britain in 1793. But this pacific state of things was altered by the naval triumphs of the British, which led to the almost total disappearance of the French flag from the ocean. Frequent collisions took place between British cruisers and neutral vessels endeavouring to slide into the lucrative trade left open by the destruction of the French marine; and negotiations were already on

foot among the Baltic powers for the revival of the Armed Neutrality, when the capture of the Danish frigate Freya (July 25, 1800) for refusing to allow her convoy to be searched, brought matters to a crisis. Lord Whitworth was sent in August as special envoy to Copenhagen, backed by a powerful squadron under Admiral Dickson, who passed the Sound and anchored off the Danish capital;—and the Danes, unprepared for resistance, entered into a convention, acknowledging the right of search till further consideration.

304. But the passage of the Sound produced far different effects at St Petersburg, where the Czar, from various causes, was already well inclined to exchange the British alliance for that of France. An embargo was instantly laid on all British vessels in Russian ports, 300 in number; their crews, with Asiatic barbarity, were marched into the interior; and all British property on shore was sequestered, "till Malta should be given up to the Emperor," who claimed it as protector of the Order of St John. The King of Sweden entered at once warmly into his views; Prussia followed the example; and Denmark, whose position exposed her to the first attack of Britain, more reluctantly gave in her adhesion. The "Maritime Confederacy," on the principles of the Armed Neutrality, was concluded on 16th December 1800; while Paul addressed an autograph letter to Buonaparte, and despatched an ambassador to Paris to cement the union of France and Russia.

305. It was evident that this new code, if established, would nullify all the British naval victories, by enabling France to cover her commerce by neutral flags; but Britain was not now, as at the close of the American War, obliged to dissemble her indignation. Letters of marque were issued, and followed up by numerous captures:—while the Danes, on the other hand, entering Hamburg, extended the embargo to that great emporium; and Hanover was occupied by the Prussians. Meanwhile the question was vehemently debated, both by the ambassadors at the respective courts, and by the British parliament at its opening in February 1801: but the diplomatic notes led to no satisfactory results;

and the ministerial policy was affirmed by a majority in the Commons of 245 to 63. But the personal objections of the King to the removal of the Catholic disabilities, to which Mr Pitt considered himself pledged as a consequence of the Irish Union, afforded at least the ostensible reason for the resignation of that minister and his personal adherents, which took place on 10th February: the real cause, more probably, was the reluctance of Mr Pitt to be personally concerned in concluding the peace with France, which he saw could not be much longer delayed.

306. His successors were, however, chosen from his own party—Mr Addington being first Lord of the Treasury, and Lord Hawkesbury minister of foreign affairs; and no decrease of vigour or energy was visible in their measures. The land troops, including militia and fencibles, amounted to 300,000: 120 ships of the line were put in commission, and 139,000 seamen and marines voted. To meet the deficiency of revenue arising from these prodigious charges, a fresh loan of £25,500,000 was contracted—to provide for the interest and gradual reduction of which, new taxes were imposed to the amount of £1,794,000. The total expenditure for the year exceeded £42,000,000, besides above £20,000,000 interest on the debt. Yet the condition of the empire at this period was unprecedentedly wealthy and prosperous: the exports had tripled, and the imports more than tripled, since the commencement of the war; capital abounded; and agriculture had advanced in a still greater ratio than population; so that, although the latter had increased one-sixth since 1791, the dependence on foreign supplies was rapidly diminishing.

307. Great Britain had need, however, of all her energies, for the naval forces of the league were extremely formidable. Russia had 47 line-of-battle ships, besides frigates, in the Baltic and Archangel; but not more than 15 were ready for service, and the crews were very deficient. Sweden had 18 ships and 14 large frigates, with innumerable galleys and small craft, well manned and equipped; and Denmark had 23 ships and 14 frigates. By the union of these forces, the blockade of the French harbours might be raised, and the confederate fleets ride triumphant in the Channel; so

that immediate energy was indispensable on the part of Britain. On the 12th of March, 18 ships of the line, with four frigates, and numerous bomb-vessels, sailed from Yarmouth under Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as second in command; and after being detained some days at the entrance of the Sound by an abortive attempt at negotiation, proceeded to force the passage on the 30th. But as the batteries on the Swedish shore did not fire, little damage was experienced; and about noon the fleet anchored off Copenhagen.

308. The delay of the British had been turned to good account by the Danes: from the Prince-Royal to the artisan, all classes had laboured with unremitting energy in their preparations for defence; and the sea approaches were covered with such an array of ships, forts, gun-boats, and floating batteries, as would have deterred any other assailant than the hero of the Nile. All the buoys had been taken up in the narrow and intricate channels by which the harbour is approached: but the soundings were taken by Nelson himself, who determined on following a track called the King's Channel, leading between the dangerous shoal of the middle ground and the entrance of the harbour. At daybreak on 2d April he accordingly advanced with 12 sail of the line, besides smaller vessels—the other division, under Sir Hyde Parker, remaining in reserve; and though three ships, the Agamemnon, Bellona, and Russell, grounded on the shoal, the others reached their appointed stations in safety, and soon after 10 A.M. the battle of Copenhagen began. The cannonade soon became tremendous; above 2000 guns dealt death in a space not more than a mile and a half in breadth; till, after three hours' continuance, the signal of recall was made by Sir Hyde Parker, whom the wind and current prevented from rendering any assistance. The signal was seen in time to save the frigate squadron, which, with desperate bravery, but wholly inadequate force, was bearing up against the iron storm of the Crown batteries, and which had lost its gallant commander Captain Riou: but Nelson kept the signal for closer action flying, and continued his fire with unabated vigour. Notwithstanding the heroism of the Danes, who nobly

upheld in that trying hour their ancient reputation, their cannonade gradually slackened before the irresistible rapidity and precision of the British fire; and before 2 P.M., their whole front line, consisting of 6 sail of the line, and 11 huge floating batteries, was all either taken, burnt, or destroyed.

309. The loss on both sides had been very severe: the British had 1200 killed and wounded, a greater proportion to their numbers than in any battle during the war; the Danish loss was twice as great, and, including the prisoners, amounted to 6000. But the Crown batteries and the isle of Amak still kept up their fire both on the British ships and their prizes, till Lord Nelson addressed a note to the Crown-Prince, declaring that, unless the firing ceased, he must set fire to his prizes without the power of saving their crews. This message had the desired effect: the British fleet weighed, and joined Sir Hyde Parker's squadron in the middle of the straits; the prizes were brought off on the following day, though only one, the Holstein, was carried to England, the rest being so shattered that it was necessary to destroy them. Thus ended the battle of Copenhagen, characterised by Nelson as the "most terrible of all the hundred engagements in which he had been present." The admiral landed on the following day, and had an interview with the Crown-Prince, in which an armistice for fourteen weeks was arranged, in order, as Nelson candidly admitted, that he might have time to deal with the Swedes and Russians, before returning to Denmark.

310. But an event had in the mean time occurred at St Petersburg which at once changed the policy of Russia: this was the death of the Emperor Paul. Since his alliance with Buonaparte, he had been busily engaged in maturing with him a joint project for the overthrow of the British power in India: but his domestic government was marked by a degree of extravagance scarcely to be explained except on the ground of insanity, and which had produced a general feeling of irritation. This discontent was augmented by the rupture with Britain, which deprived the nobles of the great market for their produce, which constituted

their chief wealth: a conspiracy was formed against him, headed by Count Pahlen, the governor of St Petersburg, and he was strangled on the night of the 23d March. One of the first acts of his son and successor Alexander was to release the British sailors who had been sent into the interior, and to address an autograph letter to the King of Great Britain, expressive of his wish to re-establish amicable relations. His domestic measures were equally popular, restoring to the nobles the privileges of which they had been deprived by his father, and reinstating things generally on their former footing. The British fleet had in the mean time remained in Kioge Bay till 5th May, when the recall of Sir Hyde Parker left Nelson sole in command; and he lost no time in presenting himself before Cronstadt, and opening communications with the Russian authorities. The fleet soon after returned to Britain, and Lord St Helens proceeded to St Petersburg, where (June 17) a convention was signed (in spite of the efforts of Duroc, whom Buonaparte had despatched to counteract the influence of Great Britain) by which the principles of the Maritime Confederacy were abandoned, and the English construction of the naval law of nations acknowledged in all its main points. Sweden and Denmark followed the example of Russia; and a separate convention was concluded with Prussia for the evacuation of Hanover, and the restoration of the free navigation of the Weser.

311. Thus, in less than six months from its formation, was dissolved the most formidable league ever arrayed against the British maritime power; and the rapidity with which it was broken up by Great Britain shows in the strongest light the vast moral ascendency she had acquired. Commercial intercourse with Great Britain was essential to the very existence of Russia; and its interruption led at once to the revolution which closed the reign and life of Paul. The bearing of Britain during this trying crisis was a model of firmness and moderation: while boldly confronting her combined adversaries, she held out the olive branch at the same time that she paralysed, by the thunder of her arms, the first of her opponents; and her conduct was

deservedly crowned by one of the most glorious triumphs recorded in her history.

V. *British Expedition to Egypt—Peace of Amiens.*

312. Buonaparte, on quitting the shores of Egypt, had bequeathed the command of the army to Kleber, whom at the same time he authorised by letter to conclude a treaty for the evacuation of the country, if not reinforced during the following year. The indignation of the soldiers on finding themselves deserted by their chief was at first very great, and Kleber addressed a letter to the Directory, in which he bitterly complained of the destitute and unprovided state in which they had been left to sustain the impending attack of the Vizier's army, of which the corps routed at Aboukir was only the advanced-guard. There can be no doubt that the wants and sufferings of the army were exaggerated in this despatch; but the Grand Vizier, with 20,000 janissaries and regular troops, and at least 25,000 irregulars, actually arrived at Gaza by the end of October; while another Turkish corps, under the convoy of Sir Sidney Smith, made an unsuccessful attempt to establish itself at the mouth of the Nile. Al-Arish, the key of Egypt, was taken by the Vizier (Dec. 29); and the French commander, anxious to return to Europe, shortly after (Jan. 24, 1800) signed a convention (of Al-Arish), by which it was agreed that the French should evacuate Egypt within three months, and return to Europe with their arms and baggage on the payment of £120,000 as an indemnity.

313. But by the treaty of January 1799, the Porte was bound to make no peace with France, unless in concert with Russia and Great Britain; and *before* the signature of the convention, orders had been sent to Lord Keith, the British admiral in the Mediterranean, to consent to no arrangement by which the French did not become prisoners of war. This was notified to Kleber, who forthwith broke off the treaty in indignation, and resumed hostilities with the Turks. A battle was fought on 20th March, near the ruins of Heliopolis; but the fiery onset of the Oriental

cavalry recoiled, as before, from the steady squares and rolling fire of the French: the camp of the janissaries was stormed; and the total discomfiture and dispersion of nearly 50,000 Ottomans by 12,000 French, gave a fresh proof of the invincibility of European discipline. During the battle, a Turkish corps had entered Cairo, but evacuated it on the defeat of the main body; the populace of the city, however, remained in arms, and were only reduced after frightful bloodshed. An armistice concluded with Mourad Bey completed the pacification of Egypt; and Kleber was beginning to reap the fruits of his intrepidity and judicious conduct, when he was murdered by an obscure fanatic, and succeeded in the command by Menou, the senior general of division. But the new chief (who had publicly assumed the Mahommedan dress and religion) was far inferior to his predecessor in both civil and military talent, and was little adequate to bear the brunt of the fresh attack which the British were preparing, in concert with the Porte, in order to expel the French from their usurped settlement.

314. In pursuance of this new plan, the corps of Sir Ralph Abercromby, long inactive in the Mediterranean, sailed from Malta (Dec. 10); while 8000 troops, under Sir David Baird, were to embark at Bombay for Suez; and the Vizier, after reorganising his army in Syria, was to co-operate by a fresh invasion. But great practical difficulties impeded the execution of this well-conceived project. The Ottoman levies were few and dispirited, and disabled by the ravages of the plague; the arrival of the Bombay auxiliaries was distant and uncertain; and Abercromby gallantly resolved to make the attempt alone. With a fleet of 200 transports and other vessels, bearing 17,500 troops, he accordingly sailed from Marmorice in the Levant, and anchored in Aboukir Bay (March 1, 1801). On the 8th the disembarkation was effected in the face of the French, who had lined the sand-hills with troops and artillery: the heights were carried with the bayonet by the 23d, 40th, and 42d regiments; and the enemy retreated to Alexandria. A second bloody though partial encounter on the 13th, likewise terminated to the

advantage of the British; and Menou, who, like most of his contemporaries at that period, had hitherto greatly underrated the British land-forces, was at length awakened to his danger, and moved from Cairo with all his disposable force. A general action took place on the 21st, under the walls of Alexandria; and though the brave Abercromby was mortally wounded early in the battle, the steady intrepidity of the British infantry triumphed, after a desperate struggle, over the superiority of their opponents in cavalry and artillery; and Menou, after losing 2000 men, directed a retreat on Alexandria.

315. The battle of Alexandria was the first decisive victory gained by the British over the arms of revolutionary France. But its first results were not very decisive: and it was not till he had been reinforced by 6000 Turks, that General Hutchinson (who succeeded Abercromby in the command) drove the enemy from Damietta and Rosetta. Dissensions broke out among the French leaders, no longer controlled by the master-genius of Buonaparte or Kleber: and the capture of Ramanieh on the Nile (May 7) cut off the communication between Alexandria and the corps left under Belliard at Cairo. The Vizier's army in the mean time had again entered Egypt, and, directed by British officers, gained a victory near Cairo; and Belliard, invested by the Allies in the capital, capitulated (May 22) with nearly 14,000 troops, and 320 heavy guns, on condition of being conveyed to France. The armament despatched under General Baird from Bombay had been delayed by contrary winds; but they reached Cosseir, in Upper Egypt, early in June, and marching across the wilderness to Thebes, thence descended the Nile to Cairo, where they arrived on 10th August. Thus, for the first time in the history of the world, the sable battalions of Hindostan, the swarthy Asiatics from the plains of the Euphrates, and the blue-eyed English from the shores of the Thames, met in arms at the foot of the Pyramids.

316. Menou had refused to be included in the capitulation of Cairo, and prepared to defend Alexandria, against which General Hutchinson moved in August, after the embarkation of Belliard;

but the vigorous operations of the British soon convinced him that resistance was hopeless: and he yielded (Aug. 31), on the same terms as those granted at Cairo. Ten thousand men submitted with him; and nearly 400 pieces of cannon, with immense military stores, fell into the hands of the British. It had been also stipulated that the collection of antiquities, &c. should be given up; but the artists and *savans* who had formed them threatened to destroy rather than surrender them, and General Hutchinson generously waived the point. The total amount of troops who capitulated in Egypt was upwards of 24,000, all veterans: an astonishing success to have been achieved by a British force which had hardly ever seen a shot fired, and which, even including the Indian auxiliaries, never amounted to the same numerical strength. After the reduction of Alexandria, 12,000 men, comprehending the Bombay army, were left to secure the country; General Hutchinson returning with the rest to England.

317. An atrocious act of treachery on the part of the Capitan-Pasha, by which three out of seven Mamluke Beys, who had been invited to confer with him, lost their lives, was frustrated in part by the spirited interference of General Hutchinson, who obliged the Turkish commander to liberate the survivors. But this brilliant cavalry had been ruined, and almost destroyed, in the contest with the French; and their chiefs, when left to their own resources, were utterly unable to resume their former ascendency. The feudal sovereignty of the Mamlukes in Egypt was therefore ere long replaced by the effective rule of a Turkish pasha, who has in our days rendered it the seat of a powerful and virtually independent government. But these remote consequences were as yet unforeseen; and the rejoicings at Constantinople for the surrender of Alexandria were not less enthusiastic than at London, where the humiliation of France, on the element where she had so long been victorious, was hailed as a harbinger of the greater triumphs awaiting the British arms, if the enemy should carry into execution their long-threatened scheme of invasion.

318. During all these transactions, no efforts had been spared by Buonaparte to preserve his hold upon Egypt, and a squadron despatched for the purpose, under Admiral Gantheaume, had made three several attempts to land reinforcements and supplies at Alexandria, but had on each occasion been foiled by the vigilance of the British fleet. In order to support this attempt, the Spanish fleet at Cadiz had been placed under the orders of the French admiral Dumanoir, and three French ships under Linois were to join them from Toulon. These last vessels, however, encountering six British ships under Sir James Saumarez, took refuge in the Bay of Algesiraz; and here the British, pursuing them close to the Spanish batteries, were repulsed (July 6) with the loss of a 74 gun-ship, which grounded under their fire. While the British were refitting at Gibraltar, the French ships were brought off from Algesiraz by the Spanish squadron from Cadiz; but as the combined force passed the Straits on the night of the 12th, they were again boldly assailed by the British, when a terrible catastrophe befell two Spanish three-deckers, which, attacking each other by mistake in the dark, both took fire and blew up with nearly their whole crews. The St Antoine, a 74, was captured; and the rest, though severely handled, escaped into Cadiz.

319. About the same time an attack on Portugal, the tried ally of Britain, was made by Buonaparte in conjunction with Spain; not, as the French themselves admit, that there was any real ground of complaint, beyond the wish to provide an equivalent, which might be given up at the conclusion of peace, in exchange for the maritime conquests of Britain. The ostensible object was to compel the court of Lisbon to separate itself from the British alliance. Spain declared war on 3d March; and after the occupation of several frontier towns in Portugal by the Spaniards, a peace was signed (June 6) by which Portugal agreed to cede Olivenza to Spain, and to shut her ports to the British flag. The ratification of this treaty, however, was only purchased from France by an enormous pecuniary sacrifice, extorted by the appearance of a French army in Portugal.

320. Meanwhile Buonaparte, freed by the treaty of Luneville

from all apprehensions on the Continent, bent his whole attention to the shores of Great Britain; and Boulogne became the head-quarters of a numerous flotilla of gun-boats, flat-bottomed praams, and other small craft, destined for the invasion of Britain. These preparations excited great alarm among the British public; and though the government did not participate to the full extent in the popular feeling, it was impossible to conceal the alarming fact, that the same wind which was favourable to the French might chain the British cruisers in port; and a powerful armament of light vessels, under the command of Lord Nelson, was directed to attempt the destruction of the Boulogne flotilla. The attack was made on the night of 15th August; but the French vessels, chained to each other and to the ground, fortified with projecting pikes and boarding-nettings, crowded with soldiers, and lying close under the batteries on shore, were well-nigh impregnable: the strength of the tide threw the divisions of British boats out of their order; and after a desperate conflict of four hours, the assailants were repulsed, with the loss of 172 men killed and wounded.

321. But during all these warlike demonstrations, negotiations for peace were in active progress; the victories of France by land, and of Britain by sea, having in truth left no common element on which war could be waged. The adjustment of the preliminaries was delayed during several months by the exorbitant pretensions of France, which refused to abandon Egypt, till the defeat of her troops in that country, by depriving her of all hope of retaining it by arms, facilitated the arrangements; and at the moment when a rumour had gone forth that all hopes of peace were at an end, the people of both nations were transported with joy by the announcement that the preliminaries had been signed (Oct. 1) at London. These articles, which were nearly the same as those of the definitive treaty, provided that the colonial conquests of Great Britain, except Ceylon and Trinidad, should be given up; Egypt was to be restored to the Porte, Malta to the Knights of St John, and the Cape to Holland; the Roman and Neapolitan harbours were to be evacuated by the French,

and Porto Ferrajo by the British; the integrity of Portugal guaranteed; the Ionian Islands recognised as a republic; and a compensation for the loss of Holland provided for the house of Orange.

322. But notwithstanding the universal delight with which the termination of hostilities was hailed by the inconsiderate populace, there were many men of sagacity and foresight in Britain who stigmatised the conditions of the peace, and foretold that it could not be of long continuance. Ministers, however, were eventually supported by a majority of 276 to 20 in the Lower, and 122 to 16 in the Upper House; and the definitive treaty was signed at Amiens, 27th March 1802. Treaties had been concluded at the close of the preceding year between France on one side, and Bavaria, Austria, and Russia* respectively on the other; and the pacification of the world was thus, for the time, complete.

323. Such was the termination of the first period of the war; and on calmly reviewing the question, it is evident that the policy of the pacific party in Britain was well founded. The government of the First Consul, as compared with those preceding it, was stable and regular; the reduction of the French military power was apparently hopeless; and the independence of Great Britain was secured by her own naval supremacy. It was therefore indisputably the duty of government at least to put to the test the sincerity of the First Consul's professions of moderation, and to conclude a war of which the burdens were heavy and certain, and the advantage remote. Nor could the terms be justly called discreditable to Great Britain, when she terminated a strife which had proved so disastrous to the greatest Continental states, with her constitution untouched, and without ceding a single acre which had belonged to her at its commencement; while her insular situation, and the energy of her people, had

* The treaty with Russia, signed on 8th October, contained some important *secret* articles on maritime law, the equilibrium to be preserved between the German powers, the Ionian Islands, &c., which were ultimately the cause of the differences between France and Russia.

enabled her, during its continuance, to extend her commerce and resources to so unparalleled an extent, as to justify Mr Pitt's observation, that the relative strength of the two powers was nearly the same at the end as at the beginning of the war.

VI. *Reconstruction of Society in France by Buonaparte.*

324. When Buonaparte, on his elevation to the consular throne, addressed himself to the herculean task of closing the wounds of the Revolution, he found the bonds of society dissolved to an extent unexampled in the history of the world. Not only the throne and the aristocracy, but the whole institutions of religion, law, commerce, and education, had been overturned. Even the hospitals and charitable establishments had shared in the general wreck; commerce and manufactures were almost extinct; and the wealth which should have supported them had disappeared. The erection of a military despotism, therefore, was inevitable, and cannot justly be made a ground of reproach against Buonaparte: the elements of constitutional freedom had been annihilated by the destruction of the upper classes: the only method left to right the balance was to throw the sword into the scale. The failure of all subsequent attempts to frame a constitutional monarchy in France proves that Buonaparte rightly appreciated its political condition.

325. The secret but indelible hatred of Buonaparte to the Jacobins was speedily manifested. On 24th December 1800, while on his way to the opera, an attempt was made to assassinate him, by means of an infernal machine, intended to explode while his carriage passed it; but the rapidity with which his coachman drove anticipated by a moment the explosion, by which numerous persons were killed and wounded. The conspiracy originated, as was afterwards clearly proved, with the Royalists; and its contrivers, St Regent and Carbon, were condemned and executed; but Buonaparte persisted in ascribing it to the Jacobins, and eagerly seized the pretext for inflicting a deathblow on the remnant of that faction. In spite of the

resistance of some of the members of his Council, who urged the total want of evidence, he dictated a decree, which was adopted by the Senate, and forthwith carried into execution, for the transportation of not fewer than 130 persons. Among these were several who had been engaged in the massacres of September; also Rossignol, infamous for his cruelty in la Vendée, and other noted Jacobins of the Convention, on whom, by a just retribution, the arbitrary tyranny they had so long exercised at length recoiled.

326. In order to familiarise the people with the aspect of royalty, the next step of Buonaparte was to exhibit to the Parisians (May 1801) the young King of Etruria, the title assumed by the Duke of Parma, on his acquisition of Tuscany at the peace of Luneville. The newly created monarch, with his young bride, an infanta of Spain, was entertained with extraordinary magnificence; and the Parisians pleased themselves with the idea that, like the Roman Senate, they could make and unmake kings. At the same juncture a great sensation was occasioned by the appearance of a pamphlet entitled "Parallel between Cæsar, Cromwell, and Buonaparte," in which the cause of monarchy and hereditary succession was strongly advocated. But this device was premature: "the pear," as Buonaparte himself said, "was not yet ripe;" and in order to quiet popular suspicion, his brother Lucien, who was known to be the author, was sent into honourable exile as ambassador at Madrid.

327. The lists of eligibility in the new constitution had been complained of as virtually instituting a new nobility, by concentrating all offices of importance in the five thousand notables of France; but Buonaparte soon took a more decided step in this direction, by the institution of the famous Legion of Honour. No measure during the consulate experienced so violent an opposition as this, which was viewed as subversive of all the principles of the Revolution; and it was only by very slender majorities that it passed the legislative body, the Tribunate, and the Council of State. It was carried, however (May): the inauguration of the members, both civil and military, was

conducted with great magnificence; and the event proved the correctness of Buonaparte's views. The leading object of the Revolution was the abolition of hereditary not personal honours; and the Legion of Honour, to which the humblest might hope to aspire, became in the highest degree useful and popular. At the same time (May 8) the consulship of Buonaparte was prolonged for ten years—a measure which passed almost unnoticed by the people at large.

328. But all these changes sink into insignificance when compared with the great step of re-establishing the Catholic religion. The irreligion of ten years had completed the prostration of Christianity; many of the churches had been pulled down; and while a small number in Paris listened to the fanciful reveries of the Theophilanthropists, the great majority of the nation, educated without religion, lived altogether without God in the world. Buonaparte, though not a fanatic, nor even a believer, clearly saw that this state was incompatible with a regular government; and a negotiation was opened with the Pope, which, after many delays and difficulties, ended in the conclusion of a *concordat*, 5th July 1801, which, after some opposition from the legislature, became law on 2d April 1802. Ten archbishops, fifty bishops, and a competent number of parish priests, paid by the state, were appointed; and the subordination of the Gallican church to the government of its own country, as well as its practical independence of the papal authority, was carefully provided for. On 11th April 1802, mass was celebrated with great pomp in Nôtre Dame by the Archbishop of Paris, in the presence of the First Consul and his court; but many of the military chiefs positively refused to attend, and the contemptuous dissatisfaction of the army was openly manifested. The peasants of the rural districts, however, hailed with delight the re-establishment of the priests, and the restoration of Sunday as a day of rest: and a prodigious moral effect was produced throughout Europe by the voluntary return of France to the Christian faith. The horror with which the Revolution had been hitherto regarded was sensibly diminished; and the Emperor of Germany, and other

sovereigns, publicly expressed their congratulations on this auspicious event.

329. Connected with the revival of religion were the measures in favour of the emigrants, who amounted to near 100,000; "a number," said Buonaparte, "enough to bewilder one." But by a decree of 26th November 1800, this melancholy list was divided into two classes, from the first and most numerous of which the prohibition was removed. They returned, therefore, in crowds; and on 29th April 1802, a general amnesty was published, from which only about a thousand were excepted. It had originally been the generous design of Buonaparte to restore to the proprietors the whole of the confiscated property which had not been alienated; but this was vehemently opposed in the Council of State, and was found practicable only to a limited extent. From a report of the minister Ramel, it appeared that, before 1801, national domains had been sold to the enormous amount of £100,000,000; and that there remained unsold to the value of £28,000,000. The restitution of the great mass of the confiscated estates, at the expense of the four millions of petty proprietors among whom they were now divided, was manifestly impossible; and the consequent want of a landed aristocracy to maintain the balance between the people and the executive, has been ever since felt as the irreparable want in the French government. All attempts to establish a constitutional throne, or establish freedom on a durable basis, have failed from the absence of that element—a want which, in the prophetic words of Buonaparte himself, "will long perpetuate the misfortunes and agony of unhappy France."

330. Among the other measures of reorganisation which marked this period, was the establishment of an endowed system of public instruction, to replace the schools which had disappeared during the revolutionary wreck. A naval conscription was also resolved upon (Oct. 4, 1802); and the Ecole Militaire, for the instruction of young officers, was remodelled and extended. The projects of Buonaparte for the administration and improvement of the colonies were marked by the same comprehensive sagacity

which distinguished his domestic reforms: but the speedy renewal of the war prevented their being carried into effect. The inequality of the *cadastre*, or scale of valuation for the land-tax, also attracted the attention of government. The amount of this burden was nearly twenty per cent on the net product of agricultural labour, which had hitherto been levied almost at the arbitrary will of the surveyors. Buonaparte attempted to remedy the evil by laying the valuation, not on parcels of ground, but on masses of the same kind of cultivation; but this principle, though apparently equitable, was found by experience equally oppressive with the old plan; and the *cadastre* continues, to the present day, the subject of loud and well-founded complaints.

331. In the midst of these great designs, however, Buonaparte experienced much annoyance from the harangues of the orators of the Tribunate, in their discussions with the Council of State. The displeasure of the republicans in the former body was vehemently roused by the application to the French of the term *subjects* instead of *citizens*, in the treaty with Russia; and the transference of the municipal police and the power of arresting individuals from the *juges de paix* elected by the people, to a small number of judges appointed by government, awakened a still more strenuous opposition, and was with difficulty passed into a law. Buonaparte thenceforward resolved on destroying the powers of the Tribunate, the only branch of the government where freedom and publicity of discussion still existed; but this important change was deferred till he became First Consul for life—an event not long deferred.

332. It was evident, in fact, to every impartial spectator, that France, with her vast revenues, powerful army, and corrupt manners, placed moreover as she was in the midst of the great military monarchies of Europe, could exist only under a monarchy—and that Buonaparte had no alternative between restoring the Bourbons, and founding a new dynasty in his own person and family. The efforts made to spread monarchical ideas were incessant; but the first attempts to make him Consul for life failed from

the opposition of some who were not in the secret: on the second proposition, registers were opened in the communes for the votes of the people, and the result was announced by the senate (Aug. 2, 1802). Of 3,557,885 citizens who had voted, 3,368,259 were in the affirmative—a most remarkable proof of the invincible desire for the tranquillity of a despotism which had succeeded revolutionary convulsion. With each addition to Buonaparte's authority, the funds had risen—as low as eight before the 18th Brumaire, after the consulship for life they reached fifty-two: an instructive lesson, when compared with the rise of thirty per cent on the day of Necker's restoration to the ministry, of the difference between the anticipation and experience of a revolution.

333. Important changes in the constitution followed: the Tribunate was rendered a nullity by being reduced from 100 to 50 members: the legislative body was reduced to 258 members, divided into five sections, one of which was renewed annually: the Senate received the power to dissolve the Tribunate and the legislative body; and the First Consul received the right to nominate his successor. The consulship for life gave great satisfaction in the European capitals, where it was viewed as an assurance of steady government, under the firm and able guidance of Buonaparte. Paris was filled with a vast influx of foreigners, chiefly British and Russians, who dazzled the people by the brilliancy of their equipages and liveries, and contemplated with wonder and admiration the matchless treasures of art collected in the French metropolis from the vanquished states of the south. The eyes of the mob were feasted by splendid reviews in the Place Carrousel; while the higher classes of citizens were captivated by the magnificence of the consular court, which already rivalled the most sumptuous displays of royalty.

334. Among the events of this period may be marked the suppression of the ministry of police—a measure believed to have been dictated by the apprehensions of the First Consul at the immense power thus vested in the dangerous hands of Fouché—and

a proposal of Buonaparte to Louis XVIII. (then living at Konigsberg under the title of Count de Lille) to renounce his pretensions and receive an Italian principality: an offer refused by the exile with a dignity worthy the race whence he sprung. It was now also that Buonaparte, aided by the most distinguished lawyers of France, commenced his great undertaking of the *Civil Code*, on which he himself truly said "that his fame would rest more than on all his victories," and which has in truth survived all the other achievements of his genius, and now forms the basis of the jurisprudence of half Europe. During the discussions on these legislative reforms, the sagacity of Buonaparte, and the facility with which his intellect grasped and analysed the most abstract questions of civil right, astonished the counsellors who had been accustomed to contemplate only his military character: and never did the varied powers and prodigious capacity of his mind appear in such brilliant colours as on this occasion. On two important points, however—the laws of succession and marriage—he found the popular feeling so strong that the revolutionary enactments were left almost unaltered. The rights of primogeniture, and the distinctions between landed and movable property, were nullified, and the inheritance equally divided among all in the same degree of relationship,—an enactment which, by the immense subdivision resulting from it, and the consequent impossibility of the rise of an hereditary class between the throne and the peasant, must ever prove adverse to the establishment of constitutional freedom. The facility of divorce was another relic of revolutionary licentiousness, which it was found impracticable to abolish.

335. Thus, in the first four years of the consulship, "the First Consul had succeeded in uniting all the parties who divided France; 30,000 emigrant families were restored to their country; the altars were raised from the dust; and immense public works gave bread to all those thrown out of employ by the preceding convulsions." The internal and financial prosperity was meanwhile daily increasing; chambers of commerce were founded in all the chief cities, the Hotel des Invalides was reorganised on

a more extensive scale, to meet the immense demands on its benevolence; a great military school was founded at Fontainebleau, and an academy for civil and commercial instruction at Compiègne. The aspect and salubrity of Paris was improved by the erection of numerous fountains, the water for which was supplied by the opening of the Canal d'Ourcq; while the vast works undertaken at the various seaports, proved that Buonaparte had not yet abandoned the hope of wresting from Great Britain the sceptre of the ocean.

VII. — *Revolt of St Domingo—Affiliated Republics reorganised—Rupture between France and Britain.*

336. In the midst of the universal exultation and unlimited hopes for the future, which were conceived both by governments and people in Europe at the peace of Amiens, the indefatigable mind of the First Consul was not for a moment idle. Arrived at the pinnacle of military glory, he turned his attention to the recovery of the French colonies, as the only means for the permanent restoration of naval power; and an immense expedition was fitted out for the reconquest of St Domingo—a magnificent possession, which had been lost by the reckless innovations of the Constituent Assembly.

337. St Domingo is the largest, except Cuba, of all the West India islands, being about 300 miles in length, by 90 in mean breadth. Before 1789, it had been divided between the Spaniards and French; the French portion, though the smaller, being incomparably more fertile than the other, and raising more colonial produce than all the British West India islands together. Its exports amounted to the enormous value of nearly £7,000,000, and its imports from the parent state to £10,000,000. One thousand six hundred ships and 27,000 sailors were employed in this vast commerce, which was the chief support of the French mercantile navy. The population, as usual in that part of the world, was mixed, consisted of 40,000 whites, 60,000 mulattoes, and not fewer than 500,000 negro slaves. Such was the flourishing state of this

noble colony, when the decree of the Constituent Assembly (March 8, 1790) for the formation of a colonial legislature, awakened the smouldering jealousies of the whites and mulattoes, the former of whom claimed the exclusive right of voting, while the latter strenuously asserted their equal title: and the negroes, not less imbued with the new doctrines, secretly formed the project of ridding themselves of both. On the night of 30th September 1791, the revolt broke out at once in every quarter: the plantations were everywhere consigned to the flames, and the planters compelled to take refuge in the towns from the fury of the insurgents, who sawed their prisoners asunder, and marched with infants transfixed on their lances instead of standards. The mulattoes, though not always siding with the negroes, were equally hostile to the whites: and when three delegates of the Convention, with 3000 troops, arrived in November 1791, they found Cape Town blockaded by the slaves, under their celebrated leader, Toussaint Louverture.

338. In spite, however, of the orders from the mother country, the colonial legislature refused to make any concession even to the mulattoes; while the Assembly at Paris, stimulated by the frantic harangues of the Society of Friends of the Blacks, sent out three new commissioners, Arthaux, Santhonax, and Polverel, armed with unlimited powers (May 1793). Their first measures were to proclaim freedom to the blacks, and to turn the engines of Jacobin proscription against the planters; but in the midst of a bloody tumult between the mulattoes and the sailors of the fleet, Cape Town was surprised, sacked, and burnt (June 20) by the negroes, who massacred 30,000 of the inhabitants. The negro chief, Toussaint, though still professing himself a subject of France, became now the actual ruler of the island, and repulsed an attempt of the British (1794) to gain a footing there. A second furious civil war between the mulattoes and negroes ended in the almost total extermination of the former: and the conquest of the Spanish portion (1800) completed his ascendency. Under his severe but judicious sway, the prosperity of St Domingo rapidly revived: the negroes were compelled to cultivate the lands,

which were allotted among the military chiefs, and subordination and order were preserved by an army of 20,000 men.

339. But though Toussaint had been confirmed in his command by Buonaparte, the continuance of his rule was far from agreeable to the First Consul, who perceived that the feeling of independence had taken root; and the nomination of Toussaint by the chiefs of St Domingo as President for life, which was announced to him at the moment of the peace of Amiens, showed him that no time was to be lost in reasserting the supremacy of France. An immense armament, the greatest ever yet sent from Europe to the New World, was accordingly fitted out. Thirty-five ships of the line, with 21 frigates and numerous transports, received on board an army of 21,000 men, commanded in chief by Le Clerc, the brother-in law of Buonaparte, and under him by Rochambeau, Richepanse, Lapoype, &c.—both officers and men being principally selected, doubtless not without design, from the army of the Rhine, formerly commanded by Moreau, rather than from the personal followers of Buonaparte. The fleet reached St Domingo early in 1802; and Toussaint, though deprived by the late peace of the succour which he had expected from the British in Jamaica, resolutely prepared for defence. Cape Town, where the invaders landed, was burned by the blacks before their retreat; and a desperate warfare ensued in the impenetrable and woody mountain-ridges in the centre of the island. But though the savage bravery of the negroes more than once obtained important advantages, the contest was too unequal to continue; the ablest of the black generals, Christophe, Dessalines, and Maurepas, successively submitted; and Toussaint, left unsupported, was forced to yield. But in two months after the pacification, the illustrious African was treacherously seized by order of Le Clerc, and sent to France, where he shortly after died in confinement at the sequestered castle of Joux, in the Jura, whether by natural or violent means is unknown.

340. Meanwhile the formal re-establishment of slavery in Guadaloupe, where the blacks had also gained the ascendant, awakened universal alarm in St Domingo, being viewed as an earnest of

the fate reserved for those in that island; and a fresh general revolt broke out in October 1802. The French troops, reduced to 8000 by the ravages of the sword and the yellow fever, were concentrated about Cape Town and Port-au-Prince; but Le Clerc soon fell a victim to the epidemic, which had already proved fatal to Richepanse and others of his best officers; and the military talents of Rochambeau, who succeeded to the command, were neutralised by the violence and injustice of his civil government. The French cause was rapidly declining when the death-blow was given to it by the rupture of the peace of Amiens. Arms and ammunition were now supplied by the British to the insurgents; the different French posts, blockaded by the negroes by land, and the British by sea, were successively reduced; and so complete was the destruction of this ill-fated expedition, that of 35,000, including reinforcements, scarcely 7000 ever returned to France. Since this period St Domingo has been nominally independent; but the changes of its government, and the present condition of the inhabitants, are foreign to our subject.

341. But though the ambitious designs of the First Consul were unsuccessful in the western hemisphere, the preliminaries of Amiens were scarcely signed, when he proceeded to rivet the yoke on the affiliated republics, the absolute independence of which had been guaranteed by the peace of Luneville. In September 1801, a fresh constitution, composed of a legislative body of thirty-five, and a council of state of twelve members, with a president changing every three months, was imposed, at the point of the bayonet, upon Holland; and at the end of the same year, the Cisalpine (now called the *Italian*) Republic was again remodelled by an Assembly of Deputies, which met (Dec. 31) at Lyons. Buonaparte, of course, became president of the republic, and nominated Count Melzi, a great proprietor in Lombardy, and a man of high talents and character, as his vice-president; while the election of the seventy-five members who were to compose the legislative body was vested in three electoral colleges, of proprietors, members of the learned professions, and merchants. The incorporation of Piedmont with France, by a simple decree,

(Sept. 11, 1802), and the occupation of Parma and Placentia, completed the French ascendency in Northern Italy; and its subjection was further secured by the construction of the splendid roads over Mont Cenis and the Simplon, which were finished in three years, and which afforded facilities at all times for the passage of the Alps by an army.

342. During these transactions, the subject of the *indemnities*, which by the treaty of Luneville were to be provided for the German princes dispossessed by the extension of France to the Rhine, was giving rise to vehement discussions. The method by which this was to be accomplished was principally the *secularisation* of the ecclesiastical sovereignties—in other words, the spoliation of the church, in order to find equivalents for the conquests of France; but the partition was not so easily arranged. The seven years' discreditable neutrality of Prussia was rewarded by the warm support of her claims by France, with which Russia (in pursuance of the secret treaty of 1801) acted in concert; and she eventually acquired the bishoprics of Paderborn and Hildesheim, with other cities and abbacies, to the amount of more than four times what she had lost on the left bank of the Rhine; and large shares of the spoils were allotted to Bavaria and Würtemberg. The interests of Austria, in the first place, had been almost wholly overlooked; and though the Emperor, as head of the Germanic body, had appointed a conference at Ratisbon in August for the settlement of the indemnities, the different powers were proceeding (in disregard of the Imperial mandate) to occupy the districts assigned to them in the secret treaties, when Austria boldly interposed by taking military possession of Passau, which the Elector of Bavaria was on the point of appropriating. An angry correspondence ensued; but the spirited conduct of Austria had its effect—the conferences were opened at Ratisbon; and the Emperor received the bishopries of Trent and Brixen, &c., as a compensation for the territories which he resigned, and for the loss of Tuscany by his brother. The arrangements were finally confirmed (Feb. 23, 1803) by the Diet; and thus was formally acknowledged the

principle of indemnifying belligerents for their losses, at the expense not of the vanquished, but of the neutral and weaker powers which had taken no part in the contest. All ideas of international right were thus overturned: it became evident that neutrality was now the most perilous of all courses for a weak State, as no one was thus interested in its preservation; and all Europe prepared to follow the banner of one or the other rival interests.

343. During these disputes, Buonaparte had leisure to prosecute his ambitious designs regarding Switzerland, in which, from the different races of its inhabitants, French, Italian, and German, and the extraordinary variety of climate, soil, and manners within its boundaries, the rule of a single central democratic government was especially vexatious. The oligarchies of Berne and Zurich, and the peasants of the Forest Cantons, alike regretted the ancient federal system, in which each canton had the power of internal legislation for its own peculiar exigencies; and during the four disastrous years following the forcible imposition of the new constitution by French bayonets, the country had been distracted by endless intrigues and internal dissensions. The partisans of the old regime were headed by Aloys Reding, chief of the canton of Schwytz; and his views were not discountenanced by Buonaparte, who wished to see a system established more in harmony with the monarchical institutions which he was restoring at Paris. A counter-revolution was at length (Oct. 28, 1801) effected at Berne, and Reding became the head of a new provisional government; but neither Buonaparte, nor either of the contending parties in Switzerland, were satisfied with the constitution now promulgated (Feb. 17, 1802); and it was superseded in May by one framed by Buonaparte himself, in which the executive was vested in a Landamman with two lieutenants, appointed for nine years, with a senate which proposed laws, and a diet which sanctioned them. This constitution, though rejected by the lesser cantons, was accepted by the aristocratic ones; and after its proclamation, the French army of occupation was at length withdrawn.

344. Its departure was instantly followed by the revolt of the Forest Cantons under Reding (Aug.), with the view of restoring the old order of things. The mountaineers were everywhere victorious; and the members of the new government were preparing to take refuge in France, when Buonaparte (Oct. 4) addressed to the Swiss, through his aide-de-camp Rapp, a proclamation announcing his intention of interfering to adjust their differences. In vain was the aid of Austria and the other powers invoked against this violation of the treaty of Luneville, which had guaranteed to them the liberty of choosing their own government. Ney, entering the country with 20,000 men, speedily disarmed all opposition; and fifty-six deputies were summoned to Paris, to receive the law from the First Consul. Buonaparte had been reduced to the use of open violence by the failure of his hopes that one of the contending parties would voluntarily invoke his mediation: but his subsequent conduct was marked by unusual moderation; and the constitution, as finally settled (Act of Mediation, Feb. 19, 1803), was devised with admirable wisdom and equity. Switzerland was again divided into nineteen cantons, but the subjection of one to another was abrogated: all exclusive privileges were abolished; and the Valais became a separate republic. The chief magistrate of six of the principal cantons, in turn, was Landamman for the year; and the Diet sat year by year at their chief towns. The neutrality of Switzerland was allowed, and the existing contingent of 25,000 men exchanged for a levy of sixteen regiments to be taken into French pay. Still deep indignation was excited through Europe by these arbitrary proceedings; and the continued occupation of Holland by French troops showed that the treaty of Luneville was equally a dead letter in regard to the Batavian republic.

345. During these important events on the Continent, Great Britain was tasting the blessings and tranquillity of peace. Her industry and finances prospered to an extraordinary degree: the cessation of the income-tax conferred comparative affluence on the middle classes; and the extinction of the national debt was con-

fidently anticipated from the operation of the sinking fund, now relieved from the counteracting operation of annual loans. But these flattering prospects were of short duration. Independent of the jealousy felt in Britain at the Continental encroachments of Buonaparte, several causes of irritation soon grew up to impair the good understanding of the two governments. The first of these was the asperity with which the First Consul was attacked in the English newspapers, particularly the French journals published in London; and so deeply was Buonaparte stung by these lampoons, that his minister in London was instructed to make a formal demand for their suppression; and at the same time to require that the Bourbon princes resident in Britain, as well as Georges Cadouhal and his Chouan associates, should be sent out of the country. These extravagant demands, involving the abandonment of the *habeas corpus* and the liberty of the press, were of course refused; and the fact of their having been advanced, only shows Buonaparte's utter ignorance of the action of a free government. But, to remove all grounds for complaint, an action for a libel on the First Consul was brought against Peltier, the editor of the most obnoxious of the French journals. He was found guilty, notwithstanding a splendid display of eloquence in his defence by Sir James Mackintosh; but the breaking out of the war prevented his being brought up for judgment.

346. But more important grounds of quarrel were soon found to widen the breach. The French insisted on the evacuation of Malta, Egypt, and the Cape, to which Great Britain refused to accede till the stipulations of the peace of Luneville had been fulfilled by France; while the mission of Colonel Sebastiani to the Levant, to inquire into the state of Egypt and Syria, proved that the First Consul was far from having abandoned his schemes of Oriental conquest. An angry diplomatic correspondence ensued; and in an interview with the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth (Feb. 21, 1803), the wrath of Buonaparte broke out with unrestrained violence. Without denying his designs on Egypt, which, he said, "*must sooner or later belong to France*," he insisted on the instant evacuation of Malta as the only means of

preserving peace, and held out vehement menaces of invading Britain in case of a renewal of the war. "I know," he exclaimed, "that myself and great part of the expedition will probably go to the bottom, but I am determined to make the attempt. . . . . France, with an army of 480,000 men, and England, with a fleet which is mistress of the seas, might, if they understood each other, govern the world, but by their strife they will overturn it." Hostile preparations were now commenced on both sides; and a message of the King to parliament, in which the probability of war was alluded to, produced a second ebullition of Buonaparte against Lord Whitworth, in which the vehemence of his temper lost sight of all restraints of courtesy or decency. The negotiations, however, were still kept open for nearly two months; but Malta on the one hand, and Holland, and Switzerland on the other, proved insuperable obstacles to an arrangement; and on 12th May Lord Whitworth demanded his passports. The declaration of war was followed, on the part of Buonaparte, by the arrest of all the British travelling in France, to the number of above 10,000, mostly of the higher ranks—an act of unnecessary barbarity, which he attempted to justify by alleging the seizure of some French merchant vessels previous to the formal declaration of war; but which more than anything else excited the subsequent inveterate hostility against him in the public mind of Great Britain.

347. In the parliamentary debates which followed, the most remarkable feature was the altered tone of the Opposition. France had now lost the support of the democratic party throughout Europe, and stood forth merely as a threatening and conquering military power. The preservation of our independence and national honour was felt to be at stake; and though Mr Fox and Mr Wilberforce blamed the haste with which the negotiations had at last been broken off, the war was approved in the Commons by a majority of 398 to 67, and in the Lords by 142 to 10. The soundness of the British policy at this period has since been established by the admissions of Buonaparte himself. His design, as he has told us, was to have remained at peace with

Britain for six or eight years; to have annually built twenty or twenty-five ships of the line; and not to have thrown down the gauntlet till he had eighty or a hundred sail in the Channel ports, to cover the passage of the invading army. "When thus," said he, "England, deprived of the advantages of her insular situation, came to wrestle hand to hand with France, she must have fallen. A nation with a population of seventeen millions must in the end sink before one which commands the resources of forty."

VIII. *Renewal of hostilities—Rupture between Spain and Britain.*

348. Never did the ancient rivalry of France and Britain break forth with more vehemence than on the renewal of the war after the peace of Amiens. The French, deeming themselves invincible on land, anticipated, in the conquest of Britain, the removal of the last obstacle to their universal dominion; while the British, indignantly hurling back the defiance, referred to their recent triumphs in Egypt as an earnest of victories yet to be obtained. The animosity of the governments was warmly supported by the patriotism and passions of the people, and both entered with heart and soul into the contest.

349. The first military operation of the French was the occupation of Hanover, which was invaded by the corps of Mortier (May 26). The Hanoverian army, after a fruitless attempt at resistance, was disbanded (most of the men afterwards forming the German Legion in the British service); while the French, in spite of all reclamations, occupied the free cities of Bremen and Hamburg, and forcibly closed the Elbe and Weser against British commerce. The French troops, under St Cyr, at the same time extended themselves throughout Italy; Tarentum and Leghorn were seized, and the British merchandise in their ports confiscated; and by a decree on 23d June, any vessel coming from, or which had touched at, a British port, was declared liable to seizure. Thus commenced the virulent strife so long maintained against the trade of Britain; while gigantic preparations

for invasion were set on foot on the shores of the Channel. The public spirit of France was ardently enlisted in the attempt: the departments vied with each other in contributing vessels, money, and cannon; and the harbour of Boulogne, where the central rendezvous was fixed, was deepened, extended, and fortified with immense works, by the labour of the soldiers. From Brest to the Texel, every port was filled with praams, flat-bottomed gunboats, and other small craft, which, whenever the British cruisers were blown off their stations by contrary winds, crept along shore to the general point of assemblage; and innumerable transports were collected for the reception of the stores and ammunition. The design of Buonaparte for covering the passage of these forces, has been declared by himself the most profound and nicely calculated which he ever formed. The squadrons from the Spanish and Mediterranean ports were to have effected a general junction in the West Indies: they were then, returning with combined forces to Europe, to have raised successively the blockade of Rochfort, Brest, &c.; and, by their union with the fleets in those harbours, to have formed an irresistible armament, under cover of which the flotilla might effect the passage of the Channel. It will appear in the sequel how nearly this vast design succeeded, and how little the British were aware of the quarter whence danger really threatened them.

350. To supply the military force necessary, the conscription was enforced with such rigour that the price of a substitute rose to £500; and during the rest of Napoleon's reign never less than half, sometimes nearly the whole of the youth of France, as they annually attained manhood, were absorbed into the ranks. Auxiliary corps were exacted from Switzerland and Italy: and by treaties with Spain (Oct. 19) and Portugal (Dec. 25), the former power was compelled to pay an annual subsidy of £2,880,000, and the latter one of £640,000, during the continuance of the war. Louisiana, recently acquired from Spain, had been sold to the United States for £3,200,000, as soon as the maritime war made its retention by France hopeless. The revenue of France

for the year amounted to £23,000,000; and thus a regular army of 420,000 was kept on foot, 150,000 of whom were destined for the invasion of Great Britain.

351. But nothing daunted were the British government or people by this formidable array. Fifty thousand men were added to the regular army; and in a few weeks 300,000 volunteers were enrolled, armed, and disciplined, thus superseding the necessity for a compulsory *levée-en-masse*. In the general enthusiasm even the voice of faction was stilled—Whigs and Tories stood side by side in the ranks. From being a war of opinions, it had now become a war of nations. Immense exertions were made for restoring the navy (which the ill-judged economy of the two preceding years had suffered to become dilapidated) to its former efficiency; war taxes were imposed to the amount of £12,660,000, and a loan of £12,000,000 was contracted. An abortive attempt at insurrection in Dublin (July 23), in which the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Kilwarden) was brutally murdered by the mob, was suppressed without difficulty, and the leaders, Emmet and Russell, executed; and a revolutionary fanatic, named Colonel Despard, who had made a frantic attempt on the life of the King, underwent the same fate in London.

352. The naval operations of the year 1803 were, however, chiefly confined to the capture of most of the French West India islands, and gallant but unimportant attacks on the squadrons of small craft proceeding to Boulogne. The attack on the China fleet in the Indian Sea, by a small French naval force under Admiral Linois, was repulsed with loss by these merchant vessels (Feb. 15, 1804), under command of the gallant Commodore Dance—an exploit which preserved property to the amount of £1,500,000, and excited the greatest satisfaction through the nation. Surinam was taken (May 3) by Sir Samuel Hood; and the land forces for the year were raised to 300,000 men, besides 340,000 volunteers, and 100,000 seamen and marines for the navy—the total expenditure amounting to no less than £53,000,000. But the inadequate amount of the service rendered by these immense forces, joined to the decay which (under the delusion of a

wretched economy) had been suffered to take place in the navy during the peace, began to excite a general feeling of despondency in the nation; and it became evident that the ministers, however individually talented or respectable, did not, as a body, possess either the domestic or foreign influence requisite for the crisis. An illness of the King (Feb.), partaking of the mental malady which had fifteen years before afflicted him, augmented the panic. A coalition was formed between the Whigs and Tories; and the ministers resigned on the 12th of May. The new administration, however, was composed wholly of Tories, the King having personal objections to Mr Fox, and several of the late ministry remained in office. Mr Pitt became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Harrowby, foreign secretary; and Lord Melville, first lord of the admiralty, in which office his ability and energy speedily shone conspicuous, in the restoration of the navy from the state of unexampled decrepitude into which the miserable parsimony of his predecessors had thrown it; while the political combinations of Mr Pitt ere long succeeded in resuscitating on the Continent the torpid spirit of resistance to France.

353. In the matter of the German indemnities, as has been noticed, the Emperor Alexander had strongly supported the policy of Buonaparte; and he had attempted, though in vain, to mediate between France and Great Britain. But the occupation of Hanover and Northern Germany gave great umbrage to Russia; and the mutual exasperation was so rapidly inflamed by minor differences, that before the end of 1803, M. Markoff was recalled from Paris, leaving only M. d'Oubril as *chargé-d'affaires*. Prussia, which had at first warmly seconded the remonstrances of Russia as to Hanover and Hamburg, was gained over by a hint of her ultimately acquiring the former territory; and matters were in this state at the execution of the Duke d'Enghien (p. 219). The court of St Petersburg, in its notes both to the Diet at Ratisbon and the cabinet of the Tuileries, expressed without reserve its horror and indignation at this atrocious deed; and the correspondence of the two courts began to assume an aspect of direct hostility;

while the French ministers in vain endeavoured to obtain a set-off, by falsely representing some steps for a counter-revolution in France, taken by Mr Drake and Mr Spencer Smith—the British residents at the courts of Bavaria and Würtemberg—as having for their real object the assassination of the First Consul. At length (July 21, 1804) a most important note was presented by M. d'Oubril, in which, after recapitulating the recent aggressions and encroachments of France, a formal requisition was made for the evacuation of Naples and Northern Germany, and the fulfilment of the promise of an indemnity for the King of Sardinia. As the answer of Talleyrand was unsatisfactory, M. d'Oubril quitted Paris; and it was evident that the open declaration of war was only postponed for a favourable opportunity.

354. Austria, meanwhile, silently occupied in repairing her losses, and recruiting her army, persevered in a system of pacific neutrality. The violation of the territory of the empire in the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien was passed over without any open notice; and the assumption of the Imperial title by Buonaparte, which Russia refused to recognise, was acceded to without apparent repugnance. At Berlin, though Haugwitz had now been supplanted in the chief direction of affairs by Count Hardenberg, a statesman decidedly hostile to revolutionary principles, the same temporising policy continued to be pursued; though an event which occurred at this period at first appeared likely to lead to a rupture with France. Sir George Rumbold, the British minister at Hamburg, was arrested there (Oct. 25) by virtue of an order from the French minister of police, and sent as a state prisoner to Paris: but the energetic reclamations of the Prussian ambassador against this flagrant violation of the law of nations, supported by an autograph letter from the King to Buonaparte, procured his release after a few days' detention. It was from Sweden that the first decided symptom of hostility proceeded. Its sovereign, a young prince of ardent and chivalrous character, had from the first shown marked animosity against the revolutionary system, which was further inflamed by the death of the Duke d'Enghien. Buonaparte resented his representations

on this last point, to the Germanic Diet, by publishing in the *Moniteur* articles so personally offensive, that all intercourse ceased between the courts of Stockholm and Paris; and Mr Pitt, availing himself of this state of feeling, concluded a treaty with Sweden (Dec. 3, 1804), which, though ostensibly directed chiefly to commercial objects, contained provisions for a subsidy from Britain for the fortification of Stralsund, as a depot for the Hanoverian Legion, with other stipulations of a warlike tendency.

355. While everything thus indicated an approaching rupture in Europe, Napoleon (now emperor) was exerting himself by every method to excite the military enthusiasm of his own subjects. On the 14th July (the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille) the inauguration of the Legion of Honour took place, with all imaginable pomp, in the splendid church of the Invalides; and shortly after this ceremony, the Emperor repaired to the head-quarters of the army at Boulogne. There, on the 16th of August, the day of his tutelar saint, 80,000 soldiers passed in battle array before a lofty throne raised on a platform of turf, where Napoleon, encircled by his ministers and marshals, distributed crosses of the Legion from the helmet of Bayard. The enthusiasm of the soldiers was excited to the highest pitch by the martial magnificence of the scene; but the naval display, which was to have formed part of the pageant, failed from the violence of the wind, and Napoleon could not conceal his chagrin at being thus rudely reminded of his weakness on the other element. From Boulogne he continued his progress to Ostend, everywhere stimulating the preparations and reviewing the troops. Thence proceeding by Aix-la-Chapelle to Mayence, he remained there during the autumn, occupied apparently in receiving the adulatory addresses of the provinces and the congratulations of the German princes, but secretly employed in maturing the vast designs which afterwards gave rise to the Confederation of the Rhine. At the approach of winter he returned to Paris, where he celebrated, as will immediately be detailed, the important ceremony of his coronation.

356. The close of the year 1804 was marked by a melancholy event which led to a war between Great Britain and Spain. By the Convention of 19th October 1803, the auxiliary force stipulated by the treaty of St Ildefonso had been commuted (as has already been noticed) into an annual subsidy of £2,880,000, to be paid to France. The amount of this tribute, which was at first studiously concealed, no sooner became known to the British government, than the ambassador was instructed to protest against it (Dec. 13, 1803), as equivalent to a war subsidy; and though no immediate rupture followed, the apprehensions of Britain were soon excited afresh by the rumours of naval preparations at Cadiz, Ferrol, and Carthagena; and orders were given for intercepting the treasure-frigates on their way from America, to be held as security for the neutrality of Spain. But the squadron under Captain Moore, which encountered the four frigates, was only of equal force; and the Spaniards of course refusing to submit under such circumstances, an engagement took place (Oct. 5, 1804), in which one of the treasure-ships blew up with most of the crew. The other three, with a freight valued at more than £2,000,000, were captured; and Spain, justly indignant at this act of violence, declared war (Dec. 12).

357. This unhappy catastrophe produced great division of opinion in Britain, and gave rise to violent debates in parliament; but the government was eventually supported by a large majority in both houses. On reviewing the question at this distance of time, it cannot be denied that, though the conduct of Spain in reference to France might have reasonably occasioned a declaration of war on the part of Great Britain, the commencement of hostilities without such a declaration was not warranted, either by the usages of war or by the law of nations; and on this point no defence can be maintained. But the British historian may congratulate himself on the ample atonement afterwards made for this act of injustice; for if Spain was the scene of a dark blot at this time on the national character of Britain, it was also, soon after, the theatre of the most generous devotion and the brightest glories which her history has to record.

IX. *Buonaparte's Assumption of the Imperial Crown.*

358. It would be well for the memory of Napoleon Buonaparte if, after recounting his matchless military glories, and the admirable wisdom of his civil administration, the historian could stop short, and be spared the narration of the dark and bloody deeds which ushered in the Empire. Up to the beginning of 1804, both the army and the people were either reconciled to the consulate for life, or submitted in silence to an authority which they could not resist; but there were still several among the generals and higher officers who were far from being content with the existing order of things. Bernadotte, though brother-in-law of Joseph Buonaparte, was of this party; but the head of the republican malcontents was Moreau, whose natural jealousy of Buonaparte was stimulated by the rancour with which his wife regarded the elevation of Josephine. At the same time, a royalist conspiracy had been set on foot in London on the renewal of the war, headed by the Chouan Chief Georges Cadouhal, and Pichegru, who had escaped from his South American exile. Fouché, whose unceasing object was to regain the ministry of the police, formed the project of uniting these opposite elements in a plot which might at once ruin both and effect his own restoration; and his skilfully devised snares were successful. Georges, the Polignacs, Pichegru, and others, secretly landed in France, and repaired to Paris, in order to concert measures with Moreau; and though they were speedily undeceived in their hopes of the co-operation of that illustrious soldier, the purpose of Fouché was answered. The police still believed Pichegru in London, when Fouché arrived with his revelations, which were rewarded by his reinstatement in office; and the whole of the suspected persons, to the number of forty-five, were seized (Feb. 15). Moreau was arrested a few days afterwards; and Georges and Pichegru, who at first eluded the police, were secured a fortnight later—the latter being betrayed by a wretch named Leblanc, who had offered him an asylum.

359. The arrest of Moreau struck both the people and the army

with consternation; and it was perhaps well for Buonaparte that so many of the soldiers of Hohenlinden had perished in St Domingo (p. 204). But a still further stroke was in preparation, from which the memory of Buonaparte will never recover. The Duke d'Enghien, son of the Duke de Bourbon, and a lineal descendant of the great Condé, had accompanied his father's emigration in 1789, and had ever since remained in exile. At this time he was resident at Ettenheim, in the territory of Baden, on the right bank of the Rhine, where he was arrested in his bed on the night of the 15th March by a French force from New Brisach, and carried prisoner to Strasburg. The ground of this outrageous act was the supposed identity of the prince with a mysterious stranger (afterwards known to be Pichegru), who had been present at several meetings of the royalist conspirators—his frequent absence from home, for the pursuit of field-sports, appearing to strengthen this surmise. His fate was not long delayed. On the 18th he was transferred from Strasburg, and arriving at Paris on the 20th, was instantly sent to Vincennes, where, in pursuance of an order signed by the hand of Buonaparte, he was tried by a military commission on the charge of bearing arms against the Republic. No evidence was adduced, no witnesses were examined: he was at once found guilty, and shot in the ditch of the fortress in the grey of the following morning; and his remains, dressed as they were, were thrown into a grave, which had been dug *before his trial*, on the spot where he fell.

360. Thus perished the Duke d'Enghien, a prince endowed with extraordinary advantages both of person and mind, and his fate must ever remain a dark and indelible blot on the renown of Buonaparte. It was in truth a most foul and iniquitous murder, and was so stigmatised by a great majority even of the French: the courts of Europe openly expressed their horror, and the detestation which had been hitherto felt throughout the Continent for the atrocities of the Revolution in general was transferred to the person of the First Consul, who was thenceforward popularly regarded as the symbol of dark and malignant cruelty.

But this tragedy was soon followed by another. On the morning of the 6th April, Pichegru was found dead in prison, strangled by a silk handkerchief twisted round his neck by a small stick. It was given out that he had committed suicide; but if we follow the axiom of Machiavel, "when you would discover the author of a crime, consider who had an interest to commit it"—moral presumption weighs heavily against the First Consul. Pichegru's undaunted character, and his avowed determination to speak out boldly on his trial, had awakened the fears of the government, which dreaded the effect of his revelations, and it was known that his examinations had totally failed in eliciting anything to implicate Moreau. The belief in his assassination was general; and the populace, from the remarkable method of his death, attributed it to the Mamlukes whom Buonaparte had brought from Egypt.

361. At length (May 28) Moreau, Georges, the two Polignacs, La Rivière, and the rest of the accused, were brought to trial, amidst a vast concourse of spectators, who viewed with indignation the victor of Hohenlinden seated among men whom they regarded as the hired bravos of Britain. The trial lasted twelve days; but notwithstanding the anxiety of the First Consul to procure the conviction of Moreau, his innocence was so manifest that he was sentenced only to two years' imprisonment, the judges not daring to acquit him altogether. Georges and fifteen others were sentenced to death, but seven of these were pardoned by Buonaparte; the remainder were executed on the Place de Grève (June 25), meeting their fate with heroic fortitude. Georges, in particular, whom the First Consul, struck with admiration of his unbending firmness, had been anxious to attach to his service, insisted on dying first, that his comrades might see that he had not proved false to them at the last hour.

362. Any capital condemnation of Moreau would probably have caused a violent commotion, from his high popularity both among the people and the army; and Buonaparte always asserted, that it was never his intention to let him perish on the scaffold, but only to extinguish his influence by the brand which

would thus be affixed to his name. After the sentence, he acted with indulgence to his fallen rival, whom he at once permitted to retire to America—purchasing his estate, and defraying the expenses of his journey to Barcelona for embarkation. One other deed of darkness belongs to this period. Captain Wright, from whose vessel Pichegru had disembarked, was wrecked on the French coast, and brought with his crew to Paris, where they were examined as witnesses against Georges. He refused, however, to give evidence, and was soon after found in his cell in the Temple with his throat cut. The French authorities, of course, ascribed his death to his own hand, but his character and other circumstances rendered this extremely improbable; and there can be little doubt that he was cut off to prevent his subsequently revealing the secrets of his prison-house, or possibly, as was asserted in Britain at the time, to destroy the traces of torture on his person.

363. It was in the midst of these bloody events that Buonaparte assumed the imperial crown. The project had been first broached by himself to the Senate, shortly after the death of the Duke d'Enghien; and as that obsequious body immediately entered into his views, it was resolved that it should be brought forward in the Tribunate, which, since its curtailment in numbers, had been an equally facile instrument of his will. Accordingly, on the 25th of April, the subject was moved in the Hall of the Tribunate by Curée and Simeon, who urged that "it was only by placing the crown on the head of the First Consul that the dignity, the independence, and the territory of the French people could be preserved;" and concluded their harangues by proposing, that "we lay before the Senate the wish of the nation that Napoleon Buonaparte, now First Consul, be declared Emperor, and in that quality remain charged with the government of the French Republic, and that the imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his family." Carnot, with honourable consistency, still stood forward in opposition, but his voice was solitary in the Tribunate: in the Council of State the question was carried by twenty to seven; and addresses flowed in from all quarters—

from the municipalities, the army, the cities. the public bodies—all vieing with each other in the strains of servile adulation. The decree of the Senate at length appeared (May 18), declaring Napoleon Emperor of the French, and was accepted by the new monarch with suitable solemnity. The hereditary succession was referred to the people, and the result of the registers was 3,572,329 affirmative votes. and only 2569 in the negative. History affords no instance of a nation so unanimously taking refuge in the stillness of despotism.

364. The first step of Napoleon was to confer on eighteen* of his most distinguished generals the rank of marshals of the empire; his brothers and sisters were at the same time created "imperial highnesses;" and the titles of "serene highness" and "monseigneur" were revived for the great dignitaries of the State. The etiquette of the court was fixed with as much precision as in the ancient Byzantine empire. "Whoever," says Madame de Staël, "could suggest an additional point of form, was received as if he had been a benefactor to the human race." The ceremony of the coronation was, however, deferred till the return of Napoleon, in the autumn, from his triumphal tour to Boulogne and the Rhine, when it was celebrated with extraordinary pomp (Dec. 2) in the venerable cathedral of Nôtre Dame. To recall, as Napoleon was anxious to do on every occasion, the memory of Charlemagne, the first French emperor of the West, the Pope had been invited, with an urgency which it would not have been prudent to resist, to be present at the consecration, and had accordingly crossed the Alps for the purpose. His participation, however, extended only to the benediction; and it was by the hand of Napoleon himself that the crowns were placed on his own head and that of Josephine, in the midst of all that the empire could display of luxury and magnificence.

365. The multitude, though dazzled by the spectacle, showed little of the enthusiasm evinced on former occasions; but this

* Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Serrurier.

was amply atoned for by the fervent acclamations of the troops on the following day, when Napoleon, in the Champ de Mars, distributed to the regiments the eagles which were thenceforward to form the standards of the army. A series of fêtes followed, which lasted upwards of two months, and in which the splendour of the new court was displayed with a lustre to which Paris had long been a stranger. In the midst of this turmoil of exultation, a protest was issued by Louis XVIII. from the shores of the Baltic, in terms worthy the illustrious line he represented, against this fresh usurpation of his rights; but so little was it regarded by the French government, that they directed its publication in the *Moniteur!* Who could then foresee that the bones of Louis XVIII. would rest in the royal vaults of St Denis, and those of Napoleon under a willow at St Helena!

PART V.

FROM BUONAPARTE'S ASSUMPTION OF THE IMPERIAL CROWN TO THE TREATY OF TILSIT.—1803-7.

I. *Threatened Invasion of England—Battle of Trafalgar.*

366. NAPOLEON was well aware that he held the throne only on the condition of constantly feeding the vanity of the French by a succession of glories and victories, and that war was therefore necessary to his existence. But as it was necessary to disguise this perilous fact, it was his usual policy to make proposals to the most inveterate of his enemies at the moment when he perceived a general war to be inevitable: and in pursuance of this system, he now (Jan. 2, 1805) a second time personally addressed a letter to the King of Great Britain, containing overtures for an accommodation. The answer addressed by Lord Mulgrave to Talleyrand, by declining to give a specific answer without communicating with the Continental powers, and particularly with Russia, revealed the existence of a fresh coalition; and the

Russian alliance was openly announced in the King's speech at the meeting of parliament (Jan. 15). The confidential negotiations which at this time took place with the Russian ambassador in London are remarkable as embodying the basis on which the arrangements at the Congress of Vienna, ten years later, were mainly formed — and from which great Britain never subsequently for one moment swerved, however hopeless their attainment might appear. A treaty was at the same time (Jan. 14) concluded between Russia and Sweden, and a Russian corps disembarked in Pomerania, to act in conjunction with the Swedish forces; but this step was viewed with jealousy by Prussia, and strengthened the fatal French leaning in the Berlin cabinet. Meanwhile the finances of France rapidly improved under the judicious system of indirect taxation recently introduced: and the flourishing condition of the empire, as it appeared in the report laid before the Chambers (Dec. 31, 1804) by the Minister of the Interior, drew forth the celebrated eulogium on Napoleon—"The first place was vacant — the most worthy was called to fill it: he has only dethroned anarchy."

367. The spring of 1805 was spent by Napoleon in consolidating his power in all the affiliated republics surrounding the French frontier. The democracy of Holland was first overthrown (March 22), and M. Schimmelpenninck, an able and respectable man, invested with the whole direction of affairs, by the old title of Grand Pensionary—a change sufficiently distasteful to the revolutionary party, but which gratified the Orangeists and partisans of the old regime. More important changes soon ensued in the Italian States. Count Melzi, and the other deputies of the Italian Republic who attended the imperial coronation at Paris, secretly instructed for the purpose, produced before the French Senate (March 18) an Act of Settlement, declaring Napoleon King of Italy, with succession to his male heirs; and the new order of things was solemnly proclaimed at Milan on 31st March, Eugene Beauharnais acting as Viceroy. Napoleon forthwith set out, in a sort of triumphal progress, for Italy, by the route of Lyons and Turin; and after witnessing a splendid military

pageant on the field of Marengo, made his public entry into Milan (May 8). The iron crown of the ancient Lombard kings was drawn forth from its repose of a thousand years in the treasury at Monza, and Napoleon placed it on his own head (May 26) in the superb cathedral of Milan, pronouncing at the same time the traditionary formula, "God gave it me—woe to him who touches it!" The blaze of splendour at the ceremony surpassed even the coronation of Nôtre Dame; and the Italians, whose ardent imaginations were captivated by the brilliancy of the fêtes, and by the noble additions to the public buildings planned by the new monarch, fondly believed that the reign of the Tramontanes had ceased for ever. The wisdom and moderation of Eugene's internal government, the animation consequent on the residence of his court, and the immense public improvements everywhere set on foot, contributed to maintain and extend this feeling; and, despite the heavy burdens then imposed on them, they still look back with regret to the "Kingdom of Italy" as the brightest period of their modern existence.

368. During his residence at Milan, a deputation arrived from the Ligurian Republic of Genoa, which had been commanded to solicit incorporation with France; and the decree carrying this measure into effect appeared on 9th June. The territory formed three new departments; and on the 30th of the same month its union with France was solemnised by the triumphal entry of Napoleon, amid fêtes to which the romantic situation of the city gave unrivalled lustre. The fate of this venerable republic was soon shared by that of Lucca, which, with Piombino, was erected into a principality for Eliza, sister of the Emperor; Parma and Placentia were soon after incorporated with France;—and such was the issue of the saying of Napoleon, nine years before, that the days were past in which republics could be swallowed up by monarchies.

369. Those strides towards universal dominion, particularly in Italy, raised so high the indignation of the Austrian nobles that Cobentzell, the head of the pacific party, found himself compelled to retire from office, and a speedy declaration of war became

inevitable. From the dilapidated state, however, of the Imperial finances, it was not till August that the accession of Austria was formally given in to the offensive and defensive alliance which had already (April 11) been concluded between Russia and Britain—when the Emperor Francis, on the promise of a subsidy of 3,000,000, agreed to raise his army to 320,000 effective troops; and a convention with Sweden was signed at Helsingborg (August 31), by which Great Britain agreed to pay £1800 monthly for every thousand men employed in the common cause. The accession of Prussia was earnestly solicited; but though she endeavoured to interpose as a mediator, all the representations of the Russian envoy, Novosiltzoff, on the necessity of opposing a barrier to France, failed to overcome the temptation of the bait held out to her from the Tuileries, of the acquisition of Hanover, and she remained firm to the French alliance. Still the genius and influence of Mr Pitt had once more succeeded in combining the discordant elements of European power in a firm coalition against French encroachment, and in assembling forces which, if properly directed, would have proved amply sufficient for the deliverance of Europe.

370. These threatening appearances on the Continent did not, however, for a moment divert Buonaparte from his projected descent on Britain; and, shortly after his return from Italy, he repaired to the camp at Boulogne. Never, since the days of the Roman legions, had an army at once so numerous and so perfectly organised been assembled. The whole force in the various camps amounted to 155,000 men, with 14,654 horses, and 432 pieces of cannon. Provisions for three months, and munitions of war to an unexampled extent, were ready to accompany the army in its embarkation; and 2293 vessels, 1339 of which were armed, were prepared as transports. A new system of organisation, analogous in many points to that of the Romans, and which has never since been departed from in the French army, was now first introduced: a corps of from 20,000 to 30,000 men, under a marshal, consisted of four or five divisions of from 5000 to 7000, commanded by generals of division—the Imperial

Guard being considered as the reserve of the whole army, under the immediate orders of the Emperor. Each corps had its proportion of artillery and light cavalry (the heavy cavalry forming a separate corps), and was thus complete in itself—the regiments, except in cases of absolute necessity, were never transferred from their original divisions, nor the divisions from their corps. Thus the generals knew all their officers personally, and the officers their soldiers, and a pervading spirit of emulation was kept up between the different regiments of a division, the different divisions, and the different corps—while so vigilant and incessant was the personal superintendence of the Emperor on every point, that it was a common saying, that every officer who had anything of importance to perform imagined that care exclusively directed to himself. The organisation of the flotilla was equally perfect; and so complete were all the arrangements, that it was found by experience that 25,000 men, drawn up opposite the vessels, could be entirely embarked in ten minutes.

371. The immense accumulation of gun-boats and armed vessels, however, was only a veil for the real design of Napoleon, which has been previously detailed (p. 212). The Spanish navy was now at his disposal as well as that of France; and the British blockading squadrons, barely equal respectively to the force which each watched, were utterly unable to prevent its junction with any superior fleet which might approach. In January, therefore, the Toulon and Rochfort squadrons were ordered to sail for the West Indies, there to effect their junction: the latter under Admiral Missiessy, effected its passage, and, after some unimportant operations, returned to Europe in the beginning of April; but the Toulon force, under Villeneuve, had been shattered by a gale and forced to return, and did not finally get to sea till the 30th March. It succeeded in forcing the blockade of Cadiz, which was guarded by only five British ships under Sir John Orde; and the combined French and Spanish fleets, amounting to 18 ships of the line and 10 frigates, with 10,000 troops on board, steered for the West Indies; whither Nelson, having with great difficulty learned their route, boldly followed,

with only ten sail of the line and three frigates, and arrived at Barbadoes (June 4). But the enemy, reinforced by two more ships, had sailed from Martinique for Europe (May 28), having received the secret orders of Napoleon, which were—first, to release the ten Spanish and five French ships blockaded in Ferrol; next, to join the Rochfort squadron of five sail more—and with the united fleet, which would now amount to forty sail of the line, steer to Brest, where Gantheaume awaited them with twenty-one. At the head of this overwhelming force Villeneuve was to proceed to Boulogne, and cover the passage of the invading flotilla.

372. Hitherto the British government had never suspected the hidden scheme of Napoleon, which appeared fast approaching completion. Villeneuve was returning to Europe, leaving Nelson behind in the West Indies; and the success of the remaining movements appeared almost inevitable. But Nelson no sooner ascertained the direction taken by the enemy, than, at once perceiving that some ulterior combination was implied by their retreat before a fleet not half their force, he sailed in pursuit the same day (June 13); at the same time despatching several fast-sailing craft to put the British government on its guard. One of these reached London (July 9) in twenty-five days from Antigua; and the Admiralty instantly sent orders to Admiral Stirling to leave his station before Rochfort, and, joining Sir Robert Calder off Ferrol, to cruise off Cape Finisterre for Villeneuve. So little time was there to spare that the united British force, of fifteen sail, had hardly reached its cruising ground when the Allied fleets hove in sight (July 22), consisting of twenty sail of the line, a fifty-gun ship, and seven frigates. Sir Robert Calder immediately made the signal for action, but the foggy state of the weather threw both fleets into disorder; and though two Spanish line-of-battle ships were captured, the action was not renewed on the following day; and Villeneuve, after leaving three disabled ships at Vigo, reached Ferrol on the 2d of August.

373. Napoleon was transported with rage on first learning that Villeneuve had taken shelter in Ferrol, and sent peremptory

orders that he should instantly put to sea again, and effect his junction, at all risks, with the Brest fleet. He accordingly sailed with twenty-nine ships of the line; but Sir Robert Calder, with a force now raised to twenty sail, had by this time returned to the station; and Villeneuve, fearing his encounter, tacked and made sail for Cadiz, which he reached August 21, the very day he was expected at Brest. Nelson, meanwhile, had recrossed the Atlantic, and after cruising along the Spanish and French coasts without meeting the enemy, arrived (July 17) at Portsmouth, where he was welcomed with unbounded enthusiasm. Sir Robert Calder's action of 22d July, by thwarting Napoleon's combinations when on the point of success, and affording time for the return of Nelson to Europe, had saved the country; but so little was this service appreciated by the public that Sir Robert found himself compelled, by the popular clamour, to retire and demand a court-martial, by which he was "severely reprimanded for not having done his utmost to renew the engagement."

374. The blockading squadron before Cadiz had meanwhile been augmented to twenty-nine sail of the line, and placed under command of Nelson; and so great was the terror of his name that Villeneuve, in spite of the positive orders of Napoleon, and the scarcity of provisions which began to be felt, hesitated to sail, though he had thirty-three ships out of forty ready for sea. By appearing to detach part of his fleet, Nelson at last succeeded in overcoming his irresolution. Leaving the harbour (Oct. 19) to the number of thirty-three sail of the line and seven frigates, the Allied fleet came in sight of the British at daybreak on the 21st, a few leagues N.W. of Cape Trafalgar. As the British were to windward, Villeneuve determined to lie in close order, and await their attack; while Nelson, having hoisted his last ever-memorable signal, "England expects every man to do his duty," bore down in two lines perpendicularly on the enemy—himself in the Victory leading one column of thirteen sail, while Collingwood headed the other, of fourteen ships, in the Royal Sovereign. The latter ship, far outsailing the rest, steered right into the hostile

line: and engaging the Santa Anna, the flag-ship of Admiral Alava, so close that their yards locked, for twenty minutes singly sustained the fire of this huge vessel, as well as of four others which came to her aid. During this time Nelson, baffled by the lightness of the wind, had been slowly advancing under a tremendous concentric fire from seven or eight ships, till at one o'clock he succeeded in breaking the French line, on one side engaging the Bucentaur and the Santissima Trinidada, and on the other grappling the Redoubtable; while Captain Harvey, in the Temeraire, fell on board the same vessel on the other quarter. The fire from the Redoubtable's ports was soon silenced, but the marksmen in her tops still kept up a deadly discharge; and a shot from one of them ere long pierced Nelson with a mortal wound, on the quarterdeck of the Victory. He was immediately carried below, but insisted that the surgeon should continue to attend to the other wounded: "For me," said he, "you can do nothing."

375. The battle continued with unabated fury; and as the whole British force got into action, the superiority of British skill soon became apparent. At a quarter past two, the Santa Anna struck to the Royal Sovereign; at three o'clock ten ships had surrendered; the Redoubtable was at length carried by boarding by the Temeraire; and the Santissima Trinidada, dismasted and wholly disabled, yielded to the Prince. At the close of the day the victory was complete. Admiral Gravina escaped with nine ships into Cadiz; and Admiral Dumanoir, with four French ships, stood to the north, and got clear off for the time: but the remaining twenty ships had struck (one of which, the Achille, blew up soon after she surrendered), and Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief, the Spanish admirals Alava and Cisneros, and 20,000 prisoners, were in the hands of the victors—the loss of the British being only 1690 killed and wounded. Nelson survived his wound long enough to know that a glorious victory had been gained, and that fourteen or fifteen of the enemy were taken: "That's well," said he, "but I bargained for twenty,"—and at half-past four he expired without a groan, repeatedly murmur-

ing in his last moments, "Thank God, I have done my duty!"

376. It had been Nelson's dying order to bring the fleet to anchor. This, however, was impossible: and in consequence many of the prizes either foundered or were wrecked in a heavy gale, on the morning of the 22d: others were sunk by the British; and only four were brought to Gibraltar in safety. But this loss was in part compensated by the capture of Dumanoir's four ships, which, in attempting to reach Rochfort, were encountered off Cape Ortegal (Nov. 4) by a British squadron of equal force under Sir Richard Strachan, and all taken. An exchange of courtesies was in the meanwhile taking place between the British and the Spanish at Cadiz. Collingwood released all the wounded Spaniards on their parole—an act of generosity responded to on the part of the Spanish governor by the offer of their hospitals for the use of the British wounded; and the British sailors who were wrecked in the prizes were received and treated as friends. Thus, amid the tempests of Trafalgar, were produced those feelings between these generous enemies which brought them to stand side by side at Vittoria and Toulouse.

377. The victory of Trafalgar had annihilated the French and Spanish navies—and the British Isles, freed from the danger of invasion, passed at once from a state of anxious solicitude to tranquil security. Yet the feeling of grief for the loss of the hero by whom these blessings had been gained, almost overweighed that of exultation; and all the honours which a grateful country could bestow were heaped on his memory. A public funeral was decreed to him; his brother was created an earl, with a pension of £6000 a-year, and a grant of £100,000 for an estate: and Collingwood also received a peerage and a pension. Lord Nelson was, in truth, the greatest naval officer of this or any other age or nation; and if a veil could be drawn over his deeds at Naples, his public character might be deemed perfect. His devotion to his country was constantly blended with a sense of religious duty; and conceiving himself, in his latter years, an instrument in the hand of Providence to combat the infidel spirit

of the Revolution, he directed to this object the whole of his unrivalled powers and consummate genius.

II. *Campaign of Austerlitz.*

378. The importance of Sir R. Calder's action of 22d July had been instantly perceived by Napoleon, who, from the moment when he heard that the combined fleet was in Cadiz, saw that his deep-laid schemes of invasion were for ever frustrated. The coalition, instead of being crushed on the banks of the Thames, was now to be anticipated on those of the Danube: but the preparations for embarkation at Boulogne were still kept up with redoubled activity as a disguise; till, on 1st September, when the soldiers were hourly expecting the order to go on board, the Emperor suddenly set out for Paris, and the whole force was put in motion for the Rhine.

379. Since the assumption of the iron crown by Napoleon, and the incorporation of Genoa, Parma, and Placentia with his dominions, the question of a war with Austria had been only one of time, and the mask was at last dropped on both sides. In the belief that the British expedition was occupying the Emperor and the flower of his troops, 80,000 Imperialists under Mack crossed the Inn (Sept. 9) and entered Bavaria—the Elector of which, after much hesitation, had given his adhesion to France—and continued their advance unchecked to the defiles of the Black Forest. The forces of the coalition were formidable, amounting in all to 350,000 men—whereof 30,000 were under the Archduke John in the Tyrol, and 90,000 under the Archduke Charles in Italy; but the Russians, 116,000 of whom were advancing through Poland, could not come up for two months, and the object of Napoleon was to crush the advanced army in Bavaria before their arrival. For this purpose the army of England from Boulogne, and the corps from Holland and Hanover, in all 190,000 men, were set in motion; the Bavarians and other German allies were 24,000, and the army of Italy 35,000, besides 15,000 in Naples—forming a total of

270,000 men. In addition to all these forces, a conscription of 80,000 was ordered from those who would attain the military age in 1806 (a proof that France was already overtaxing her military strength)—the national guards were reorganised—and Napoleon, having taken leave of the Senate in an energetic address, set out for Strasburg.

380. Negotiations meanwhile continued between France and Prussia: but though Frederick-William positively refused to allow the passage of the Russian armies through his territory, he was equally unwilling, on the other hand, to provoke hostilities with the Czar by throwing himself into the arms of France; and, during this unworthy vacillation, 180,000 French, divided into eight corps, under as many marshals, were rapidly converging, by various routes through France, Flanders, and Northern Germany, to Ulm, where it was already foreseen by Napoleon that the decisive blow would be struck. The daily march of every regiment had been previously laid down, and was fulfilled with undeviating accuracy; and before it was known either at London or Vienna that they had broken up from Boulogne, they were far advanced towards the Rhine. The corps of Bernadotte, from Hanover, marching straight for the Danube near Ingolstadt, cut off the communication between the Austrians at Ulm and their own country; but, in the execution of this manœuvre, it was necessary to disregard the neutrality of Prussia by crossing the territory of Anspach—an outrage which produced a violent outbreak of popular indignation at Berlin, where the Queen, Prince Louis, and Baron Hardenberg openly advocated an immediate war with France. But the time was not yet come when Prussia was to atone for her past vacillation and duplicity.

381. Napoleon arrived at Strasburg on 27th September, and after addressing an energetic proclamation to his troops, and to his new allies, the Bavarians, put himself at the head of the main army, which pressed forward on both banks of the Danube towards Ulm. Bernadotte had meanwhile crossed the river at Donauwerth and Ingolstadt, and Augsburg had been occupied (Oct. 12) by Marmont and Soult, before Mack was in the least

aware of his imminent peril. The corps of Auffenberg, on its march from the Tyrol, was enveloped and almost destroyed near Donauwerth (Oct. 7), by the cavalry of Murat; and though an Austrian corps gained an advantage at Hasslach (Oct. 11) over the division of Dupont, the French combinations, aided by their superiority of force, proved irresistible. Four thousand Imperialists laid down their arms (Oct. 13) at Memmingen; the bridge of Gunzburg, by which a line of retreat was still open towards Bohemia, had been captured by Ney (Oct. 9), after a gallant defence by the Austrians; and the circle of investment was speedily completed round Ulm, where 50,000 Austrians were completely surrounded by twice their number of French.

382. The first attack on the outposts took place on the 14th, when the corps of Ney (afterwards made Duke of Elchingen in memory of this exploit) succeeded, after a desperate conflict which lasted the whole day, in occupying the bridge and abbey of Elchingen, which formed an important link in the chain of defences. But, during this engagement, the Archduke Ferdinand, putting himself at the head of the cavalry and light troops, had issued from the lines, and attempted to cut his way through to Bohemia. Stimulated by the hope of capturing a prince of the house of Hapsburg, Murat pressed the pursuit with unexampled vigour and celerity. Werneck, overtaken and surrounded at Trochtelfingen, was compelled to surrender with 8000 men; but the Archduke himself, with a few hundred followers, made good his retreat by Ratisbon to the Imperial frontier (Oct. 18). Meanwhile the heights round Ulm (the defences on which, destroyed by the French when yielded to them by the armistice of September 1800, had been only imperfectly restored) had been carried by storm, and Napoleon, on the 18th, summoned Mack to surrender.

383. The conduct of Mack in this trying crisis at once betrayed his irresolution;* while, in a proclamation to his troops, he de-

* Mack was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment as a traitor: but there appears no just reason to suspect this luckless general of anything worse than weakness and incapacity.

nounced the idea of submission under pain of death, and predicted the speedy advance of the Russians to raise the blockade, he at the same time agreed to surrender unless relieved within eight days; but on the 19th, after signing this convention, he repaired to Napoleon's headquarters at Elchingen, where the Emperor so completely terrified and bewildered him, by representations of his hopeless condition, that he at last agreed to surrender on the next day. On the 20th October, accordingly, Napoleon, surrounded by a brilliant staff, took his post on an eminence north of the city; and saw the garrison, 30,000 strong, with 60 pieces of cannon, file off and lay down their arms before him—a spectacle unparalleled in modern warfare. He addressed himself to the captive Austrian generals in terms of studied moderation:—"I know not for what reason your Emperor wages war against me. . . . . I want nothing on the Continent; it is *ships, colonies, and commerce, which I need,*"—words, memorable in themselves, and doubly so from having been uttered the day before the empire of the seas was for ever wrested from his grasp at Trafalgar! But little disturbed by any anticipation of calamity, the Emperor fostered the enthusiasm of the French people by sending to Paris forty standards taken from the Austrians; the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Würtemberg received shares of the captured artillery and ammunition; and a fresh proclamation to the troops commemorated the triumphs of the fifteen days' campaign, which it was indeed scarcely possible to exaggerate. With the loss of scarcely 8000 men, 80,000 of the enemy had been taken or destroyed!

384. While Mack, with 80,000 men, had been pushed forward in Germany to the encounter of twice his number, the Archduke Charles, who was at the head of 90,000 on the Adige, was kept, by the orders of the Aulic Council, on the defensive before Massena, who had only 50,000. The French general at length boldly took the initiative by storming the bridge of Verona (Oct. 18), but the Austrian main force lay in the impregnable position of Caldiero; and though severe actions ensued (Oct. 28-30), the advantage decidedly remained with the Imperialists, till the confirmation

of the disasters in Germany determined the Archduke to retreat, in order to cover Vienna. This retrograde movement was executed with consummate skill and complete success: the retiring columns reached Laybach in safety (Nov. 12), and were joined, a few days after, by the Archduke John, with the remains of his army from the Tyrol. After a struggle of three weeks, the Imperialists had been driven from that province by the Bavarians and the corps of Marshal Ney; the divisions of Jellachich and Rohan, together numbering 11,000 men, had been forced to capitulate; the fortress of Kuffstein had surrendered, and Innspruck, with all its arsenals, had been taken. Napoleon, meanwhile, had continued his march through Bavaria; on the 31st October, his troops crossed the Inn at all points; and after occupying the fortresses of Braunau and Muhldorf, which had been deserted by their garrisons, had established his headquarters at Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria. Here he received Count Giulay, who came to propose an armistice; but as Napoleon insisted on the dismissal of the Russian auxiliaries, and the cession of the Tyrol and Venice, the attempt at negotiation proved fruitless.

385. The cabinet of Berlin, however, had taken umbrage, to an extent hardly to be anticipated, at the violation of the territory of Anspach, which at once revealed the low estimation to which Prussia had been sunk by her vacillating policy. An allied force of 30,000 British, Russians, and Swedes, landed in Hanover, and besieged Hameln, the only fortress whence the French troops had not been withdrawn, without any opposition from the Prussians; and the arrival of the Emperor Alexander at this crisis (Oct. 25) at Berlin, added fuel to the flame. Duroc, finding his influence at an end, quitted the capital; and a convention was concluded (Nov. 2), to which the two monarchs solemnly pledged themselves at the tomb of the Great Frederick, for the re-arrangement of Europe on the basis of the treaty of Luneville. Haugwitz was despatched to notify this treaty to Napoleon, with an intimation that, in case of its refusal, hostilities would commence (Dec. 15); but before the arrival of that day the aspect of affairs had undergone a fresh change.

386. The advanced corps of the Russians, under Kutusoff, had discontinued their forward progress on hearing of the fall of Ulm; and Napoleon's aim was now to crush them before their main army could come up to their support. But the Russian general, withdrawing his whole force to the left bank of the Danube, burned the bridge of Mautern, the only one between Lintz and Vienna; and Mortier, who was intrusted with the pursuit, was routed and almost overwhelmed (Nov. 11) between Stein and Diernstein (the scene of the captivity of Cœur-de-Lion), by the Russian rearguard under Milaradovitch and Doctoroff, and was driven over to the right bank with the loss of 3000 men. The result of this his first encounter with the Russians gave Napoleon serious vexation; but his route now lay open to Vienna, whence the Emperor Francis had already withdrawn. The advanced corps, under Lannes and Murat, entered the Austrian capital at daybreak (Nov. 13), and succeeded, by the audacious stratagem of a feigned armistice, in seizing the bridge over the Danube—thus cutting off the communication between the Russians in Moravia and the army advancing from Italy under the Archduke Charles. The pursuit of Kutusoff was now resumed with redoubled vigour, and Murat a second time attempted the device of a fraudulent armistice; but the finesse which had succeeded with the unsuspecting Austrians failed to deceive the wily Muscovite, who held the French in parley while he gained twenty hours' march. Bagrathion's corps of 8000 men, which had been left as a blind in the presence of the French, made good its retreat after losing half its number in a desperate struggle with the whole French force; and the junction of the Russian armies was effected (Nov. 19) at Wischau in Moravia.

387. Napoleon had fixed his residence at the Imperial palace of Schönbrunn, near Vienna, whence he directed enormous contributions to be levied on the inhabitants, besides the confiscation of the immense stores in the arsenals; but the most rigid discipline was enforced among the troops, and all private plunder strictly prohibited. His situation, however, was now one of extreme difficulty: besides the Russians concentrated in Moravia,

where the Czar had arrived in person, the Archduke Charles was rapidly advancing from Italy, the Hungarians were arming *en masse*, and a declaration of war might be daily expected from Prussia — while only 70,000 men remained disposable, after guarding the vast line of communication from Vienna to the Rhine. He forthwith put himself, therefore, at the head of his army, fixing his headquarters at Brunn, whence several messages passed between him and Alexander. But these delusive overtures were only intended to mislead the Russians into a belief of the trepidation of the French, and induce them to commence operations without waiting for the Archduke or the Hungarians; and in this he was completely successful. Pressed by the scarcity of provisions in a country where they had no magazines, the Allies moved on the 27th November, in order to cut off the French from Vienna, and open up their own communications with the advancing Archduke; and after some unimportant movements the French fell back, and concentrated themselves (Nov. 30) at Austerlitz—a position which the Emperor had some days previously pointed out to his generals as the probable scene of a decisive engagement.

388. The manœuvres of Napoleon had been directed to lead the enemy into attempting to turn his right, in doing which he foresaw that they must expose themselves to be assailed in flank; and perceiving them (Dec. 1) commencing this false movement, he exclaimed in inexpressible exultation, "Before to-morrow night that army is mine!" The whole of that day he employed in visiting the various posts, and encouraging the men; and long after nightfall he continued his inspection, by the light of the fires which the soldiers kindled in their bivouacs—while his presence, wherever he passed, was hailed with shouts of enthusiasm by the assembled battalions. On the morning of the 2d, the sun rose with uncommon brilliancy ("the sun of Austerlitz" was afterwards a proverb in the French army), showing the heights of Pratzen, the centre and key of the hostile position, deserted by the enemy, who were beginning to move in five columns round the French right at Tilnitz. So violent was

their onset that the French recoiled before it; but the corps of Davoust, which Napoleon had purposely posted in reserve behind the abbey of Raygern, valiantly withstood the assailants; while the hill of Pratzen was seized by Soult, who thus cut in two the Russian line, and maintained his position against all their efforts to retake it. A furious charge of the Russian cuirassiers of the Guard, under the Grand-duke Constantine, broke the French advance on the left; but this gallant body of horse, after a desperate struggle, gave way before the cavalry of the French Imperial Guard, led by Bessières and Rapp; and the rout of the whole army, pierced through the centre and shattered into fragments, became irretrievable. Their right wing, surrounded on all sides by Davoust and Lannes, attempted to retreat over a frozen lake; but the ice was broken by the cannonade, and above 2000 men were drowned: the left, though pressed by Murat with his cavalry, and cut off from the road to Olmutz, was formed in close column, and brought off the field by Bagrathion.

389. So ended the battle of Austerlitz, one of the most glorious of Napoleon's victories, and that in which his military genius was most brilliantly displayed. The Allies had lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, not less than 30,000 men, besides 45 standards, and 180 pieces of cannon; and the two Emperors, seeing further resistance hopeless, sent proposals for an armistice, which were instantly accepted. Notwithstanding the magnitude of his success, Napoleon was still in a most perilous position: he could neither retreat without danger, nor follow up the pursuit of the Russians without the certainty of being enveloped by the armies coming up in his rear. The conditions were verbally agreed on in a personal interview with the Emperor Francis, and Presburg fixed as the seat of the negotiations. The Czar was no party to the conference, but Francis stipulated for the unmolested retreat of the Russians; and Alexander set out (Dec. 5) on his return to his own country.

390. Haugwitz had been sent from Berlin, as has been mentioned above, to declare war against France; but on arriving at

the French camp, he had been referred to Vienna till after the battle. The event of Austerlitz, however, wholly changed his views; he presented his sovereign's congratulations on the victory—a message of which (as Napoleon remarked with caustic severity) "fortune had changed the address"—and, with matchless effrontery, proceeded to set the seal to the infamy of Prussia, by formally accepting Hanover in exchange for some of its southern possessions, which were ceded to France and Bavaria —the treaty being signed on 15th December, the very day on which hostilities were to have commenced. The negotiations at Presburg, meanwhile, dictated by the irresistible power of Napoleon, were soon settled, and peace was signed on 27th December. The Venetian territories were ceded to the kingdom of Italy, and the Tyrol and Vorarlberg to Bavaria. All the Italian changes were recognised: and the electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg raised to the rank of kings, being further declared independent of the Emperor as head of the Germanic body, a clause which virtually dissolved the empire. Besides these cessions, a sum of £1,600,000 was exacted for the expenses of the war, in addition to the immense contributions already levied; and heavy ransoms were paid for a large portion of the military stores and artillery which had become the booty of the victors. The object of Napoleon seems to have been to throw the strength of Austria to the east, and detach it as much as possible from Italy and Germany; thus leaving him, as soon as he could conclude a treaty with Russia, at leisure to turn his undivided force against Great Britain.

391. The news of Austerlitz at once dissolved the combined army which, under the King of Sweden, as noticed above, was besieging Hameln—the British re-embarking, and the Swedes and Russians retreating to their own territories. But the court of Naples, which had been compelled to break its neutrality by the appearance of an Anglo-Russian fleet in the bay, did not escape so easily. On 26th December, Napoleon issued a proclamation from Presburg, declaring that "the dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign" — a denunciation promptly followed up by the march

of an army, under St Cyr, and which gave the first instance of that rapacious policy of which Holland, Spain, and Westphalia afforded subsequent examples. The career of Napoleon, at the end of this year, was in fact one triumphal procession. On the 31st December he arrived at Munich, where he was met by Josephine; and a succession of brilliant fêtes celebrated at once the elevation of the Elector to the royal dignity, and the nuptials of his daughter, the Princess Augusta, with Eugene Beauharnais, who was at the same time declared heir to the throne of Italy, in default of lawful issue of Napoleon; and, finally, recrossing the Rhine at Strasburg, he reached Paris by rapid journeys (Jan. 25).

392. The campaign of Austerlitz, in a military point of view, is the most remarkable in the history of the war. On the 1st of September, the army was put in motion from the heights of Boulogne; and by the 2d of December, Vienna had been taken, and the strength of Austria and Russia prostrated in the heart of Moravia—a *hundred days* unparalleled in the past history of Europe, though destined within ten years to be eclipsed by another *hundred days* of still more momentous celebrity! These astonishing results, so different from the long struggle maintained by Austria in the two former wars, were doubtless in a great measure owing to the extraordinary military ability displayed by the French Emperor, and to the unequalled state of discipline and organisation to which his armies had been brought during the five years of Continental peace, as well as to his having chosen as the theatre of war the valley of the Danube, the natural avenue to the Hereditary States, unimpeded by either fortresses or mountains, instead of combating, as before, among the fortresses of Italy or the ridges of the Alps. But these triumphs were only purchased by proportionate risks; and there can be no doubt that the imprudence of the Allies in giving battle at Austerlitz extricated him from the greatest peril in which he had stood since the commencement of his career. The infatuation of the Aulic Council, in sending their strongest army and ablest commander into Italy, was a ruinous error,

from which the quickness and audacity of Napoleon's operations gave them no time to recover; and the fatal indecision of Prussia, at the moment when by prompt action she might at once have avenged her own wrongs, and atoned for the vacillations of the last ten years, set the seal to the ruin of the confederacy.

393. Its fall proved fatal to the master-spirit which had formed it. The constitution of Mr Pitt was prematurely worn out by the labours and excitement of his political life, and the disaster of Austerlitz was his deathblow. After a melancholy survey of the map of Europe, he turned away, saying, "We may close that map for half a century;" and on January 23, 1806, he died at his house in London, aged forty-seven, exclaiming with his last breath, "Alas, my country!" In the general principles of his conduct, and the constancy with which he maintained them, European history has not so great a statesman to exhibit. If the coalitions which he formed on the Continent were unsuccessful, the revenues, trade, and manufactures of Great Britain were doubled, and its colonies and political strength quadrupled, during his administration; and if he could not prevent the revolutionary spirit of Jacobinism from bathing France with blood, and ravaging Europe with war, he at least effectually opposed its entrance into the British dominions. For military combinations, as Napoleon observed, he had no turn; and it must be admitted that, by directing the national strength chiefly to colonial acquisitions, and relying for European services almost entirely on Continental armies supported by British subsidies, he greatly extended the duration of the war. But the truth and soundness of his general principles of policy, both at home and abroad, are now illustrated by the experience of every hour; and Chateaubriand has truly said, "that while all other contemporary reputations, even that of Napoleon, are on the decline, the fame of Mr Pitt is continually increasing."

394. In private life his conduct was irreproachable; but he had few personal friends, and his manners were reserved and austere. Superior to the desire for wealth, he was careless of his private

fortune; and £40,000 was voted by the gratitude of the nation to pay the debts due at his death. His grave in Westminster Abbey was surmounted by a monument decreed by the House of Commons; but the historian who surveys the situation of the British empire at the close of the contest which he so nobly maintained for the liberties of mankind, will rather inscribe on his sepulchre the well-known words—

"Si monumentum quæris, circumspice."

III. *Joseph Buonaparte made King of Naples—Battle of Maida —Formation of the Rhenish Confederacy.*

395. The peace of Presburg appeared to have finally subjected the Continent to France. Austria was crushed, Prussia bribed and overawed, and even the might of Russia had succumbed. Britain, it is true, was still unconquered and unconquerable; but the Pitt ministry had fallen at the death of its chief, and his successors were expected to entertain more pacific views than that uncompromising foe of the Revolution. Lord Hawkesbury, indeed, had made a fruitless attempt to form a new administration on the old basis; but public opinion was strongly expressed on the necessity of a coalition of "all the talents" of the nation, without regard to party, in the present perilous times; and Lord Grenville and Mr Fox were at last (Jan. 26) intrusted with the task. Three distinct and well-defined parties were joined in the new ministry. The democratic Whigs, who had all along supported the French Revolution, were represented by Mr Fox and Mr (created Lord) Erskine; while Lords Grenville and Spencer, and Mr Windham, were taken from the other section of Whigs, who, though inclining to the popular side in domestic questions, had seceded with Mr Burke when he declared against the Revolution, and had since remained fiercely hostile to their former allies. Lord Sidmouth and his adherents, who had been in opposition since they were displaced by Pitt, formed the third political group. The chiefs of all these parties came into office; but though Lord Grenville, as first lord of the treasury, was

the ostensible premier, the preponderance of the friends of Mr Fox (who became secretary at war) was such as to render it to all intents and purposes a Whig administration. The measures of government, however, underwent no immediate change: a loan of £18,000,000 was raised, and provided for by new taxes; the war-taxes were also raised, and the income-tax increased from 6½ to 10 per cent—a measure which, though almost unavoidable, was loudly complained of by the public.

396. The hasty return of Napoleon to Paris had been caused by a financial crisis, which, if the issue of the campaign had been different, might have led to ruinous results. During 1805, the Bank of France, yielding to the prosperity which on all sides flowed into the Empire, had extended its discounts to an unprecedented extent, principally in favour of the public functionaries and government contractors. Among these was the firm of Ouvrard and Co., at that time the greatest capitalists in the world, and on whom the bank chiefly depended for its supply of the precious metals—their extensive transactions with Spain giving them almost the entire command of the specie brought from Mexico. There was thus an extensive glut of paper in the money market at the moment when the breaking out of the German war caused an immense and immediate demand for gold, £2,000,000 worth of which was taken from the Bank for the public service. To meet this deficiency, the finance minister, Marbois, contracted a loan of £4,000,000 with Ouvrard and others; but though their engagements with Spain entitled them to expect more than £11,000,000 in hard dollars from America, before the end of the year, this prospect would not furnish a supply for present necessities, and a complete panic ensued. Several of the great capitalists failed, and had the war continued a few months longer a national bankruptcy must have taken place; but the battle of Austerlitz restored public confidence, and Napoleon lost no time in instituting a rigorous investigation, which terminated in the dismissal of Marbois, and the bankruptcy of the gigantic company of Ouvrard as defaulters to their contracts. Great changes in the system of finance, and improved methods of collecting the revenue,

were now introduced, and not without effect: the root of the evil, however, lay in the extravagant expenditure of government, which far exceeded the revenue. There were, in fact, no longer any resources in France whence extraordinary funds could be obtained; and the expedient of loans (as in Great Britain) being impossible in a country the commerce of which was ruined, the system of continual foreign conquest and spoliation became indispensable, and continued so throughout the Empire, as the only means of maintaining the costly fabric of government, and the enormous military establishment, the burden of which was almost wholly borne by the tributary or conquered states.

397. As a counterpoise to these financial difficulties, a splendid exposition of the internal state of the Empire was presented to the Chambers by the minister of the interior: the noble roads of the Simplon, &c., over the Alps, were now completed; harbours and wet-docks were in progress in thirty-five maritime cities, particularly Antwerp and Cherbourg; the internal communications had been improved by the building of numberless bridges, and opening the navigation of rivers: and among other splendid works now projected for the adornment of the capital, was the well-known pillar in the Place Vendôme, covered with bas-reliefs cast from 500 captured Austrian cannon, and commemorative of the principal actions of the campaign.

398. The sentence of dethronement passed against the dynasty of Naples had meanwhile been carried into effect. Fifty thousand French troops occupied the country, the court fled into Sicily, and Joseph Buonaparte, by an imperial decree of 14th April, was raised to the vacant throne; the beautiful Pauline, sister of the Emperor, at the same time receiving the duchy of Guastalla, and Murat being created Grand-duke of Cleves and Berg in Germany. But Joseph's tenure of his new dominions was yet incomplete. The fortress of Gaeta still held out, the Calabr an peasants rose in furious revolt, and the British in Sicily (who had already taken the Isle of Capri, close to the capital) sent 5000 men to their aid under Sir John Stuart, who encountered at Maida (July 6) a French corps of 7500, under Reynier. The

battle presented one of the rare instances in which French and British troops have actually crossed bayonets; but French enthusiasm sank before British intrepidity, and the enemy were driven from the field with the loss of half their number. The victory of Maida had a prodigious moral effect in raising the spirits and self-confidence of the British soldiery; but its immediate results were less considerable. The French were indeed driven from Calabria, but the fall of Gaeta (July 18), after the loss of its brave governor, the Prince of Hesse-Philipsthal, released the main army under Massena: the British, exposed to be attacked by overwhelming numbers, re-embarked (Sept. 5) for Palermo, and the Calabrian insurrection was suppressed with great bloodshed. But an amnesty was at length (in November) published by Joseph, who devoted himself with great zeal and admirable judgment to heal the wounds of his distracted kingdom.

399. In pursuance of the system now commenced, of fencing in his throne by a girdle of dependent crowns, Napoleon had declared his brother Louis (June 5) King of Holland—a change which passed without resistance or comment; and out of the Venetian states, now incorporated with the kingdom of Italy, twelve military fiefs were erected for the most distinguished of the marshals and ministers. Napoleon well knew that the jealousy of the old dynasties against him, however disguised, was inextinguishable; and that he could derive firm support only by placing his own relations and followers in positions which made their own safety contingent on the preservation of his great parent diadem—a system founded, therefore, not on arrogance or vanity, but in a correct appreciation of his own political position.

400. The Brest fleet had not been involved in the catastrophe of Trafalgar; and Napoleon hoped that this last remnant of his naval force, consisting of eleven ships of the line, might yet be employed with effect against the remote British colonies. One division, consisting of five ships and two frigates, was accordingly sent out to St Domingo; but it was there attacked (Feb. 6)

by a British force, under Admiral Duckworth, and completely destroyed—three ships being captured and two stranded and burnt, the frigates alone escaping. The other squadron, under Admiral Villaumez, was not more fortunate: three sail were destroyed by Sir Richard Strachan, at the mouth of the Chesapeake; another was wrecked on the French coast; and only one ship returned in safety. Linois, who since his repulse by the China fleet had been cruising against our trade in the Indian seas, was captured with his two remaining ships on their homeward route (March 13, 1806) by Sir John Borlase Warren; and a frigate squadron bound for the West Indies was taken the next day by Sir Samuel Hood. The Rochfort fleet alone, under Lallemand, eluded the pursuit of all the British squadrons, and returned safe to port after a cruise of six months—an escape which was celebrated as a real triumph by the French. But the naval war was now in fact at an end: the British navy had attained universal dominion, and navigated the ocean as securely as if it had been an inland sea within their own country; and Britain, relieved from all dread of invasion or colonial embarrassment, was enabled to direct her undivided attention to land operations. A dispute arose during this year with the United States of America on the subject of neutral rights, and the search for naval deserters by British men-of-war, which was taken up with extreme violence by the public of both nations, but was at length satisfactorily adjusted by the good sense of their respective governments.

401. The reduction of the Cape (Jan. 8) was an enterprise which had been prepared before the death of Mr Pitt; but the facility of the conquest, by inspiring the commanders with overweening confidence, ultimately led to serious disasters. The admiral, Sir Home Popham, having obtained 1500 troops from the military commandant, Sir David Baird, sailed on an unauthorised expedition against Buenos Ayres, which almost immediately capitulated (June 28). The news was received in Britain with extravagant popular rejoicings; but the Spaniards, speedily recovering from their panic, overpowered the inadequate garri-

son (Aug. 12), who were made prisoners of war in defiance of the capitulation. Sir Home Popham continued, however, to blockade the mouth of the river, till the arrival of reinforcements enabled the British to resume the offensive, with still worse fortune, the next year.

402. The relations between France and Prussia were daily becoming less amicable. The cabinet of Berlin, though embarrassed by the news of the treaty which Haugwitz had concluded at Vienna, had not sufficient virtue to refuse the tempting offer of Hanover; but an attempt was made to colour the transaction, in the eyes of the British ambassador, by representing it as a mere temporary occupation. This equivocation, however, was not admitted by Napoleon, who threatened to annul the treaty; and Prussia, fearful of losing her spoil, at length openly committed herself by declaring the electorate annexed to her dominions, "as ceded by Napoleon, whose it was by right of conquest"—at the same time excluding the British flag from its ports. This perfidious rapacity drew down instant retaliation from Britain; the harbours of Prussia were blockaded, and its flag swept from the seas by the British cruisers; nor did her self-degradation purchase even the forbearance of France. Murat, as Grand-duke of Cleves and Berg, seized various portions of Prussian territory as appendages to his new dominions; heavy contributions were levied on Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfort, as the price of French protection; and a general feeling of shame and indignation pervaded the Prussian people, whose spirit and patriotism clearly perceived the gulf, to the brink of which the nation had been led by the temporising servility of its rulers.

403. But these feelings were not yet universal in Germany, and Napoleon now availed himself of the enthusiasm excited among the lesser states by the victories over Austria, in which they had shared, to bring to maturity his grand project of the Confederation of the Rhine, which had been first conceived the year before at Mayence. The Act of Confederation was signed on 12th July; the contracting parties being the Emperor of the French, the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the Archbishop of Ratisbon,

the Elector of Baden, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Grand-duke of Berg (Murat), the various branches of the houses of Nassau, Hohenzollern, Salm, and other petty princes. All these states were declared to be severed for ever from the Germanic empire, and erected into a new league under the protection of Napoleon, to whom they were to supply, in case of attack, a contingent of 58,000 men, which France was to support with 200,000. No blow had yet been levelled at European independence so important as this, by which sixteen millions of men were at once severed from the sceptre of the Cæsars to be converted into an outwork for a foreign power; but Austria was in no condition to express its resentment, and wisely gave way to the storm. But the Emperor Francis, justly considering the constitution of the Holy Roman empire as subverted, renounced by a solemn deed (Aug. 6) the ancient throne of the Cæsars, and declared himself the first Emperor of Austria.

404. The peace of Presburg had apparently removed all grounds of discord between France and Russia, and a negotiation for peace had actually commenced. A fresh dispute arose, however, from the occupation by the Russians of Cattaro—an Adriatic port in the Dalmatian territory of Venice, just ceded to France; while the French indemnified themselves by seizing Ragusa, a neutral and independent city: these differences, however, were adjusted, and peace was actually signed at Paris (July 20). But the Russian plenipotentiary, d'Oubril, had so utterly departed from his instructions that this treaty was at once disavowed (Aug. 25) at St Petersburg; and a negotiation between France and Britain, which had been pending since February, was also broken off early in September. At first France had been willing to restore Hanover, and to leave Great Britain in possession of Malta and the Cape besides her Indian conquests; insisting at the same time on Sicily being given up to King Joseph, and offering to provide an equivalent for Ferdinand either in the Balearic Isles or Dalmatia. Great Britain, however, steadily refused to be a party to the spoliation of neutral and independent states for purposes of indemnification; and though the demands of

France were somewhat lowered after the refusal of Russia to ratify d'Oubril's treaty, all hopes of accommodation at length failed, and Lord Lauderdale quitted Paris (Oct. 6) nine days after Napoleon had set out to take the command against Prussia.

405. The popular ferment in Berlin had risen to an incontrollable pitch when it became known that Napoleon, in spite of his recent engagements, had offered to restore Hanover to Britain; and the excitement was further increased by a cruel and illegal murder perpetrated at this juncture by his order. Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg, who had been active in the publication of works hostile to France, was seized, carried before a French court-martial at Braunau, and there shot (Aug. 25), without being allowed to enter on his defence—a foul and atrocious crime, unjustifiable either by the law of nations or the nature of the alleged offence. The war-party in Berlin now overwhelmed all opposition: the officers whetted their sabres on the window-sills of the French ambassador; and the Queen and Prince Louis openly fostered the general enthusiasm. War was only delayed till the distant succours of Russia could arrive; but Napoleon, penetrating this design, instantly put his troops in motion, from the Inn and Neckar, for the Elbe; and himself set out for the army (Sept. 26) before the ultimatum had been presented at Paris (Oct. 1) by M. Knobelsdorf. Its terms—the instant evacuation of Germany by the French troops, and the acquiescence of Napoleon in the formation of a counter league in North Germany—were fitter for the morrow of a victory than the eve of Jena, and show how strong was the infatuation which had seized the cabinet of Berlin.

406. Before the commencement of hostilities, however, Mr Fox had breathed his last (Sept. 13), having survived his illustrious rival only a few months. Few men have run a more brilliant career, and none ever were the object of more affectionate regard from a numerous body of friends. Though a man of pleasure in every sense of the word, dissipated and irregular in private life, his many failings were all forgotten in the kindness of his heart, and generous warmth of his feelings. He was unquestion-

ably the ablest debater that the British parliament ever produced, but his fame has not, like that of his great opponent, stood the test of time; and the present generation, removed from the fascination of his fervid eloquence, can scarcely applaud the political penetration of the eulogist of the French Revolution, and the palliator of its atrocious excesses. A longer life, however, might probably have weaned him from all, as he honourably admitted it had done from many, of his earlier delusions.

IV. *Campaign of Jena—Fall of Prussia.*

407. Prussia, though thus rushing headlong into war, had not wholly neglected to court the aid of other powers in the conflict. Great Britain and Sweden were easily conciliated, and the powerful alliance of Russia had also, with some difficulty, been secured; but Austria, still bleeding from her recent wounds, and distrusting the Prussian cabinet, persisted in standing aloof. Hopes of assistance were also held out from a most unexpected quarter: Spain, ruined by the French alliance, and indignant at the recently proposed transfer of the Balearic Islands in exchange for Sicily, without her consent, opened communications with Berlin, and began to augment her army. But these premature movements were stopped by the news of Jena, though not till they had decided Napoleon on dethroning the Spanish Bourbons at the first opportunity. Of the lesser powers, Saxony alone sent 20,000 men to the Prussian standard; Hesse-Cassel wavered; and the Confederation of the Rhine, of course, sided with France. Still, though the Russians had not yet left the Niemen, Frederick-William gallantly took the field with all his disposable force, amounting to 120,000 men; and so little were the impending calamities anticipated that the guards marched out of Berlin singing songs of triumph, and leaving the inhabitants almost in a state of sedition from tumultuous joy.

408. No position in Europe is more defensible than the line of the Elbe, supported as it is by the strong ramparts of Magdeburg,

Wittenberg, and Torgau—but none of these fortresses were either adequately armed or provisioned; and the Prussian generalissimo, the Duke of Brunswick, though an able man of the last century, was now superannuated—bold in design, but vacillating in execution, and altogether ignorant of the terrible vehemence and rapidity which Napoleon had introduced into modern warfare. With almost unaccountable rashness, he now determined to assume the offensive, advancing by Eisenach towards the valley of the Maine, in order to cut off the enemy's communications with France—a manœuvre which Napoleon no sooner penetrated than he determined to retort it on the Prussians. On the 9th October, accordingly, the whole French army moved in three great columns on the main roads towards Saxony: Soult and Ney on the right, marching from Bayreuth towards Hof; the cavalry, under Murat, in the centre, with Bernadotte and Davoust, from Bamberg north-west towards Saalberg; while Lannes and Augereau on the left, breaking up from Schweinfurt, advanced by Coburg and Grafenthal upon Saalfeld. The centre and right were thus bearing straight on the Prussian magazines: and the Duke of Brunswick, thunderstruck by the news, instantly countermanded the advance, and gave orders for a concentration of the troops about Erfurth and Weimar. But this retrograde cross movement had to be made on bye-roads, and in face of a superior enemy marching in dense columns on the great causeways perpendicular to their route; and the results were such as might be anticipated. Several of their detachments were overwhelmed on the 9th and 10th; and on the latter day a more important advantage was gained by Lannes and Augereau over the corps of Prince Louis in front of Saalfeld. The Prussians, assailed by vastly superior numbers, were completely routed; and the gallant prince himself was slain by a sabre-stroke, while fighting hand to hand among the French—a calamity which diffused a universal gloom over the army.

409. The dejected and disordered columns of the Prussians at length effected their concentration in two great masses—one of 65,000 under the King near Weimar, the other, under Prince

Hohenlohe, numbering about 40,000, near Jena. The French had now marched completely round them, cutting off their retreat from Saxony to their own country; the great magazines at Naumburg were seized on the 13th; and Napoleon, who had expected a formidable resistance from the soldiery of the Great Frederick, now conceived hopes of rapid and decisive success, in which he unexpectedly derived still further aid from their own injudicious movements. In the vain hope of saving Naumburg, the main body, under the King and the Duke of Brunswick, advanced on the 13th towards Sulza, leaving Hohenlohe and the rear in the presence of double their number under Napoleon. On the same day the important heights of the Landgrafenberg, commanding a view of the whole Prussian lines before Jena, were occupied by the French; the artillery was dragged up to the ridge by incredible exertions, in which Napoleon personally assisted; and in the grey of the morning of the 14th, Hohenlohe, who appears to have had no expectation of an immediate attack, was astounded by finding that the French, to the number of 90,000, had already passed the gorges in front of his position under cover of the mist, and were pressing forwards in battle-array. He instantly despatched orders to General Ruchel to bring up the reserve of 20,000 men; but the battle had already begun. The Prussians, though so fearfully outnumbered, resisted gallantly, and the corps of Ney was at one time broken by the furious onset of their numerous and magnificent cavalry, which also obtained some advantages on the left. But the odds were too great against them: the village of Vierzehn-Heiligen, the key of their position, was carried by storm; and when Ruchel at length camp up, he was only in time to share in the general ruin. Twelve thousand fresh cavalry, under the fiery guidance of Murat, bore down with loud shouts of triumph on the retiring masses. The Prussian horse, wearied with eight hours' incessant fighting, gave way before these vigorous squadrons, and horse, foot, and cannon became blended together in one confused mass. Ruchel was wounded and carried off the field; and the rout became one frightful scene of disorder and massacre. So vehement was the

pursuit that the victors and vanquished entered pell-mell into Weimar, six leagues from the field of battle; and Hohenlohe with difficulty rallied a few regiments of cavalry behind the town, as a rallying-point for the panic-stricken fugitives.

410. The fate of the main army under the King, on the same day, had been almost equally disastrous. Napoleon, supposing at first that he had to encounter the whole Prussian army at Jena, had sent orders to Davoust to fall on their rear during the action; and the Marshal, moving from Naumburg for this purpose, found himself, on the evening of the 13th, in contact with the King's army before Auerstadt. Davoust had only 26,000 foot and 4000 horse to oppose more than double the number; but pushing forward his van, he succeeded in seizing the defiles of Koessen, where he barred the march of the Prussians on the following morning. The King and Marshal Möllendorf at first conceived the impediment to arise only from a detached column, but all their efforts failed to dislodge the gallant division of Gudin from its vantage-ground; and the troops were disheartened by the fall of General Schmettau and the Duke of Brunswick, who were both mortally wounded early in the day. The nature of the ground rendered the Prussian superiority of numbers in a great measure unavailable; and as the remaining French divisions reached the scene of action, the advantage gradually inclined to their side. In spite of the repeated and furious charges of the Prussian cavalry, the heights of Sonnenberg on their right were surmounted by Morand; and the French artillery, from that commanding eminence, carried death through all the ranks of the enemy. Marshal Möllendorf was wounded; and, after an ineffectual attempt on the part of Kalkreuth and the reserve to restore the battle, the whole army was driven through the defiles of Auerstadt. At first their retreat, covered by the guards and Blucher's cavalry, was conducted in tolerable order; but the apparition of Bernadotte* on their flank compelled them

* A too literal interpretation of the Emperor's order had prevented Bernadotte from joining Davoust at Auerstadt—an error of judgment which drew on him the unqualified wrath of Napoleon.

to change their route, and their dismay was completed by encountering the tide of fugitives from Jena. The whole army was broken up, flying in all directions, and abandoning its artillery and baggage. Twenty thousand had fallen in the two fields of Auerstadt and Jena; as many were made prisoners, the King himself escaping with difficulty; and 200 guns, with 25 standards, fell into the hands of the victors. The loss of the French was, however, 14,000, of whom Davoust's army lost 7500; and of the gallant band under Gudin, which bore the brunt of the fight at Auerstadt, not fewer than 134 officers, and 3500 men (more than half their total number), were left on the field.

411. The extraordinary circumstance of the four generals-in-chief —the Duke of Brunswick, Ruchel, Möllendorf, and Schmettau —being killed or disabled, had left the fragments of the army without a head; and Napoleon left them no time to recover from their confusion. Erfurth, where 14,000 soldiers had taken refuge, surrendered with all its stores the day after the battle. Kalkreuth's corps, which still preserved good order, was utterly defeated by Soult on the 16th at Nordhausen; and the general reserves under Duke Eugene of Würtemberg, 14,000 strong, were overwhelmed (Oct. 17) at Halle, by Bernadotte, after a resistance which in some degree vindicated the honour of the Prussian arms. Hohenlohe, who had been named commander-in-chief by the King, attempted to rally the wrecks of the army at Magdeburg; but the provisions in the place were insufficient for so great a multitude, and he again marched (Oct. 23) with a large but disorganised body of troops, hoping to reach the remote fortress of Stettin on the Oder. But his route was intercepted by the indefatigable cavalry of Murat, who attacked him in front, while Lannes was closing in on his rear; and after losing most of his men in a succession of severe skirmishes, he was forced to surrender at Prentzlow (Oct. 28) with 14,000, including the remains of the guards. Meanwhile, the fortresses of Spandau, and of Stettin and Custrin on the Oder, were disgracefully yielded without resistance; and the light troops of Davoust pushed on (Nov. 3) to Posen, in Prussian Poland.

412. The only Prussian troops who now kept the field were about 24,000 men under Blucher, composed by the union of 6000 cavalry, which that gallant officer had brought off from Auerstadt, with the infantry of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, which had not been present with the grand army. Against this heroic band 60,000 men were now directed, under Soult, Murat, and Bernadotte; and the Prussians were at length driven through Mecklenburg into Lubeck, where a desperate conflict took place (Nov. 6) in the streets of the town, which suffered severely from the licentious cruelty of the French soldiery. Blucher himself, with 8000 men, succeeded in cutting his way through the assailants; but his farther retreat was barred by the territory of Denmark; and the hardy veteran, having done all that valour and determination could accomplish, was at length compelled to capitulate. Magdeburg, which had hitherto been blockaded by Ney, surrendered (Nov. 8) on the first threat of a bombardment; the Hanoverian fortresses of Hameln and Nieuburg submitted, before the end of the month, to an army which had appeared in that quarter under the King of Holland; and thus expired all the elements of resistance from the Weser to the Oder.

413. Napoleon's first care, after the victories of Jena and Auerstadt, had been to detach the Saxons from the alliance—a task which the occupation of their country by the French, and their own inborn jealousy of the Prussians, rendered extremely easy. The Elector at first accepted neutrality; but ere long (Dec. 12) an alliance was concluded at Posen, by which he received the title of King, and joined the Confederation of the Rhine, furnishing a contingent of 20,000 soldiers; and he adhered to the last, with honourable fidelity, to the fortunes of Napoleon. Following, meanwhile, the march of his victorious armies, the Emperor passed by Weimar and Wittenberg to Berlin, which he entered (Oct. 25) in all the pomp of victory, taking up his residence in the royal palace. The inhabitants, in speechless grief, saw their capital in possession of the enemy in a fortnight after hostilities had commenced; but their humiliation was changed into disgust at the unworthy spoliation of the tomb of the Great Frede-

rick, from which his sword and orders were seized by Napoleon himself, to be sent to Paris as trophies. A solitary instance of generosity marks the conduct of the Emperor at this period, in the pardon of Prince Hatzfeld, whose life, when condemned for supplying secret information to Hohenlohe, was granted to the prayers of his wife: but his general demeanour to the Prussians was that of studied and bitter contumely. The captive officers were ostentatiously paraded through Berlin; the Duke of Brunswick was assailed in the bulletins with such personal virulence, that he fled for refuge to Altona, where he soon after died, from the inflammation of his wounds by the hurried journey; and the Queen herself was insulted with brutal and unmanly sarcasms through the same channel. The Elector of Hesse-Cassel was summarily stripped of all his dominions; and Napoleon publicly threatened that he would impoverish the Prussian nobles "till they should beg their bread." The execution of this last menace was speedily commenced by the levy of a war contribution of £6,200,000 (equivalent to double the sum in Great Britain), which was enforced with ruthless severity. General Clarke was appointed governor-general of the conquered provinces, aided by Count Daru in the civil details; the whole country, from the Rhine to the Vistula, received a fresh organisation, and all the authorities were compelled to take an oath of allegiance to the French Emperor.

414. Negotiations had all this time been going on for peace; but as Talleyrand at length clearly intimated that the fortresses on the Vistula must be surrendered, and the whole Prussian territory remain in the hands of the French till a general peace, as a means of compelling Britain to give up her maritime conquests, the King nobly refused (Nov. 28) to ratify the armistice which had been signed by his ministers; and Napoleon, after fulminating (Nov. 21) the famous Berlin Decree (hereafter to be enlarged upon) against British commerce, set out for Poland to meet the Russian armies before they reached Germany. At Posen he gave audience to the Polish deputies, who came to implore his support for their national restoration; but the language of his

reply to the Palatine Radmerzinski, though well calculated to awaken the hopes and arouse the enthusiasm of the fiery Poles, cautiously kept clear of any specific promise of interference, and counselled concord and unanimity among the different ranks of the population as the surest means of achieving their freedom. Meanwhile Mortier had occupied Hamburg; the Bavarians and Würtembergers, under Jerome Buonaparte, were employed in reducing the Silesian fortresses which still held out; and, to suply the chasms in the army, a conscription of 80,000 was again ordered *by anticipation*, from those who were to attain the military age in 1807.

V. *Campaign of Eylau.*

415. Though the short campaign of Jena had destroyed the power of Prussia, the war could scarcely be said to be seriously commenced while the formidable legions of Russia still remained unsubdued. Since the defeat of Austerlitz, Alexander had been indefatigable in recruiting and reorganising his army; the devout loyalty of the people had been excited to the highest degree by a proclamation denouncing Napoleon as the grand enemy of Christianity; and religious enthusiasm was thus combined with the energy of the desert in inspiring the resistance which the French had now to encounter. The serfs drawn for the army, contrary to their usual custom, went joyfully forth, regarding themselves as the chosen champions of Christendom; and the formidable lances of the wild Cossacks of the Don were seen, almost for the first time, in the shock of regular warfare. If their whole disposable force had been united on the Vistula, it would have amounted to 150,000 men, against which all the efforts of Napoleon would probably have been shivered; but a Turkish war, into which they had imprudently entered before the disasters in Prussia were known, divided their forces, with most calamitous effect, at this all-important juncture.

416. The Polish question, meanwhile, was a source of great perplexity to Napoleon. The ferment occasioned by the advance of

the French armies had spread through Great Poland and Lithuania, and even into the Austrian provinces of Gallicia; and a general insurrection for the recovery of the national independence, to be headed by the nobles and palatines, was openly talked of. The point was vehemently debated in the French councils, and Napoleon at one time inclined to the Polish cause; but the positive refusal of Austria to exchange her share of Poland for her old province of Silesia (now possessed by Prussia), determined him on a guarded line of conduct. With regard to Prussian Poland, however, he had no scruples: the enthusiasm of the people was excited to the highest pitch by Wybicki, and Dombrowski (the former commander of the Polish legion in Italy), who distributed proclamations bearing (as it afterwards appeared *falsely*) the signature of Kosciusko; and the French, on their entry into Warsaw (Nov. 30), were hailed as deliverers. Several Polish regiments were raised for the service of France, which, before the end of the campaign, were augmented, by the spontaneous ardour of the people, to 30,000 men; and the spirits of the French soldiers, who were disheartened by the prospect of a winter campaign in these dreary regions, were reanimated by one of Napoleon's characteristic proclamations addressed to them on the anniversary of Austerlitz. The march and organisation of the fresh troops and conscripts was hastened; requisitions for money and stores, to an astounding amount, were levied on the Hanse Towns, as a punishment for their commerce with Britain; and thus, at the beginning of December, Napoleon, whose advanced posts had been meanwhile pushed on to the Bug, found himself at the head of 100,000 disposable men, independent of the numerous detachments keeping up the long line of communications in the rear.

417. The aggregate force of the Russians on the Niemen was not more than 75,000; while a corps of 15,000, under Lestocq, was all that remained effective (exclusive of the garrisons which still held out) of the once brilliant army of Prussia. The commander-in-chief, Marshal Kamenskoi, was a veteran of eighty, ill calculated to cope with Napoleon; but he was supported by the

tried abilities of Benningsen and Buxhowden; and among the subordinate commanders were the afterwards famous names of Sacken, Osterman Tolstoy, and Barclay de Tolly. Notwithstanding this inferiority of force, Kamenskoi assumed the offensive (Dec. 11), by a forward movement from Pultusk; and a desultory warfare ensued with the French advance under Davoust, till the arrival of Napoleon at Warsaw (Dec. 18) gave the signal for more active operations. The passage of the Wkra was forced (Dec. 23), and the division of Osterman Tolstoy defeated (24th) at Nasielsk; the Russian position was pierced through the centre, and their army fell back in two great bodies,—one under Gallitzin on Golymin, the other under Benningsen on Pultusk; and Kamenskoi, wholly losing his presence of mind, ordered the artillery to be abandoned. The impassable state of the roads was the reason given; but Benningsen boldly resolved to disobey, and to stand fast at Pultusk with the troops under his command (amounting to about 40,000 men, with 120 guns), against the pursuing corps of Lannes, which did not number more than 35,000. The field where the battle was fought (Dec. 26) was a small open plain in the midst of the thickets which elsewhere cover the country; and the French divisions, as they emerged from these woodlands, were exposed, while extending into line, to the heavy fire of the Russian artillery, while their own gunners were bewildered by the snow drifting in their faces; and the mud, which was in many places knee-deep, impeded their advance to the attack. They charged, however, with their usual intrepidity, and drove back the Russian right under Barclay de Tolly; but they were in turn repulsed by the cavalry and reserve under Osterman Tolstoy; and the murderous struggle continued till long after dark, when the French retreated with the loss of 6000 men. The Russian loss was nearly 5000; but they remained masters of the field of battle, and continued their retreat without molestation on the following day. Prince Gallitzin had, on the same day, resisted with similar firmness and success, at Golymin, the assault of Davoust and Augereau, supported by a large detachment of Murat's cavalry; and Napoleon, perceiving that his design of

cutting off the retreat of the Russians had been frustrated, called in his detachments, and put his whole army into cantonments, on the Vistula; while the enemy took up their winter quarters behind the Narew, about Ostrolenka. Napoleon, with his staff, and most of his generals, fixed his residence at Warsaw, which became the centre of a brilliant society: the great families from all parts of Prussian Poland flocked to his court; and the Polish women, who yield to none in Europe in beauty, accomplishment, and fascination of manner, welcomed the French with the enthusiastic gratitude due to those whom they regarded as the liberators of their country,—the invincible allies who were to restore the glories of the Piasts and Jagellons.

418. But this interval was no period of rest to the Emperor. The dubious issue of the late engagements had excited through Europe an intense hope that the torrent of French conquest was at last stemmed: and to obliterate this impression a series of triumphant bulletins were published, while the sieges of the Silesian fortresses were pressed with redoubled activity, both to release the corps so employed and to annihilate the elements of resistance in the rear. Glogau, Brieg, and Kosel submitted to Vandamme on the first summons; Breslau, the capital of the province, surrendered (Dec. 31) after a creditable defence; and Schweidnitz, Neiss, and Glatz, were taken at different periods between January and June, though their reduction was hardly noticed amidst the whirl of more important events. The ambassador at Constantinople, General Sebastiani, was at the same time instructed to use his utmost efforts in stimulating the Turks to a vigorous prosecution of the war. Marmont, who commanded in Illyria, was directed to offer succours of all kinds to the Ottomans, and Napoleon loudly proclaimed his determination to make common cause with the Porte—a memorable declaration, when contrasted with his perfidious abandonment of that power, a few months later, at Tilsit.

419. The command-in-chief of the Russians had now devolved on Benningsen, in consequence of the insanity of Kamenskoi; and that active general, observing the great distance which separated

the main body of the French round Warsaw from the left under Bernadotte and Ney, which was extended nearly up to Konigsberg, conceived the design of crushing the latter by a rapid movement of his whole army. He broke up accordingly from the Narew (Jan. 14), with 75,000 men and 500 pieces of cannon; and advancing by forced marches towards the Baltic, fell like a thunderbolt on the scattered detachments of Ney, which were everywhere cut off or driven in. Bernadotte, while concentrating his troops at Mohrungen, was assailed, and escaped destruction (though with the loss of all his baggage) only from the Russian vanguard making the attack before the arrival of the other divisions. The French were repelled on all points towards the Vistula; and Napoleon, fearing that the Russians might raise the blockade of Dantzic, gave instant orders for the march of all his columns, and hastened in person to the scene of action.

420. The Russians now lay between the rivers Passarge and Alle, and Napoleon's first movements were directed to cut them off from their own country; but this design became known to Benningsen, through an intercepted despatch, and he instantly concentrated his troops for a retreat. During several days (Feb. 2-7) the march was a series of bloody but indecisive skirmishes, till at length the murmurs of his soldiers, who were exhausted with hunger and fatigue, determined Benningsen to give battle; and on the night of 7th February, he halted on the previously selected field of Preussisch-Eylau. A severe contest took place for the possession of the town between the rear-guard, under Bagrathion, and the French, who at length retained it; and the two armies bivouacked within half cannon-shot of each other, on the snow-clad ground. The French force was fully 85,000, including 16,000 horse, with 350 guns; the Russians had 460 pieces of cannon, but their strength was not more than 65,000 men, exclusive of 8000 under Lestocq, who came up during the action.

421. The battle was commenced, soon after daylight, by a furious attack from the corps of Augereau on the village of Schloditten, which formed the *point d'appui* of the Russian right: while Soult, at the same time, advanced with equal determination

against their centre. But so murderous was the fire of the Russian artillery, that both these assaults were repulsed with tremendous slaughter: Augereau himself, with most of his officers, was wounded; and his retreat was pressed with such vehemence by the Cossacks, that his whole corps was almost annihilated, and Napoleon narrowly escaped being made prisoner in the town of Eylau. Soult had not fared much better; and a general charge on the centre by 14,000 horse under Murat, supported by the whole Imperial Guard, and 200 guns, though it at first broke the Russian lines by its weight, was eventually driven back with the loss of several eagles and 14 pieces of cannon. At this moment, when victory appeared within the grasp of the Russians, the villages of Saussgarten and Serpallen, on their left, had been carried by Davoust, after a desperate defence; their flank was turned; and, blinded by the snow-drift and the smoke from the burning houses, they began to give way in disorder. The whole left wing, however, was skilfully wheeled back by Benningsen, at right angles to the centre, and the progress of Davoust thus arrested; and the Prussians under Lestocq, at length coming up on the right, retook the captured villages at the point of the bayonet, in spite of all the efforts of Davoust to hold his ground. The battle now seemed concluded, when Ney's corps, following Lestocq, once more assaulted and carried Schloditten, but it was retaken by the Russians at ten at night, and so ended the changes of this eventful day.

422. Such was the terrible battle of Eylau, fought amid ice and snow, under circumstances of unexampled hardship, and with a degree of bloodshed unsurpassed in modern times. On the Russian side 25,000 fell; the French lost 30,000, besides 12 eagles; and Napoleon, for the first time in his life, was preparing to retreat from before an enemy in the open field, when he was spared this mortification by the Russians falling back. Notwithstanding the representations of his generals, who urged that a renewal of the conflict must complete the discomfiture of the French, Benningsen, ignorant of the immense loss of the enemy, and fearing lest the arrival of reinforcements might enable them

to cut him off from Konigsberg, resolved on retiring towards that city: and Napoleon on the morrow, according to his custom, rode over the dreadful field of battle, where 50,000 men lay weltering in their blood within two leagues. But the French did not venture to advance on Konigsberg, whence the King of Prussia had now withdrawn to Memel; on the contrary, Napoleon now offered that monarch a *separate* peace on advantageous terms, which Frederick-William (who had just received £80,000 as a subsidy from Britain) had the magnanimity to refuse. The wasted state of the country now left the French Emperor no alternative but to retreat, which was accordingly done on the 17th, the army being again placed in cantonments on the banks of the Passarge; while the Russians, who drew ample supplies from Konigsberg, occupied the vacant ground about Eylau and Landsberg.

423. The battle of Eylau excited a prodigious sensation in Europe; and had a different ministry been in power in England, there can be little doubt that the triumphs of 1813 might have been anticipated by seven years. But the spirit of Pitt no longer directed the British councils: at the commencement of the campaign, a request from Russia for an advance of £1,000,000, and a subsequent loan of £5,000,000 more, had been refused. Though the public voice loudly called for the immediate despatch of an army to the Elbe (a demonstration which would, beyond a doubt, have been followed by a universal outbreak in Northern Germany, and probably by a declaration of war from Austria against France), Lord Howick refused the urgent entreaties of Russia and Prussia for men and money, except in the paltry grant above noticed to Prussia. Thus the decisive period passed away, and Great Britain had to go through the Peninsular War to regain the vantage-ground then within her grasp.

424. In proportion to the sanguine hopes excited elsewhere, by the carnage of Eylau, was the gloom which it diffused through all ranks in France. So exaggerated were the first statements, that it was at one time believed that Napoleon himself had fallen, and cabals were actually set on foot by the imperial family

for the throne; and even when the consternation began to subside, it was renewed by a message to the Senate (March 26) for a *fresh* conscription of 80,000—the *third* since the Prussian war began—of those who would reach the military age *in September* 1808. Napoleon was, in fact, as well aware as his enemies of the perilous nature of the crisis—he knew that a second dubious battle on the Vistula would inevitably lead to a disastrous retreat beyond the Rhine; and, during the cessation of hostilities, his unwearied activity was not less occupied in preparations for a defensive warfare in case of a reverse, than in recruiting his forces for offensive operations on the present theatre of war.

VI. *Domestic and Foreign Measures of the British Government.*

425. The accession of the Whigs to power, after their long exclusion from office, afforded them at length an opportunity for the practical application of those popular ideas of social improvement, which had been developed during the excitement of the preceding fifteen years, and of which they had constantly professed themselves the advocates. Of the various measures introduced in consequence of these views, the first had reference to the important subject of recruiting the army, in which great difficulty had been experienced under the existing system of enlistment for life, or for a limited period. To obviate the dislike with which military service was popularly regarded, Mr Windham proposed a plan of enlistment for seven, fourteen, and twenty-one years, with additional privileges of retiring allowances; and this proposition, though it encountered considerable opposition, was finally adopted by parliament, and came into operation Jan. 1, 1807. Its success was unequivocal: within the first year, the annual suply of recruits was more than doubled; and the armies, throughout the Peninsular War, were constantly maintained in efficiency by this method, which has never since been wholly abandoned, though unlimited enlistment has been reintroduced since the peace. A still more important measure proposed by the new ministers was the abolition of the slave trade, which was at

length carried (Feb. 23, 1807) by 283 to 16 in the Commons, and 100 to 36 in the Peers.

426. Early in 1807 (Jan. 29) an important measure was also brought forward by Lord Henry Petty, for the future management of the finances, so as to provide for a permanent state of warfare; as either the overthrow of Napoleon's power, or the conclusion of any durable peace with him, appeared alike hopeless. He proposed, therefore, to raise in this and the two following years a loan of £12,000,000; in 1810, £14,000,000; and for the ten succeeding years (should the war last so long), £16,000,000 a-year—appropriating each year from the war-taxes as much as would amount to ten per cent on the sum raised, to form a sinking-fund for its redemption. The minor details of this plan were arranged with great financial skill; but the project was opposed by Mr Canning, Mr Perceval, and Lord Castlereagh, who urged that it broke through the distinction between permanent and war taxes; and recommended the appropriation of part of the sinking-fund to the payment of the interest on the fresh loans. Both schemes were departures from the grand principle of Mr Pitt, which was to provide by new indirect taxes for the interest and gradual extinction of each fresh loan; but the system of Lord Henry Petty was, perhaps, the more manly and statesmanlike of the two in a domestic point of view, as leaving untouched the sacred deposit of the sinking-fund; though, as the event of the war in Poland proved, it was not calculated to meet the emergencies and ever-varying chances of warfare. The budget for 1807 was based on the new plan; but it was soon abandoned among the changes and necessities of future years.

427. Such were the principal domestic measures of the Whig administration, which were marked, in general, by a spirit of humanity and wisdom; but a far different meed must be meted out to their foreign policy. Though Sir Home Popham had been recalled, and reprimanded by the sentence of a court-martial (March 1807) for his unauthorised and disastrous attack on Buenos Ayres (p. 247), the government had not firmness to

resist the popular wish that a fresh force should be sent to the same quarter; and 3000 men were accordingly embarked under Sir Samuel Auchmuty, who stormed and took Monte Video (Feb. 2). Another reinforcement of 4200 men was sent (June) to the same destination, and the command-in-chief given to General Whitelocke, who was directed to attempt the recovery of Buenos Ayres. The attack was accordingly made (July 5); but 200 pieces of cannon, and 15,000 men stationed on the flat roofs of the houses, opposed formidable obstacles to the advance of the British through the barricaded streets; and though several of the principal points were gallantly carried, three regiments, numbering 2500 men, were obliged to surrender in other quarters. Such was now the consternation among the English commanders, that a capitulation was signed (July 7) with the Spanish general Linières, by which the British prisoners were restored, on condition of the withdrawal of the whole hostile force from the Rio de la Plata. The public indignation in Britain was vehement; and General Whitelocke, on his return, was cashiered by a court-martial; but military men had not then been taught, by the examples of Gerona and Saragossa, the formidable aspect of street warfare; and much allowance must be made for an inexperienced officer, opposed by such unexpected difficulties in his first separate command.

428. Curaçoa had been taken without resistance (Jan. 1), the advantages of British commerce and British protection disposing the planters everywhere to range themselves under its flag; but in other quarters, on the shores of the Bosphorus and the Nile, the arms of Britain were as unfortunate as in the Rio de la Plata. We have already noticed the imprudent attack made by Russia on Turkey, at the moment of the commencement of the Prussian war. The contest arose from the removal, at the instigation of the French ambassador Sebastiani (Aug. 30, 1806), of the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia (who by the existing treaties were not to be displaced without the consent of Russia), and their replacement by successors in the interest of France; and though the menaces of the Russian and British envoys

procured the reinstatement of the deposed princes, the news reached St Petersburg too late to prevent the march of the army under General Mitchelson, which speedily occupied the two principalities. But the pressure of the war in Poland compelled the Russians almost instantly to weaken their forces on the Danube to such an extent, that an application was made to the British cabinet to make a naval diversion against Constantinople; and Sir John Duckworth was accordingly instructed, with a squadron of seven line-of-battle ships and four frigates, to force the passage of the Dardanelles, and threaten the Ottoman capital.

429. The length of this famous strait, through its whole winding course, is nearly 30 miles, the width varying from one to three, while the narrowest part is defended on either shore by the celebrated castles of Europe and Asia. But these ancient fortifications, though armed with cannon of enormous calibre, were ruinous and decayed; and the Turks, in spite of all the warnings of Sebastiani, neglected their repair, and looked for danger only from the Danube, though Mr Arbuthnot had already quitted the Turkish capital, and war had been declared by the Divan (Jan. 29) against Great Britain. On the 19th of February, however, the British admiral entered the straits, the passage of which was effected with little loss, from the unprepared state of the batteries; several Turkish frigates were burnt in the Sea of Marmora; and the fleet anchored at Princes' Islands, within three leagues of Seraglio Point.

430. The consternation of the Turks was extreme, as there were scarcely ten guns mounted on the seaward batteries: and it was increased by a message from Admiral Duckworth, threatening to attack the city if the demands of Britain were not acceded to within twenty-four hours. The populace rose in a fury, demanding the head of Sebastiani; but the energy of the French envoy was equal to this perilous crisis, and his exhortations rekindled the spirit of the Divan, which at first had no thought but of submission. While the British commander was amused by a show of negotiation, the whole population of Constantinople laboured incessantly at the fortifications, under the skilful superintendence

of Sebastiani; in a week 1000 guns were mounted, 100 gun-boats and 12 line-of-battle ships equipped for the defence of the harbour, and red-hot shot prepared to assail the British ships. A retreat was inevitable; but the batteries of the Dardanelles were now repaired and strengthened; and on the re-entrance of the fleet into the perilous defile (March 1) a tremendous fire was opened: several ships were struck by stone-shot weighing 700 or 800 lbs.; and the squadron reached Tenedos with the loss of 250 men. Here they were joined by a Russian naval force, under Admiral Siniavin, which defeated the Capitan-Pasha's fleet (July 1), and distressed the Turkish capital by cutting off its supply of provisions by sea. A descent on Egypt by a small British force from Messina (March) was equally unsuccessful with the attempt on Constantinople. Alexandria and Damietta, indeed, fell into their hands; but Rosetta held out; and a strong detachment, under Colonel Macleod, was overwhelmed at El-Hammed by the Turkish cavalry. A convention was at last concluded in September, by which the British prisoners were given up, and Alexandria restored to the Turks; and the invaders evacuated Egypt at the end of that month.

431. These repeated defeats excited great discontent throughout Great Britain, and produced an impression, even among the supporters of the ministers, that their genius was less calculated for the warlike combinations requisite at the present crisis than for pacific ameliorations, now comparatively of little consequence. But time was not given for the manifestation of these feelings in the ordinary way, from an occurrence which brought the administration in collision with the religious feeling of the King. This was the motion of Lord Howick (March 7) for the admission of Catholics into the army and navy, by the abolition of the test-oath in these cases; but in the midst of the debate it was suddenly announced (March 29) that the ministers had been dismissed, and that Lord Hawkesbury, the Duke of Portland, and Mr Perceval, had been intrusted with the formation of a new Tory cabinet, including Lord Castlereagh, Lord Eldon, Mr Canning, &c. In explanation of this sudden change, it appeared

that the King, who had at first misunderstood the nature and extent of the proposed bill, no sooner became aware of these points, than he not only withdrew his sanction from the measure in progress, but required a pledge from the ministers that no further concession to the Catholics should be proposed. This pledge was refused as inconsistent with the doctrine that the King can do no wrong, and that the responsibility rests with his advisers; and this point, after the dismissal of the ministry, was vehemently debated in parliament. But the popular feeling was decidedly against the Whigs, who were considered to have made "a scandalous attempt to force the King's conscience;" a dissolution took place in April; and on the first division in the new parliament (June 26), a majority appeared for the Tories of 97 in the Lords, and 195 in the Commons.

VII.—*Campaign of Friedland—Peace of Tilsit.*

432. The change of ministry in Britain produced an immediate alteration in her Continental policy. Bred in the school of Pitt, Mr Canning and Lord Castlereagh had imbibed his ardent hostility to the French Revolution; and no sooner were they in office than they hastened to remedy the disastrous effects of the ill-judged parsimony of their predecessors. A treaty between Russia and Prussia, to which Sweden had given her adhesion, had been signed at Bartenstein (April 25) for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and Great Britain hastened to unite herself to the confederacy. By a convention signed (June 17) at London, she agreed to provide 20,000 troops to co-operate in Pomerania against the flank and rear of the French, and to furnish a subsidy of a million to Prussia; but these succours now came too late. The Czar, whose exertions had been hampered at the outset by the impolitic denial of the aid which he had confidently expected, was deeply irritated against the British government, and loudly complained of having been deserted while he was risking his empire, for the common interests of Europe, in a mortal struggle with France; while such was the

destitution in which the arsenals had been left by the late administration, that it was not till a fortnight after the peace of Tilsit that the armament under Lord Cathcart reached the Baltic shores!

433. Napoleon, at the same time, while continuing in his addresses to the Senate to profess his readiness for peace, was unceasing in his preparations for war. The ill-timed advances of Spain towards an alliance with Prussia (p. 251) afforded him a pretext for extorting an auxiliary force of 16,000 of her best troops under the Marquis of Romana, who reached the Elbe in the middle of May; but his efforts to detach Sweden from the coalition totally failed. Gustavus had indeed been compelled (in April), by the non-payment of the British subsidies, to conclude an armistice for Pomerania; but he denounced it as soon as he was aware of the change of policy at London, and even attempted, in an interview with Marshal Brune, who commanded the corps opposed to him, to bring him over to the party of the Bourbons. To guard against any descent of the British, Napoleon had meanwhile directed the formation of an army of reserve on the Elbe; while he concluded at Warsaw (May 7) treaties of alliance with Turkey and Persia, from both which powers he had received magnificent embassies. Already his early schemes of Oriental conquest recurred to his mind, and he was negotiating with the Porte for the passage of an army across its dominions, when the seizure of Parga and other towns on the Adriatic coast, as dependencies of Venice, excited the alarm of the Divan; and though the act was instantly withdrawn and disavowed, the suspicions of the Turks could not be allayed, and the passage of the troops was refused.

434. The French army, meanwhile, largely recruited with gallant and enthusiastic Poles, lay in its quarters behind the Passarge, the passes over which were carefully guarded; while the wants of the soldiers were amply supplied by the agricultural riches of Old Prussia and the immense requisitions levied from the conquered provinces in the rear. The Russians, the bulk of whose force lay in an intrenched camp round Heilsberg on the

Alle, were far from having at their disposal the same resources as the French; but the two armies remained immovable for nearly four months after Eylau. Napoleon was awaiting the reduction of the Silesian fortresses in his rear (the fate of which has been anticipated on p. 261); but the siege of Dantzic, which was defended by 17,000 men under Marshal Kalkreuth, was an operation of more difficulty. Situated at the mouth of the Vistula, this great emporium of Polish commerce is defended not only by its own strong ramparts and the fort of Weichselmunde, but by the marshy nature of the surrounding country, which is traversed only by a few causeways. The first operations of the besiegers were directed against the *Nehrung*, or long tongue of land which separates the Frische-haff from the Baltic; and which, after a series of conflicts (March 18-22) they succeeded in clearing of the Prussians, thus cutting off the land communications of the town; while the Holm Island, at the extremity of the *Nehrung*, was carried by assault (May 6). The town was now pressed on all sides: a gallant attempt to raise the siege (May 14), by a Russian corps which landed at Neufahrwasser at the mouth of the Vistula, was defeated, after a desperate conflict, by Oudinot and Lannes, who commanded the besieging corps; and the works of the Hagelsberg fort, which covered the town on the west, were ruined by mines. The ammunition of the garrison was now nearly exhausted; and a British brig having been captured in an attempt to pass the French batteries with a supply of powder, Kalkreuth was forced to capitulate (May 27); and this great fortress, with 900 pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the French.

435. During these operations, the Russian grand army had been reinforced by several corps, including the guards under the Grand-duke Constantine, so that the whole force under Bennigsen now amounted to 120,000 men—but not more than 90,000 could be concentrated on the Alle for the immediate shock; while the French Emperor had not less than 150,000 foot and 35,000 horse—a greater host than had ever yet been witnessed in modern Europe. The Russian commander had therefore

constructed formidable lines on both banks of the Alle, within which he intended to await the arrival of Prince Labanoff with 30,000 fresh men; but the exposed situation of Ney's corps which lay at Guttstadt, half-way between the two armies, tempted him (June 5) to hazard a stroke for its destruction; and by a skilful feint against the bridges of the Passarge, he completely succeeded in surprising the French marshal, who was driven across that river with the loss of 2000 men. But Napoleon, moved by the danger of his lieutenant, concentrated his troops in such masses that the Russians in turn fell back to their intrenchment at Heilsberg, which they reached in safety (June 9), after some desperate conflicts between their rear under Bagrathion and the pursuing French cavalry.

436. The design of Napoleon now was to engage the attention of the enemy by a front attack on their lines, while he moved 50,000 men round their flank, so as to threaten their communications with their magazines at Konigsberg — a plan rendered feasible by his vast superiority of force. Nearly 80,000 men, with 500 pieces of cannon, defended the Russian intrenchments, which were attacked by the divisions of St Cyr and Legrand (June 10) with all the characteristic impetuosity of the French soldiery. But the fire of the Russian batteries, and the obstinate valour of their right wing under Prince Gortchakoff, rendered all these efforts fruitless; fresh troops were in vain brought up; and after twelve hours of frightful carnage, the French were repulsed at midnight, with the loss of 12,000 men, to the great chagrin of Napoleon. The march of Davoust on his flank determined Benningsen, however, to retreat on Bartenstein—a movement which was executed without opposition on the night of the 11th. The French, however, followed close upon his traces; and while Murat and Victor pressed forward over the lately ensanguined fields of Eylau, on the road to Konigsberg, Napoleon himself was on the point of interposing between the Russians and their own frontier; and Benningsen, hastening the march of his weary columns, arrived on the 13th at Friedland, a considerable town on the left bank of the Alle

437. On the following night, however, he received information that the corps of Lannes, which had been greatly weakened at the battle of Heilsberg, lay at a village only three miles in front of Friedland; and instantly determining to seize the opportunity of crushing it, he attacked it on the morning of the 14th. Lannes, however, was soon supported by Mortier; and while Benningsen still thought that these two corps were all he had to contend with, he was insensibly engaged in a general battle, with only 55,000 men at his disposal, and the Alle in his rear, which he had crossed in his advance against Lannes; while Napoleon, who arrived on the scene of action at one o'clock, had not less than 10,000 horse and 70,000 infantry. He delayed the attack, however, for several hours; and the Russian general began to hope that he might regain the right bank at night without molestation. But at 5 P.M. the signal was given; and Ney's column, charging on the French right with the fury of a tempest, drove in the Russian divisions opposed to it, and advanced nearly to the town of Friedland. Here, however, the French were in turn repelled with vast slaughter, by the Russian imperial guards—but the battle was restored by Victor, and the town and bridges of Friedland were fired by the Russian fugitives in their confusion. The retreat of the centre and right, which had hitherto combated with success against overwhelming numbers, was thus cut off; but these undaunted bands, closing their ranks, forced their way through the surrounding masses of the enemy at the point of the bayonet, and retired slowly and in solid order to the fords. The water was breast-high, and many were drowned, but not a single battalion surrendered; and except 5000 wounded, few prisoners were made. The total loss was 17,000 men, but no colours, and only 17 guns: the French lost 8000 men, besides 2 eagles. The exhaustion of his troops, however, consequent on the desperate resistance which they had encountered, prevented Napoleon from following up the pursuit with his usual vigour: the Russians retreated without molestation to Allenberg and Wehlau, forming a junction at the latter place (June 18) with the corps of Lestocq and Kamenskoi which had evacuated

Konigsberg after bringing off the magazines. The united force crossed the Niemen at Tilsit on the following day, burning the bridges behind them.

438. The disastrous battle of Friedland destroyed the confederacy against France. Disheartened by defeat, and disgusted by the parsimony of Britain and the timidity of Austria, Alexander had no longer any object or interest in continuing the war; and an armistice was proposed on the 19th, and at once acceded to. The proposition, indeed, was not less agreeable to Napoleon, who was unprepared to follow up his victory by carrying the war into the heart of Russia, while a British expedition was on the point of landing on the Elbe; and an interview was arranged between the two Emperors, which took place (June 25) on a raft (the memorable *raft of Tilsit*) moored in the middle of the Niemen. The meeting of the rival monarchs was cordial: and the first words of Alexander were—"I hate the English as much as you do, and am ready to join you against them."—"In that case," replied Napoleon, "peace is already made." Before they parted, the outlines of the treaty were arranged—the world afforded room for the aggrandisement of both.

439. At a second conference on the following day, the King of Prussia was present: but that unhappy prince, destitute of everything, had no longer any alternative but submission to the conqueror. The Queen arrived two days later: but Napoleon had no chivalry in his composition, and all the talents and grace of this beautiful woman failed to procure any mitigation of the hard terms which he exacted from Prussia. The intimacy of the two Emperors had become so great that everything was settled by themselves in private conferences; and after a fortnight the treaties were formally signed—that between France and Russia on the 7th of July, the second, between France and Prussia, on the 9th. Silesia, and the provinces on the right bank of the Elbe, were restored to the King of Prussia; but all the Prussian acquisitions in Poland (with the exception of the province of Bialystock, which was given to Russia) were bestowed, under the new title of the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, on the King of

Saxony; Dantzic was declared, at least in name, a free city; and the Prussian provinces on the left bank of the Elbe were erected into a new kingdom of Westphalia, for Jerome Buonaparte, the Emperor's brother. Nearly half of her dominions and population were thus severed at one sweep from Prussia; but even the fortresses and territories of which she was nominally left in possession were still occupied by French troops, as security for the payment of the war contributions—a pretext which (as these enormous sums never could be fully discharged) was made to justify their retention up to the campaign of Moscow; while the establishment of the new kingdoms of Westphalia and Saxony, with the grand-duchy of Warsaw, virtually brought the French frontier up to the Niemen. The King, however, could only submit to hard necessity; and he took leave of the subjects thus torn from his sceptre in a noble proclamation, which commanded the sympathy of all Europe by the heroic resignation with which he bowed before this tremendous stroke of fortune.

440. But these changes, important as they were, were insignificant when compared with the secret convention concluded at the same time between the French Emperor and the Russian autocrat. These two potentates, deeming themselves invincible when united, had virtually agreed to divide the world between them. The East, including the greater part of the Ottoman empire, was assigned to Russia—the West to France; while both were to join in hostility against the maritime power of Britain, and "to summon the three courts of Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Lisbon to declare war against Great Britain." The existing dynasties in Spain and Portugal were to be replaced by princes of the family of Napoleon; and in the partition of Turkey, Egypt and the Adriatic coasts were to be the share of France. Roumelia and Constantinople, however, were still to remain subject to the Sultan—neither party could be persuaded to cede to the other the possession of that matchless capital.

441. But these triumphs had been purchased by France at a fearful price, in the blood of her best and bravest. Authentic

documents prove that, during the campaign from the Saale to the Niemen, not less than 420,000 sick and wounded were received into the French hospitals—a terrific catalogue, which shows that the triple conscription, amounting in all to 240,000 in eight months, was not more than was required to replenish the chasms in the ranks.

PART VI.

FROM THE PEACE OF TILSIT TO THE PEACE OF VIENNA.—1807-9.

I. *Continental System and Imperial Government of Napoleon.*

442. THE battle of Trafalgar, by annihilating the prospect of invading Britain, had changed the method, but not the object, of Napoleon's hostility. His plan was now to sap the strength of Britain, and excite distress and disunion among her population, by a rigid exclusion of her flag and commerce from the harbours of all the Continental states; and at last, having in the mean time got possession, by force or by treaties, of all the fleets of Europe, to unite them on some central point, whence an invading army of irresistible numbers could at once be poured on the British shores. Hence the gigantic works constructed at Antwerp—a point, as he said, "in itself worth a kingdom;" and his refusal to resign which frustrated the negotiations at Chatillon in 1814; and hence the famous Berlin Decree (Nov. 21, 1806), which, ostensibly issued in retaliation for the blockade of the Prussian coasts, was in fact an announcement of the new system of hostility thenceforth to be directed against Britain. Under its provisions, "the British Islands were declared in a state of blockade; all commerce or communication with them prohibited; and all British subjects found in the countries under the control of France made prisoners of war. All British property or merchandise similarly circumstanced was confiscated; and all vessels coming from Great Britain or any of its colonies were declared

good prizes." Not a moment was lost in enforcing these rigorous enactments to the utmost: an army of inspectors, custom-house officers, &c., overspread the countries occupied by the French; and in North Germany particularly, the search for British goods became a pretext for innumerable extortions and abuses. So ruinous were its consequences that Louis Buonaparte, King of Holland, at first refused to enforce it in his dominions, and was only compelled to do so by the peremptory menaces of his brother.

443. The first retort of Britain to the Berlin Decree, was by an Order in Council (Jan. 7, 1807) directing the capture of all vessels trading between any two ports from which British ships were excluded, thus cutting off the neutral coasting trade in these cases. But a few months' experience showed the necessity of a more rigorous and extensive system of retaliation; and a second Order in Council appeared (Nov. 11), which, reciting the Berlin Decree as a preamble, proclaimed a blockade of France and the States under her sway, as the blockade of the British Islands had been published by Napoleon—and declared all vessels good prizes which should be bound for any of their ports, unless they had previously touched at, or cleared out from, a British harbour. In answer to this second order, Napoleon forthwith (Dec. 17) fulminated the Milan Decree, declaring "all vessels which submitted to be searched by British cruisers, or paid any British imposts, to have lost their neutral privileges; and that all ships coming from, or going to, any harbour in Great Britain or its colonies, or any country occupied by British troops, should be made prize."

444. But these prohibitive systems were soon evaded on both sides. Not many months after the Berlin Decree, a lucrative source of revenue was opened in France by the sale, at enormous prices, of licenses under the Emperor's hand for the importation of British goods, under an obligation (easily eluded) of exporting French produce to an equal amount. British manufactures and colonial produce were consequently sold on the Continent at exorbitant prices; and the example thus set was soon followed

by the sale in Britain of similar licenses of exemption from the Orders in Council. Thus, while British goods were burnt in the market-places of Continental cities, and unhappy wretches shot for conniving at their introduction—while the British admiralty court was daily condemning ships for contravening the Orders in Council, both governments were openly violating the very decrees to which they required such implicit obedience in others. The sale of licenses at length became a principal source of the private revenue of the Emperor, and was carried to such a pitch that, in 1812, the vaults of the Tuileries contained in hard cash not less than four hundred millions of francs (£16,000,000), derived almost wholly from this source. This vast sum did not appear in the public accounts; but from it were chiefly derived the means for the stand against combined Europe in 1813 and 1814.

445. Great and unparalleled was the joy which greeted Napoleon on his arrival at Paris (July 27) after the peace of Tilsit. The great contest appeared to be over: Prussia had been crushed, Austria overawed, and Russia, if not subdued, converted into a firm ally. So unprecedented a series of triumphs might have turned the heads of a less enthusiastic people; but the addresses of the orators in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies went beyond every allowable limit in their slavish adulation. A great fête (Nov. 25) in honour of the Grand Army raised these transports to a pitch of delirium; but Napoleon had already (Aug. 15) availed himself of this burst of feeling to eradicate the last vestige of public discussion in the legislature, by the final suppression of the already mutilated Tribunate, the functions of which were transferred to committees of the legislative body. The change was, however, received with thunders of servile applause even by the members of the Tribunate; and Napoleon, encouraged by this success, took a still more decisive step in the establishment (Sept. 27) of a rigid censorship of the press, extending not only to journals and periodicals, but to all works on whatever subject. From that time to the end of the Empire, every approach to free discussion on public affairs in France, and its dependent states, was more thoroughly stifled than any power

had yet been able to effect; and all who ventured to assert independence of thought were persecuted with relentless rigour by the Imperial police. Madame de Staël, driven first from France; and afterwards from Switzerland and Vienna, found refuge at last only in Russia; and her friend, the beautiful Madame Recamier, shared the same fate for a visit which she paid to the exile.

446. The thirst, meanwhile, for public employment—always great in France, from that passion for individual elevation which was the secret spring of the Revolution—rose to a perfect mania, and contributed greatly to the rapid progress of the system of *centralisation*. Each prefect of a department, holding all the patronage within his jurisdiction, was (as Napoleon remarked) "*a little emperor*;" but he derived all his authority from the appointment of the monarch, in whom was also vested the nomination of all civil, ecclesiastical, military, or naval functionaries of every degree. But notwithstanding all the executive vigour resulting from this system, no one knew better than Napoleon that it was not thus that the foundation for a durable dynasty could be laid. "An aristocracy," said he, "is the only true support of a monarchy;" and to supply this defect was the constant effort of his life. In pursuance of this scheme, he had, soon after Austerlitz, created most of his marshals and ministers princes or dukes, by titles taken from same foreign possession; but the formal re-establishment was by a decree of the Senate on 11th March 1808, by which the titles of prince, duke, count, baron, and chevalier were restored, and conferred with great profusion; most of the new noblesse being endowed with estates and revenues in the conquered countries. The speeches on this occasion in the legislative body, many of the members of which had voted for the abolition of nobility in 1790, were signal monuments of political tergiversation: but all the efforts of Napoleon (in pursuance of his favourite scheme of amalgamation, or *fusion* as he called it) to effect a union between these ennobled soldiers of fortune and the remains of the old nobility, whom he had recalled, met with but limited success. To the remnant of old republicans the resto-

ration of hereditary distinctions was especially unpalatable; but, on the other hand, the path of honour now lay open to all; and the aspiring temper of the Tiers Etat was gratified by the possibility that every peasant's son might attain these prizes. All the forms of the old etiquette were now revived at the Tuileries with increased splendour and minuteness of detail; and such was the state of the imperial court, that instances occurred of seven kings being seen waiting at one time for an audience of Napoleon.

447. The despotism of the Imperial rule, however, was regular, conservative, and systematic; and everything presented an aspect of order and tranquillity. The stoppage of external commerce gave a vast impetus to domestic industry and internal traffic; and the manufacturers, free from all foreign competition, were roused into more than former activity, by the vast public expenditure, in which must be included the enormous sums levied from half Europe, in the shape of subsidies and contributions—all of which were laid out for the benefit of the French people. On his return from Austerlitz, the Emperor had found the treasury empty, and the bank nearly insolvent; but the plunder of the next campaign gave him a year's revenue in advance in the state coffers, besides a large reserved treasure in the vaults of the Tuileries. All the armies quartered beyond the frontier, moreover, were maintained and paid by the inhabitants of the countries occupied; so that, as long as the rule of Napoleon endured over foreign nations, no want of money was ever felt at headquarters. Hence were derived the funds for the execution of the magnificent public works which illustrate this era. Roads, bridges, canals, and dockyards—colleges for instruction in all branches—and public monuments commemorative of the glorious deeds of this brilliant period, were seen rising on all sides; and the people at large, dazzled by the splendour of the spectacle, yielded to the illusion that the Revolution, nursed in violence, and baptised in blood, was now to shine forth in a blaze of unprecedented glory.

448. But all these glories and substantial advantages were but

the gilding of the chains of servitude. The Penal Code made its appearance, Feb. 1, 1810; and of the 480 crimes which it enumerated, no less than 220 were state offences, so minutely subdivided and specified, as in effect to render amenable to punishment every one obnoxious in the smallest degree to government. By a decree of 3d March in the same year, eight state prisons were established in France, and were soon filled with a strange and incongruous assemblage. Those in the north were chiefly occupied by Bourbonists and democrats: those in the south by ecclesiastics who had been involved in the fall of the Pope: but numbers were immured for no other reason than having accidentally excited the jealousy of the Emperor or his ministers. An order signed by Napoleon, or his minister of police, was a sufficient warrant, not only in France, but throughout Germany and Italy, for the arrest of any individual, who was paraded through the towns, loaded with chains like a malefactor, and then consigned to the gloomy oblivion of the state prisons. The universality of the Imperial sway added fearfully to its terrors; except in Russia, Turkey, or Britain, Europe afforded no asylum for the victim of tyrannic persecution. A despotism was thus effectually maintained, unparalleled for rigour and severity in modern times; not a whisper of discontent or resistance was heard; and all classes vied in adulation of the ruler who was visibly draining the heart's blood of the country.

449. It was in the enforcement of the conscription that the greatest difficulty was experienced. During the ten years of the Empire, not less than 2,300,000 conscripts were voted by the legislature, and furnished by the nation; and of these 2,200,000 perished in the service of the Emperor! Penalties of the severest description were denounced against the refractory or deserters, till evasion became almost impossible: and the practical result was that the whole youth of the nation, of the requisite age, and capable of undergoing its fatigues, were voluntarily or involuntarily enrolled in the profession of arms.

450. The system of public instruction was also calculated to favour the same tendency. Except the ecclesiastical schools, only

one of which was allowed in each department, the whole control of education was lodged in a body called the Imperial University; but this institution was wholly different from a university in our sense of the term. It was rather a vast system of instructing police diffused over the country, and dependent on a central board, consisting of a grand-master, with numerous high functionaries under him. The successive stages were through schools of primary instruction, colleges, and lyceums—from the last of which the most deserving youths were transferred to the military academies, or the Polytechnic School at Paris. The course of education was conducted on the strictest principles of military subordination: the pupils were classed in detachments under their officers, and their studies sedulously directed to whatever might encourage a spirit of devotion to the Emperor, and at the same time of military aggrandisement. Thus combining into one government all the known modes of enslaving mankind, Napoleon forced, by the conscription, all the physical energies of his subjects into the ranks of war, while their thoughts were enthralled by terrors of the police and the censorship of the press; and by this system of centralised education, he apparently aimed at throwing still more irremovable chains over the minds of future generations.

II. *The Copenhagen Expedition—War between Russia and Britain.*

451. The treaty of Tilsit was far from being received at St Petersburg with the same satisfaction as at Paris. Though Russia had extricated herself unscathed from the strife, she had still failed in the object of the war; the nobles, moreover, foresaw, in the adoption of the Continental System, the loss of the principal market for their produce; and so strong was this feeling of discontent, that Savary, when he appeared in the Russian capital as ambassador of France, received not a single invitation to any private circle. The political changes resulting from the pacification were meanwhile in progress. New constitutions, framed by

Talleyrand, were imposed on the grand-duchy of Warsaw (July 22) and the Kingdom of Westphalia (Dec. 15). By the former, the ducal crown was declared hereditary in the house of Saxony, the Grand-duke being invested with the whole executive; while a shadow of representation appeared in a senate of eighteen, and a chamber of deputies of one hundred members, without power of open discussion. The Westphalian constitution was also wholly on the French model, consisting of a king, state-council, and silent legislature; all exclusive privileges were abolished, and trial by jury introduced: the contingent of the kingdom, as part of the Confederation of the Rhine, was fixed at 20,000 soldiers.

452. The Hanse Towns and Rhenish States, meanwhile, found themselves grievously disappointed in their hope that the peace would deliver them from the scourge of warlike armaments and military contributions. Dantzic, which was to have been a free city, was occupied by a French garrison under Rapp; but it was on the people of Prussia that the hand of conquest fell heaviest. Hard as were the ostensible conditions of the treaty of Tilsit, they were greatly aggravated in the course of the exaction. Besides the war contribution of £24,000,000, fresh claims, to the amount of £5,600,000, were brought forward after the peace by Daru, the French receiver-general for North Germany; the principal fortresses were retained in pledge for these payments; while 150,000 men were quartered on the territory and maintained at its expense. The King was further bound, by a supplementary convention, not to keep on foot more than 42,000 men, to adopt the Continental System, and to declare war against Britain. To all human appearance the power of Prussia was completely destroyed: but the spirit of the King and the nation was unbroken; and though Hardenberg was driven from office by the jealousy of Napoleon, he found a worthy successor in Baron Stein, who now became minister of the interior. The admirable reforms which he introduced may be considered as the Magna Charta of the peasants and burghers, on whom he first conferred the right of holding land; and though soon exiled, like Hardenberg, on the requisition of France, he continued from his retreat

in Courland to direct the Prussian councils, while the measures of Scharnhorst were equally effective in the war department. By the abolition of corporal punishment, and by throwing open to all the higher grades of the army, he revived the spirits of the soldiers; and by introducing brief periods of service, and constantly supplying the place of those discharged by fresh recruits, he silently prepared the materials of a formidable army, while the apparent numbers of the troops were scrupulously kept within the prescribed limits. Meanwhile, the secret associations of the Tugendbund (society or bond of virtue), having for their object the future deliverance of Germany, were formed and ramified throughout the country. All ranks and classes, alike outraged by the conquerors, combined in these fraternities, which were headed by some of the most exalted spirits of the age, and became, in after years, powerful auxiliaries in the overthrow of French despotism.

453. Austria, during these transactions, was employed in gradually repairing her losses; and had at length (Oct. 10) procured the evacuation of Braunau, which the French had held, under various pretences, since the peace of Presburg. The King of Sweden had continued in arms since the peace of Tilsit; but, blockaded in Stralsund by an overwhelming force under Marshal Brune, he first withdrew with his troops to the isle of Rugen, and finally (Sept. 7) concluded a convention, in virtue of which he returned with his fleet and army to Sweden. But at the same moment, when the Continental war was thus closed, a blow was struck by Great Britain which proved of the highest importance to the future prospects of the maritime contest.

454. In spite of the precautions of the two Emperors, the secret articles of Tilsit had become known to the British government; and the march of French troops towards Holstein indicated that Denmark would forthwith be summoned to place her fleet at the disposal of the new alliance. The cabinet of Copenhagen was known to be far from averse to this coalition; and the arrival of the French force would soon enable them to set Great Britain at defiance. No time was to be lost in such an emer-

gency. At the end of July, 27 ships of the line, carrying 20,000 troops, part of the force originally destined for the Elbe, sailed for Denmark, and were joined by 10,000 more under Lord Cathcart, who had been acting with the Swedes in Pomerania. The whole force appeared off Copenhagen on the 4th of August, and immediately stationed a squadron in the Great Belt to cut off the communication between the isle of Zealand and the shores of Jutland. To the terms offered by the British commanders—who, disclaiming all idea of conquest or capture, demanded the fleet in deposit till the conclusion of a general peace—a positive refusal was returned by the Prince-Royal (Aug. 16): the troops were landed the same day, and the investment of the capital was soon completed. A body of militia, hastily assembled, was routed at Kioge, by a corps under Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose name, already illustrious in Indian warfare, then first appeared in high command in Europe. But the Danes were wholly unprepared for resistance; and after a three days' bombardment of Copenhagen, in which great damage was done to the city, their stubborn valour was compelled to give way (Sept. 5), and a capitulation was signed. The British took possession of the citadel and arsenals till the fleet could be rigged and equipped; and at the beginning of October returned to Britain, bringing with them their magnificent prize, consisting of 18 ships of the line and 15 frigates, besides brigs and small vessels.

455. A general cry of indignation burst forth throughout Europe against the Copenhagen expedition; and it was vehemently attacked in parliament as a gross act of national iniquity, which no circumstances could justify or palliate. These accusations derived additional weight from the pertinacious refusal of the ministers to produce the secret articles of Tilsit, of which they alleged themselves to be in possession—a refusal dictated by an honourable regard for the safety of those persons through whose agency the information had been obtained, but which led at the time to serious doubts whether such articles really existed.*

* It was not till the death (in 1817) of the person who furnished the intelligence, that the particulars were communicated to parliament.

But the other secret stipulations were not long in being acted upon. Early in August, a show was made by Russia of offering her mediation to Great Britain for the conclusion of a general peace; but as Mr Canning required, as a pledge of the sincerity of the Czar, a frank communication of the secret articles at Tilsit, the proposal fell to the ground. While matters were in this state, the Copenhagen expedition took place, when, in answer to the reclamations of Russia, the British ambassador, Lord Leveson Gower, justified the measure by avowing his knowledge of the articles in question. The cabinet of St Petersburg, however, still continued to hesitate; but the pressing demands of Napoleon (who had been stung to the quick by the promptitude of the stroke at Copenhagen) at length decided the Emperor Alexander on acting up to the pledges to which he had personally engaged himself at Tilsit. The principles of the Armed Neutrality were once more proclaimed, and war was declared against Great Britain early in November.

456. Immediately after the departure of the British, Denmark had concluded (Oct. 16) an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, and Sweden was now summoned by Russia to join the Continental League. But the King, faithful to his engagements, resolutely refused submission; on which war was declared against him early in 1808, and an overwhelming force poured into Finland, the seizure of which by Russia had been agreed on at Tilsit. Napoleon, meanwhile, had made a show of fulfilling his engagements to the Porte by proffering his mediation with Russia, and an armistice had actually been concluded (Aug. 1807). But as the evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia was constantly delayed, the Turks speedily became aware that they were deluded by France, and prepared to renew the war.

457. In the autumn, Napoleon set out for Italy, where important political changes were to be made. The last vestiges of representative government were suppressed in the kingdom of Italy by the summary abolition (Nov. 20) of the legislative body; and the puppet King of Etruria was forced to give up his dominions, which were incorporated with France under the title of the

department of the Taro. Rome was occupied by French troops; and the seizure of Ancona, and of all the eastern provinces of the Ecclesiastical States, completed the communication between the kingdoms of Naples and Italy, to the latter of which they were annexed. The territory of France was also rounded in other quarters, by the acquisition of Flushing from Holland, and of Kehl, Cassel, and Wesel, on the right bank of the Rhine.

458. But all these usurpations were trifling compared with those on the point of taking place in the Peninsula. As these were, however, both in their nature and their ultimate results, the most important and eventful of the whole revolutionary period, the elucidation of the circumstances leading to them must be reserved for a separate section.

III. *Origin of the Peninsular War.*

459. No sooner had Napoleon returned to Paris than his mind reverted to his designs on the Peninsula. The seizure of Portugal had, indeed, been planned as far back as 1806, when an "army of the Gironde," numbering 30,000 men, was assembled at Bayonne under Junot; but this threatened invasion had been postponed by the Prussian war. At the same time, the cabinet of Madrid discovered that Napoleon was offering to alienate, without their consent, considerable portions of the Spanish dominions —as Puerto Rico to Great Britain, and the Balearic Isles to the King of Naples, in exchange for Sicily. As Spain had for ten years submitted to the ruin of her trade and navy, and paid an enormous war-subsidy in support of the French alliance, their indignation at the detection of this perfidy was boundless. A secret convention against France was concluded (Aug. 28, 1806) with the Russian ambassador at Madrid; and a proclamation calling the nation to arms was issued (Oct. 5) by the Prince of the Peace. The battle of Jena put an end to these schemes; but Napoleon, though he appeared satisfied with the assurance that the projected armaments had been against the Moors, availed himself of their trepidation to extort the cession of the flower of

their troops, under the Marquis de Romana, as auxiliaries on the Baltic, thus weakening the Peninsula of its best defenders. But he still clearly perceived how easily a British army might be brought, from this unexpected quarter, up to the frontier of France; he felt, like Louis XIV., that there must no longer be any Pyrenees; and, after the peace of Tilsit, he lost no time in commencing operations. His first step (Aug. 12, 1807) was to summon Portugal to adopt the Continental System. The Prince-Regent, unable to resist, was compelled to close his harbours against British ships, and declare war against Britain; but he refused to confiscate the property of the British merchants. Junot upon this received orders to march, and crossed the Bidassoa accordingly (Oct. 19); thus commencing the PENINSULAR WAR.

460. The Spanish royal family was at this time distracted by intrigue to a degree unprecedented even in the darkest periods of Italian faction. The King, Charles IV., though by no means destitute of talents or good qualities, was so extremely indolent as to have surrendered the direction of affairs entirely to his Queen, a sensual and intriguing princess, and to her paramour, Don Manuel Godoy—a man of noble but decayed family, whom her criminal favour had raised from the rank of a private in the body-guard to absolute authority. Godoy was not naturally a bad man, and his administration was never disgraced by acts of cruelty; but his inordinate ambition had led him to conceive hopes of founding a new dynasty in Europe; and the jealousy of the heir-apparent at his exorbitant influence had created a schism between this prince and his father. The Prince of Asturias, afterwards Ferdinand VII., was at this time twenty-four years of age, of a temperament generally facile and luxurious, but liable to be roused into irascible impetuosity. He had been a widower since 1806, and had lately, under the advice of his chief counsellor, the Canon Escoiquiz, made secret overtures to Napoleon for the hand of a princess of his family. But Napoleon had already other views on the Peninsula; and at last (Oct. 27) a secret treaty was signed at Fontainebleau, between

France and Spain, for the partition of Portugal! According to this scheme, the northern and southern provinces of that kingdom were to be occupied by Spanish troops, while a French army of 28,000 men marched through Spain direct on Lisbon; and in order to prevent the escape of the Portuguese fleet, a Russian squadron of eight sail, under Admiral Siniavin, steered at the same time through the Dardanelles for the Tagus. The central provinces, with Lisbon, were to remain in the hands of the French till a general peace; the northern districts were to compensate the King of Etruria for the cession of his dominions to France; Algarves and Alentejo were to be erected into a principality for Godoy (who had already, at the treaty of Bâle, received the famous title of Prince of the Peace); and Napoleon "guaranteed to his Catholic Majesty all his estates in Europe south of the Pyrenees."

461. The iniquity obvious on the face of this treaty was yet more detestable from the double perfidy meditated at the same time by Napoleon against both Godoy and the Spanish court, and which was so little disguised, that Junot from the first received orders to administer Portugal solely in the Emperor's name. His orders were to proclaim peace to Portugal, and alliance to the Prince-Regent, but meanwhile to press on, so as to secure the fleet and fortresses of Lisbon before the British could reach them. In pursuance of this perfidious policy, the French advanced by forced marches, in severe weather and by bad roads, with such haste that their corps, composed chiefly of raw conscripts, became wholly disorganised; and had any resistance been offered, they must have been destroyed. Hurrying on like a band of robbers, subsisting often on nothing but chestnuts, and losing several hundred men a-day in the ravines and torrents, the leading bands of their disordered array approached Lisbon in the end of November.

462. The Portuguese capital, defended by strong forts garrisoned by 14,000 men, and with a British squadron under Sir Sidney Smith in the Tagus, might have opposed a glorious resistance. But the cabinet still continued irresolute, till an ominous line in

the *Moniteur*—"the House of Braganza has ceased to reign"—showed that no submission could avert their fate; and the Prince-Regent announced, in a dignified proclamation (Nov. 26), his resolution to seek in Transatlantic climes "that freedom of which Europe had become unworthy." By the prompt aid of the British seamen, the fleet was made ready for sea; and the Regent, accompanied by the insane queen and the rest of the royal family, and carrying with him the archives and treasure, embarked amid the lamentations of the weeping multitude, who saw their ancient sovereigns thus leave, apparently for ever, the land of their fathers. Scarcely had the ships cleared the bar when the French vanguard, about 1600 strong, entered the city (Nov. 30) without opposition.

463. Junot immediately took military possession of the capital and surrounding provinces; while Elvas, Oporto, &c., were occupied by the Spaniards. The fate of the country was not long in suspense. On the 13th December the Portuguese standard was everywhere taken down, and replaced by the tricolor flag; a forced loan of £200,000 was levied from the merchants, and the people were universally disarmed. At length (Feb. 1, 1808) a proclamation from Napoleon was published, appointing Junot governor of the whole kingdom, imposing a contribution of £4,000,000 (above double the annual revenue of the monarchy), and ordering the administration to be carried on in the name of the French Emperor. These orders, amid the despair of the people, were instantly executed; 9000 of the best troops were marched off to France, and the remainder of the army disbanded; and a general system of shameless rapine and spoliation, of which Junot himself set the example, completed the degradation of the country and the misery of the inhabitants.

464. Events of not less importance were at the same time in progress in Spain. The overtures of Ferdinand for an imperial princess had been left unanswered by Napoleon; but Godoy speedily discovered that some private negotiation was on foot, and at length (Oct. 29) an order was obtained from the King for the arrest of the prince, and the seizure of his papers. Though

their contents really indicated little more than rancour against Godoy, and fears of being deprived of the succession through the influence of the favourite, they were made the grounds of a public accusation against Ferdinand, of conspiring against his father's life; and Charles IV., in a letter to Napoleon (Oct. 30) invoked the aid of his potent ally against his unnatural son. Napoleon, however, was resolved to keep clear of these domestic scandals; and the confession by Ferdinand of his proposal for an alliance with the imperial family wrought an instant change in his favour—his enemies not knowing how far his relations with France might have been carried. The matter was therefore hushed up, and the Prince, after a public profession of penitence, restored to his father's favour. But Escoiquiz, the Dukes of Infantado and San Carlos, and other partisans of Ferdinand, were exiled; and Napoleon, who had in truth not instigated this intrigue, saw with joy the opportunity afforded by the hostility of the father and son, to dispossess both in his own favour.

465. It was not long before this resolution was acted upon. By the treaty of Fontainebleau, an army of 40,000 (soon raised to 60,000) men had been stationed at Bayonne, to support, if necessary, the force invading Portugal; and these troops, without any authority from Madrid, now crossed the frontier. Dupont, with 24,000 foot and 4000 horse, reached Valladolid on 9th January; an equal force under Moncey soon followed; and 14,000 more, under Duhesme, marched on Barcelona; while Godoy, lulled by the dreams of anticipated sovereignty, ventured on no remonstrance which might endanger his brilliant prospects. The four great frontier fortresses, Pampeluna, Figueras, Barcelona, and San Sebastian, were surprised and seized in succession, under circumstances of almost incredible perfidy; and by the beginning of March, without a single shot being fired, the whole country north of the Ebro was virtually wrested from the Spanish crown. A formal demand was at the same time made (Feb. 27) for the cession of all this territory to France, an elusory equivalent being offered in Portugal.

466. The tendency of these measures could not be mistaken; and the arrival of Murat at Burgos (March 13), with the title of "Lieutenant of the Emperor," completed the alarm of the Spanish court. Godoy, now fully alive to the danger, counselled the King to follow the example of the Prince-Regent of Portugal, and embark for his American dominions; and preparations were made at Aranjuez (March 16) for the journey of the royal family to Seville. It had, however, been rumoured that Ferdinand was extremely reluctant to accompany the flight of the court; and the people, who regarded him as the only hope of the nation, apprehending that he might be forcibly torn away, rose (March 17) in furious tumult. The hotel of the Prince of the Peace was sacked by the mob; and though Godoy himself escaped the first fury of their search, he at length fell into their hands, and owed his life solely to the interposition of Ferdinand. The King, deserted by all, and involved in the opprobrium of the obnoxious minister, consulted his own safety by abdicating the throne; and the Prince was proclaimed the same day (March 19), amidst the enthusiastic shouts of the people, as Ferdinand VII.

467. In the midst of these transports of popular joy, Murat, with the Imperial Guards and the corps of Moncey, was rapidly advancing from Burgos on Madrid. On learning the revolution at Aranjuez he redoubled his speed, and, entering Madrid on the 23d, surrounded by a brilliant staff, took up his quarters in the palace of the Prince of the Peace. On the following day Ferdinand made his public entry into the capital, attended by an exulting crowd of 200,000 citizens of all ranks: but Murat, in spite of the obsequious flattery heaped on him, avoided every semblance of recognising him as king; while Charles and his queen, encouraged by the presence of the French, openly protested against the abdication as involuntary and invalid. The military posts were occupied by French troops; and it was soon announced that Napoleon in person had resolved on visiting Spain, in order to settle, by his powerful intervention, the affairs of the distracted Peninsula.

468. No sooner, in fact, had Napoleon received the account of the events at Aranjuez than his resolution was taken. On the following day (March 26) he offered the Spanish Crown to his brother Louis; and though it was instantly refused by that prince, the dethronement of the Spanish Bourbons was irrevocably determined on. Savary, the unscrupulous agent of the Emperor's worst deeds, was forthwith sent to Madrid—ostensibly to compliment Ferdinand on his accession, but in reality to entrap him, by any means, into the power of the Emperor. Alternately cajoled and intimidated, Ferdinand at length (April 10) set out from Madrid to meet Napoleon; but not finding him at Burgos, as he expected, he was drawn on step by step—in spite of the remonstrances of the more sagacious of his counsellors, and the loud murmurs of the people in the districts through which he passed—till, on the 20th, he at last crossed the frontier, and, proceeding to Bayonne, committed himself to the honour of the French Emperor. On the same evening, after dining with Napoleon, he was followed to his hotel by Savary, and informed that he must instantly resign the throne in favour of a prince of the Napoleon dynasty.

469. While this act of unparalleled perfidy was in progress, Murat, at Madrid, had gained possession of the person of Godoy, who was immediately sent under escort to Bayonne; and the old King and Queen, acting under the insidious advice of the French chief to lay their grievances before Napoleon, soon after set out for the same place, where they arrived on the 30th April. But notwithstanding the complete success which had hitherto attended his machinations, Napoleon distinctly foresaw the disastrous results which might spring from a national revolt; and his instructions to Murat were precise, to avoid everything which might rouse into action the dormant energy of the Spanish character. But the military rudeness of Murat was ill adapted for this delicate task; and his precipitation and arrogance hastened the catastrophe which the Emperor was anxious to avoid. Sanguinary tumults had already occurred at Burgos, Toledo, and elsewhere, between the French soldiers and the inhabitants; and

the removal of the remainder of the royal family from Madrid (May 2) at length brought matters to a crisis. An immense crowd, which had assembled before the palace to oppose their departure, was dispersed by discharges of grape. Everywhere the people flew to arms; several French detachments were surrounded and cut off; and it was not till after a furious conflict, in which upwards of three hundred fell on either side, that tranquillity was restored. Had this been all, neither party could have been severely blamed for what was clearly an unpremeditated collision; but a darker tragedy was in preparation. Numbers of Spaniards were seized by order of Murat, on the charge of having been concerned in the tumult, dragged before a military commission, and forthwith shot in cold blood, without being allowed the consolations of religion. This atrocious massacre, equally impolitic and unjustifiable, at once kindled a deadly spirit of national resentment: the tidings flew like wildfire from district to district, and within a few days a general insurrection against the invaders had broken out through Spain.

470. The views of Napoleon, meanwhile, met with an unexpected obstacle in the firmness of Ferdinand, who persisted in refusing to yield his rights, with a pertinacity which Napoleon had not calculated upon in a Bourbon. No man knew better the value of at least a show of legal right to win the moral consent of nations; but the arrival of Charles IV. and the Queen at Bayonne soon relieved him from this embarrassment. The weak old King, completely deceived by Napoleon's apparent kindness, at once lent himself to his projects, declared the Aranjuez abdication compulsory and null, and demanded from Ferdinand and his brother the resignation of their claims, under pain of being proceeded against as traitors. After scenes of scandalous recrimination, in which the violence of the Queen exceeded all bounds of decorum, a conditional renunciation, subject to the approbation of the Cortes, was at length (May 1) extorted. But Ferdinand still refused an absolute resignation, and even authorised a secret deputation, which reached him from the provisional government of Madrid, to exercise the functions of sovereignty

as long as he continued deprived of his liberty. The tidings of the bloody commotion at Madrid, however, exhausted Napoleon's forbearance; and Ferdinand, informed that he must choose between submission and death, at length (May 10) signed the act of abdication, confirming a deed by which his father had previously (May 5) resigned for himself and his descendants the crown of Spain and the Indies. Pensions and estates were assigned to all the royal captives except the Queen of Etruria, who was left wholly unprovided for; and they were soon after removed to Valençay, a seat of Talleyrand's, in the heart of France, where they continued during the remainder of the war.

471. The other arrangements were soon made. The throne, refused by Louis, was conferred on Joseph, the King of Naples, whose kingdom was thus left vacant for Murat; the authorities at Madrid, exhorted to submission by proclamations from both Charles and Ferdinand, were won over without much difficulty by mingled threats and promises; and an assembly of a hundred and fifty Spanish Notables was convoked at Bayonne, to afford the colour of popular sanction to the change of dynasty. Joseph, who had no choice but to obey, quitted with regret the peaceful shores of his Italian realm, and, arriving at Bayonne on 6th June, was the same day proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies.

472. In the annals of the world there is not to be found a more atrocious system of perfidy, fraud, and dissimulation, than that by which Napoleon won the Peninsular kingdoms. After drawing off the flower of the Spanish troops into Germany, he entered into an agreement with Alexander for the seizure of both these monarchies, purchasing his consent by the abandonment of his own Turkish ally. He next concluded a treaty with Spain for the partition of Portugal, which was cast to the winds immediately after the occupation of that country; meanwhile the frontier fortresses of Spain were seized in a moment of profound peace, the capital occupied by French troops, and the royal family, by the mingled influence of terror and hope, inveigled to Bayonne, only to hear their sentence of dethronement pronounced by their ally!

IV. *Spanish War—Battle of Corunna.*

473. From the earliest times, the military character and mode of warfare of the Spaniards has been marked by peculiar characteristics. Inferior to many other nations in firmness to withstand the first shock, they are superior to all in the quickness with which they rally, and their invincible tenacity under defeat and disaster. When their armies are routed and their plains overrun, the numerous mountain-chains intersecting the country afford a refuge for their broken bands; the cities make a desperate though insulated defence; and from the wreck of all organised resistance emerges the formidable guerilla warfare. The geographical features of the country have had a principal share in producing this effect. The whole surface may be considered as constituting a vast mountainous promontory, with plains of admirable fertility stretching to the sea on the east and west; while in the interior is found an assemblage of lofty ridges and elevated desert plains, in the centre of which, 1800 feet above the level of the sea, stands the city of Madrid. The great rivers consequently run to the east and west by long courses, fed by tributary streams flowing down ravines often of surprising depth. The roads are often mere mountain-paths, and little communication is kept up between the towns; while the cities are neither numerous nor opulent—the largest, next to the capital, not containing more than eighty thousand inhabitants.

474. Thus intersected in every quarter by long rocky ridges, forming a barrier, almost as complete as the Alps or Pyrenees, between province and province, it may readily be imagined what extraordinary advantages the Peninsula presents to insulated and defensive warfare; and the character of the population is marked by a similar tendency. The lapse of centuries had failed to amalgamate the various races united under a single monarchy—the local antipathies of the Castilians, the Catalonians, the Aragonese, &c., had lost little of their ancient inveteracy: hence defeats in one quarter did not lead to submission

in another; and the provinces, when severed from each other, were always ready to maintain an independent defence. The almost universal corruption and degeneracy of the nobles had not infected the peasantry, who were everywhere an athletic, abstemious, enduring race, calculated to become the basis of an admirable army. Untainted by revolutionary passions, and warmly attached to their clergy, whose spiritual ascendency was strengthened by the beneficence and charity with which they administered the vast estates of the church, the rural population everywhere flew to arms at the voice of their pastors, while the citizens were inflamed to equal zeal from opposite motives. The dissolution of government had thrown political power into the hands of the juntas of the cities; revolutionary energies were called into activity by the very necessity which had everywhere thrown the people on their own resources; and thus the two most powerful and usually antagonist motives which can agitate mankind—religious enthusiasm and democratic ambition—were brought for a time into cordial union by the pressure of common danger.

475. Such was the country destined to become the great battle-field between France and Britain. The balance of force, in appearance at least, preponderated enormously in favour of Napoleon, who had at his disposal 600,000 French soldiers—including 70,000 horse—and at least 150,000 from the subject states; and the quality of this vast force was even more formidable than its magnitude. Strong in the experience of fifteen years of warfare, terrible in the remembrance of a hundred triumphs, they were preceded by a prestige of victory, subduing the minds of men into that belief of their invincibility which was the surest means of realising it; and their actual efficiency was not inferior to their renown. The system of promotion by merit, and the certainty of advance in rank which the consumption of life in battle afforded to the survivors, at once kept alive the military spirit, and insured the inestimable advantage of tried valour and skill in the officers of all grades, on whom the effectiveness of an army in the field must at all times principally depend. Yet the British army was

far more efficient, both in discipline and experience, than was generally supposed on the Continent. In the spring of 1808, it consisted of 180,000 regulars—including 26,000 cavalry—80,000 militia for home service, nearly equal to the troops of the line, and 290,000 volunteers. Great part of this force was indeed absorbed in the defence of the colonies, but 100,000 men, including 20,000 cavalry, were still disposable; and the vast improvements of the Duke of York, in discipline and organisation, had tended greatly to foster that undaunted moral resolution which has in all ages formed the great characteristic of British soldiers. The animating conviction of their own superiority in actual combat never forsook them; and though in service as light troops, cheerfulness under fatigue, and practical ingenuity, the French for a long time had the advantage, the British from the first bore off the palm when it came to the contact of the hostile lines. Their cavalry, though irresistible in a single charge, was scarcely equal to the French for the protracted fatigues of a campaign; but their artillery was second to none in the world; and in steadiness in action, and the terrible vehemence of their charge with the bayonet, the British infantry was unquestionably the first in Europe. In one important point the British army differed totally from the French—the officers, taken entirely from the higher classes, were separated from the private soldiers by an almost impassable line; and the severe corporal punishments by which discipline was enforced, were in some measure necessary from the rank of society whence the recruits were almost exclusively drawn. But the British soldier was better fed, clothed, lodged, and paid, than any other in Europe; and the system of pensions, varying according to length or amount of service, secured for the veteran, the maimed, or the wounded, an adequate maintenance for the rest of his life.

476. Nor was the actual inequality so great in the progress as in the outset of this momentous struggle. Napoleon indeed had, at the commencement of the war, 115,000 foot and 16,000 horse in the Peninsula, and the principal strongholds were in his hands. Subsequently, his force at one period exceeded 300,000

men; while there were never 50,000 British soldiers in the Peninsula, and for the first three years not more than half that number. Still the army of which this force formed the nucleus, with Portuguese levies of equal amount, disciplined by British officers, soon became extremely formidable, and its central position in Portugal gave it great advantages over the enemy in receiving supplies by sea; so that, whenever Wellington hazarded a battle, the numbers never differed so greatly as might have been expected from the discrepancy in the sum-total. The military force of Spain was far from formidable, either in numbers or composition; at the outbreak there were not 70,000 troops in the country, and the officers, chiefly taken from the lower ranks of gentry, were extremely deficient both in military knowledge and spirit. The Portuguese army was at first in even a more disorganised state than that of its neighbour; but the *ordenanzas*, or local militia, afforded a good basis, and the Portuguese troops, when recast by the skill, and led by the courage of British officers, were not long in forming excellent soldiers.

477. In the original disposition of his troops, Napoleon aimed principally at overawing the capital, round which 50,000 men were concentrated. Bessières had 23,000 around Burgos and Vitoria, and 15,000 were under Duhesme in Catalonia. Such was their situation when the insurrection broke out, in all the provinces, with as much vigour and unanimity as if an electric shock had pervaded the population. Separate and independent juntas sprang up in each province; and before the middle of June, 150,000 men in arms were ready to support the regular army. In the north, the movement was unattended by any violent ebullitions of popular fury; but in the south, where the fiery Moorish blood predominated, it was far otherwise. Numbers were massacred as partisans of the French: the governors of Cadiz and Badajos were torn to pieces by the mob; and at Valencia still more frightful atrocities were committed. An ecclesiastic, named Balthazar Calvo, heading the populace, instigated the slaughter (June 5) of three hundred inoffensive French residents; but the reign of terror was ere long

arrested by the vigour of the junta, and Calvo, with many of his accomplices, suffered death. These deplorable excesses, however, called forth the energies of the higher orders, in order to suppress them; and the wisdom and prudence of the junta of Seville, at the head of which was Saavedra, late minister of finance, soon gave that body a kind of tacit pre-eminence. On the 6th of June they issued an eloquent manifesto, formally declaring war against France; and on the 14th, the first important blow was struck, by the bombardment and capture of the French squadron under Admiral Rosilly, lying in the harbour of Cadiz.

478. In the north the revolt had broken out with equal enthusiasm; and an extraordinary sensation was produced in Britain by the arrival of deputies from the junta of Oviedo, soliciting aid. The Spanish troops at Oporto were recalled to the defence of their own country, and speedily arrived in Galicia; while Napoleon, fully impressed with the danger of the contest, poured reinforcements into Spain with all possible expedition. The civil changes in progress at Bayonne were at the same time actively pursued. The assembled notables, and the late counsellors of Ferdinand, vied with each other in adulation of the new monarch; and the constitution, framed by Napoleon, was unanimously accepted on the 15th June. The legislature was to consist of a Senate of 80 members, named by the King; and a Cortes of 182, comprising 25 lay and as many ecclesiastical peers, and 132 deputies—partly elected by the provinces and municipalities, and partly selected by the King from lists presented to him. On the 9th of July King Joseph set out for Madrid, which he reached on the 20th; and his choice of his ministers, who were chiefly those of Ferdinand, throws a deep shade of doubt over the fidelity to their former unfortunate master.

479. Future ages will find it difficult to credit the enthusiasm with which the tidings of the Spanish revolt were received in Britain. All classes joined in exultation: the aristocratic party rejoicing that the wave of revolution had at last broken on a rugged shore; while the lovers of freedom hailed it as the first real effort of the people in the war. It was from the Opposition

benches that the first parliamentary notice of these animating events proceeded, when Mr Sheridan (June 15) eulogised in a splendid speech the generous patriotism of the Spaniards, and called on the government to engage deeply and earnestly in the war. Animated by such powerful support from an unexpected quarter, the government made most liberal provision for the prosecution of the war: envoys were sent to all the provincial juntas, and supplies, to an enormous amount, in arms, money, and stores, poured into Spain. The war-charges for the year (including a subsidy of £1,100,000 to Sweden) reached the prodigious sum of £48,300,000: the total expenditure was £84,797,000, and the total income £86,780,000, including a loan of £12,000,000—but the unexpected expenses in Spain gave rise, besides this, to a liberal issue of exchequer bills, which fell heavily on future years.

480. The first military operations of importance were those of Bessières in Biscay and Old Castile, where, by sending forth columns in all directions, from Burgos as a centre, he succeeded (June 6-12) in crushing the revolt through all the level country in the upper valley of the Douro. Lefebvre, with 5000 foot and 800 horse, had been directed against Saragossa; and after thrice routing (June 12, 13, 14) the Aragonese levies under the gallant Palafox, he appeared on the 15th before that heroic city. Saragossa, standing in a plain and surrounded only by a low brick wall, can scarcely be said to be fortified; "but the valour of the inhabitants" (as Colmenar prophetically said, a century before) "supplies the want of ramparts." Repulsed in two successive attacks, Lefebvre left the prosecution of the siege to General Verdier, who succeeded (June 27) in carrying the Torrero, a height commanding the town, whence he kept up a vigorous bombardment; but neither this, nor repeated assaults on the gates, shook the firmness of the citizens, and Verdier found it necessary to commence approaches in form. Palafox, who had issued from the walls in the hope of effecting a diversion, re-entered the city (July 2), having been again defeated; the slender defences were ruined by the French breaching batteries; and on the 2d August the assault was given.

After a desperate struggle, the French penetrated into the streets; but the Spaniards, constructing barricades, and firing from the roofs and windows, maintained the conflict with unflinching obstinacy from street to street, house to house, and room to room, from the 4th to the 14th of August. Even the women and children took part in the mortal struggle; and a reinforcement of 3,000 men having at last appeared, the enemy retreated on the morning of the 15th, abandoning all their heavy cannon and siege stores.

481. The movement of Moncey from Madrid on Valencia had not been more successful. Though he routed with loss a motley force which opposed him (June 24) at the rocky ridge of the Cabrillas, on the western boundary of the province, he found the Valencians, who were conscious that their recent enormities left them no hope of mercy, prepared to defend themselves with the courage of despair. After losing 2000 men in a fruitless attempt (June 28) to storm the hastily constructed defences in front of the city, he was compelled to retreat towards Madrid, where Savary (who had succeeded Murat as lieutenant of the Emperor) was collecting all his troops to repel the advance of Cuesta and Blake from Galicia, which threatened to intercept the communication between Bayonne and the capital. The dispositions of Savary, however, were so vacillating and perplexed, that before any reinforcements reached Bessières, that marshal had gained a great victory, with only 15,000 men, over 26,000 Spaniards at Rio-Seco, in the plains of Leon (July 14). Contrary to the advice of his colleague, Cuesta had determined to risk his army, half of which consisted of new levies, in a general action: his dispositions were as faulty as his rashness was ill advised; and the battle, though for some time bravely contested by the regular regiments, ended in a total rout. Three thousand fell on the field; 2000 prisoners and 18 guns were taken; and the confidence of the Spanish soldiers was completely broken. Napoleon, now deeming the war over, quitted Bayonne for Paris; while Joseph pursued his journey in security to Madrid, which he entered, as already stated, on the 21st of July.

482. But while the French Emperor and his brother were

indulging these hopes, a blow had been struck in Andalusia, which resounded from one end of Europe to the other. Dupont, an officer of high military reputation, had marched from Toledo upon Cadiz at the end of May, and, after some partial encounters with the peasants, reached Cordova (June 8). Though scarce any resistance had been made, the city was given up, during several days, to all the horrors of war; rapine and slaughter were universal; even the venerable cathedral, once the mosque of the Ommiade caliphs, was stripped of its wealth and ornaments; and the general himself and his officers were foremost in the work of plunder. But during his halt at Cordova, the insurgents had hemmed him in in such numbers that he gave up all further advance into Andalusia as hopeless, and, commencing his retreat (June 16), reached Andujar in three days. Here, encumbered by the number of his sick, he remained inactive for three weeks, awaiting reinforcements; while Castanos, at the head of 22,000 regulars, and 30,000 armed peasants, was taking measures for enveloping him, and forcing him to surrender. The divisions of Vedel and Gobert at last reached Baylen, on their way to join him; but Gobert was routed and killed (July 16) by Reding, a brother of the intrepid Swiss patriot; and Dupont, who had imprudently separated his own corps from that of Vedel, was assaulted (July 19) by superior numbers under the same general in front of Baylen. The French, encumbered with innumerable waggons conveying the booty of Cordova, were thrown into disorder; two Swiss regiments abandoned the French standards, and joined their countrymen in the hostile ranks; and the appearance of Castanos in the rear completed the confusion. Deeming extrication hopeless, Dupont proposed an armistice, in which the division of Vedel was also included; and after a fruitless attempt to procure favourable terms of capitulation, the whole force, to the number of 20,000, laid down their arms, and became prisoners of war, on condition of being sent to France.

483. Language can scarcely convey an adequate idea of the impression which this event produced in Europe. Since the opening

of the revolutionary war, the career of the French armies had been one of almost unbroken success; but now a disaster, such as they had never sustained since the battle of Pavia, had overtaken their eagles. Fame and incorrect statements even exaggerated the magnitude of the triumph; and it began to be thought that the superiority of regular troops was at an end, when opposed to patriotism and popular enthusiasm — a delusion through which oceans of blood were in vain spilt in Spain. Still the burst of triumph in the first instance had a prodigious effect in determining many of the grandees to the popular side; while the intrusive king and his adherents, struck with consternation, evacuated Madrid (July 30) and retired to Burgos, where he established his headquarters. The effect produced by the news on Napoleon showed how fully he was aware of its importance. Never since Trafalgar had he been so overwhelmed; and Dupont and his officers, on their return to France, were imprisoned many years without trial or investigation. But with respect to the private soldiers, the convention of Baylen was violated in a manner disgraceful to the victors. Many were massacred in the first fury of triumph; the remainder, to the number of 18,000, were confined by order of the junta, in spite of the remonstrances of Castanos, in the hulks at Cadiz, whence few ever revisited their native country.

484. In Catalonia, meanwhile, success had been more checkered. Two columns had been detached by Duhesme from Barcelona early in June—one of 4500 men, under Chabran, against Tortosa and Tarragona; the other, of 3500 under Schwartz, to co-operate with Lefebvre before Saragossa. But the *Somaten* or tocsin was rung in all the hills; and Schwartz, though he forced the celebrated pass of Bruch, was ultimately obliged (June 6) to retreat with loss; and Chabran, who had already occupied Tarragona, was recalled on the news of this check. Elated by these advantages, the Catalans rose in arms *en masse*. Duhesme himself was foiled (June 20) in a *coup-de-main* which he attempted against Gerona; and the whole plain of the Llobregat, up to the walls of Barcelona, was filled with the armed peasantry,

who were reinforced at the end of July by 6000 regular troops from the Balearic Isles. In a formal siege of Gerona (July 24, Aug. 15) undertaken by the express orders of Napoleon, Duhesme was again repulsed, with the loss of 2000 men and all his artillery; and the French possessions in Catalonia continued restricted to Barcelona and the citadel of Figueras. The army of Castaños had entered Madrid in triumph from Andalusia (Aug. 25); and the Spaniards in general, intoxicated with joy, abandoned themselves to the illusion that their soil would soon be finally freed from its invaders.

485. We must now return to the progress of events in Portugal. The Spanish troops in Lisbon had been disarmed by Junot at the first tidings of the outbreak in Spain; but those at Oporto had, as already noticed, escaped into Galicia, and the insurrection of Portugal itself was not long delayed. The students of Coimbra were among the first to take up arms; and a supreme junta was formed (June 9) at Oporto, under the direction of the bishop, who from the first signalised himself by patriotic zeal. In the northern provinces, the insurgent peasants were successful in repulsing the detachments sent against them; but Loison, with 7000 foot and 1200 horse, inflicted a signal defeat at Evora (July 29) on the patriots of the Alentejo. This victory was sullied by the most savage cruelty: 8000 inhabitants of the town, armed and unarmed, were indiscriminately slaughtered; and Loison was continuing his blood-stained progress towards Elvas, when he received the news that a British army had appeared off the coast of Portugal.

486. The British government having determined to send out powerful military aid to the Peninsula, intrusted the command, in the first instance, to Sir Arthur Wellesley, already gloriously known, by his Indian achievements, as the victor of Assaye, and more recently by the easier overthrow of the Danish militia; and 10,000 men were placed under his orders, who had been assembled at Cork by the late ministry for an expedition to South America. Sir John Moore, then in Sweden with 12,000 men, was also recalled for the same purpose, and two smaller divisions set sail from Ramsgate and Margate.

487. The force under Sir Arthur sailed from Cork (July 12), and, after the general had communicated with the junta of Galicia at Corunna—where he learnt the defeat of Rio-Seco—arrived in Mondego Bay (July 30). The disembarkation of the troops—now raised to 13,000 by the arrival of General Spencer from the Bay of Cadiz—was effected in the first days of August; and on the morning of the 9th the advance was commenced. Though not more than 1600 Portuguese troops, under General Freire, joined the British, the peasantry everywhere welcomed their allies with enthusiasm, and the first encounter took place on the 17th. General Laborde, with about 5000 men, had taken post on an elevated plateau in front of the village of Roliça, and attempted to hold the British in check till Junot had completed his arrangements; but the heights were gallantly carried by the 29th regiment, whose colonel, Lake, was killed while cheering them on; and the French, finding their flanks menaced, drew off in good order, having lost 600 men and 3 guns: the British loss was about 500. Junot, meanwhile, advancing from Lisbon, joined Laborde at Torres-Vedras, but their whole disposable force was only 14,000 men; while Wellesley, reinforced by the arrival of Ackland's and Anstruther's brigades, had 16,000, but scarcely any cavalry. His original plan had been to outflank the French, and cut off their retreat to Lisbon: but this movement was forbidden as hazardous by Sir Harry Burrard, his superior in command, who was now off the coast; and Junot, continuing his advance, came in front of the British at Vimeira (Aug. 20).

488. Early in the morning of the 21st, the attack was commenced on the British centre by a column of 6000 men, under Laborde; but no sooner had they reached the summit of the hill than the British artillery and shrapnel-shells—then first used—spread havoc through their ranks, and a charge with the bayonet by the 50th completed their repulse. A second attempt was not more successful; and the French right, under Solignac, after a severe contest with Ferguson's brigade, was at last driven headlong down the steep by so tremendous a rush with the bayonet

that the whole front line of one French regiment, above 300 men, went down like grass before the scythe. An attempt to retrieve the day with Brennier's division, and the reserve under Kellermann, though at first partially successful, also terminated in complete discomfiture. Brennier was taken prisoner, and the British were pressing forward in triumph, when they were suddenly halted by an order from Sir Harry Burrard. The French on this re-formed their broken ranks, and fell back towards the north-east, having lost 2000 killed and wounded, 13 guns, and 400 prisoners. Their line of retreat left open the road from Torres-Vedras to Lisbon; and Sir A. Wellesley instantly proposed to follow up the victory by an advance on the capital, which would have driven Junot to a disastrous retreat into Spain. But this manœuvre was too enterprising for Sir Harry Burrard, a cautious veteran of the old school; and the French, to the infinite chagrin of Sir Arthur, were suffered to regain, by a long circuit, the important defile. On the morning of the 22d, however, Sir Harry was in his turn superseded by the arrival of Sir Hew Dalrymple—so that within thirty hours there had been three successive commanders-in-chief!—and an advance on Torres-Vedras was at length resolved on, when, on the 23d, Kellermann arrived at the outposts with a proposal from Junot for a suspension of arms.

489. It was, in truth, almost equally hazardous for the French marshal to attempt to resist the great superiority of force which the arrival of Sir John Moore would soon give the already victorious British, or to retreat, through a difficult country and exasperated population, into Spain. A convention was accordingly concluded at Cintra (Aug. 23) for the evacuation of Portugal, by which the French army were to be sent back to France by sea, with their artillery, arms, and baggage; while the Russian fleet in the Tagus, by virtue of a separate convention, was to be carried to Britain. Some delay occurred in the execution of the convention, from the difficulty experienced in compelling the French to disgorge the ill-gotten treasure which they had amassed by the plunder of the country. Many disgraceful particulars of

this extraordinary system of spoliation were brought to light, implicating equally the highest and the lowest; but restitution to a certain extent was at last effected, the fortresses of Elvas and Almeida were given up, and between the 15th and 30th September, the whole French army, to the number of 22,000, sailed from the Tagus, and were safely disembarked in France.

490. Posterity will scarcely be able to credit the burst of indignation with which this convention was received, both in the Peninsula and Great Britain. The Spaniards contrasted it with the unconditional surrender at Baylen; the Portuguese complained of the amount of plunder carried off under the denomination of private property; and the British people, disappointed in the hope of seeing a marshal of France and 20,000 men brought prisoners of war to Spithead, gave vent to unbounded vexation. To such a length did the outcry proceed that a court of inquiry was instituted, which acquitted all the generals of blame, though without allaying the public discontent. A more senseless clamour, except that against Sir Robert Calder, was never perhaps set up; since the convention not only at once liberated Portugal, but, by securing an admirable fortified base for future operations, on the edge of the sea and the flank of the Peninsular plains, was, in fact, the foundation on which the whole future successes of the British arms were reared. Its importance was better appreciated by Napoleon: "I was about," said he, "to send Junot to a council of war, but the British got the start of me by sending their generals to one."

491. The command of the troops, on the departure of the three generals to attend the inquiry, devolved on Sir John Moore, who had landed with his corps at Lisbon; while 15,000 more troops, under Sir David Baird, were expected at Corunna, to descend through Galicia and co-operate in the advance. The Spanish troops, 5000 strong, who had been liberated at Lisbon, were re-equipped and sent by sea to Catalonia; and means having been found to convey intelligence of the events in the Peninsula to the corps of Romana, then serving Napoleon in Jutland, the greater part of this gallant body, to the number of

9500, effected their escape from among the French divisions, and were conveyed in British vessels to the coast of Galicia. The central government of Spain, after much discord and discussion, had meanwhile been vested in a supreme junta of thirty-five deputies from the different provinces, who met at Aranjuez (Sept. 25). But this body, though it comprised Count Florida-Blanca, Jovellanos, and other eminent men and illustrious patriots, was composed, for the most part, of individuals unknown to public life, and raised to power solely by the pressure of the times: hence its proceedings presented an almost unvaried scene of cupidity, vanity, and imbecility, in which corruption pervaded every department—the magnificent supplies sent from Britain were wasted or embezzled, and nothing was foreseen or provided either for the armies or the State.

492. The disasters in Spain made the deepest impression on the far-seeing mind of Napoleon. The belief in his invincibility had been destroyed, and the effects were already beginning to appear. By a decree of 9th June, Austria had directed the formation of a landwehr or local militia, which would afford a reserve of 300,000 men to the regular troops, and her explanations, when pressed by Napoleon, were far from satisfactory. To meet these dangers, a fresh conscription was ordered, of 160,000 men, half from those who attained the military age in 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, and half from those of 1810—so far had the demands of the Emperor already exceeded the increase of the human race!—and a subsidiary treaty was concluded (Sept. 8) with Prussia, which released a considerable part of the force occupying that country. But Napoleon was well aware that the alliance with Russia was his true security beyond the Rhine, and a fresh interview was arranged between the two potentates for the settlement of the Continent.

493. Erfurth was selected as the place of meeting; and here Napoleon arrived (Sept. 27), Alexander having reached Weimar the evening before. The two emperors met amid the roar of cannon, the shouts of multitudes, and the cheers of ten thousand soldiers, and embraced with the strongest marks of mutual esteem. The

conference continued for seventeen days; the forenoons were spent by the two monarchs in conversations on general politics, and their private plans of administration; they dined alternately with each other, and the evenings were devoted to festivity and the theatre. The brilliant cortège of marshals, generals, and diplomatists in attendance on the two sovereigns, with the crowd of princes who watched with obsequious attention the nod of Napoleon, presented such a spectacle of power and magnificence as the world had never yet seen; yet, amid this parade of friendship, the keener-sighted of the spectators detected symptoms of decline from the intimacy of Tilsit. In appearance, however, their cordiality continued unabated: a joint proposition for peace was addressed to the British cabinet, and, in apparent concession to the entreaties of Alexander, a considerable reduction was made in the burdens imposed on Prussia, whence the French troops (except the garrisons of Stettin, Custrin, and Glogau) were ere long transferred to the Peninsula. Alexander gave his sanction to the changes in Spain, and to the promotion of Murat to the throne of Naples, and promised his aid to Napoleon in case of a war with Austria; while Napoleon assented to the schemes of Russian aggrandisement at the expense of Sweden and Turkey. But one irreconcilable point of difference (as it afterwards transpired) was Constantinople: Napoleon could not bring himself to yield this matchless prize to his northern rival, and this secret discord was not without its results. At length (Oct. 14) the conference broke up, and the two emperors parted, never to meet again.

494. Thus secured, as he conceived, on the side of Germany, Napoleon, with his wonted vigour, forthwith resolved to crush the Spaniards before the British could obtain a footing in the Peninsula; and accordingly set out for Bayonne at the end of October. Such vast reinforcements had been poured into Spain that, after deducting the garrisons and those in Catalonia, not less than 180,000 men remained disposable for service on the Ebro; while, to oppose this immense force, the Spaniards had 18,000 in Aragon under Palafox, 30,000 Galicians under Blake at Rey-

nosa, and 28,000 under Castanos in the centre—in all 76,000, but with only 2000 horse and 86 guns. The British auxiliaries were indeed approaching; but Napoleon, determined to deal with the Spaniards before they could come up, lost no time in commencing active operations. Prior to his arrival, the French had evacuated Tudela and Burgos, and had been driven from Bilbao (Sept. 23) by Blake; but the latter town was retaken by Lefebvre (Oct. 31), who also obtained a partial advantage over Blake at Tornosa. But no sooner had Napoleon arrived at Vitoria, than he directed 40,000 men, under Victor and Lefebvre, against Blake, who had fallen back to Espinosa. The Spaniards numbered only 25,000, including the brave corps of Romana, yet they held their ground during the first day (Nov. 10); but the next morning their flank was turned by Victor, and a total rout ensued. Romana, with 10,000 men, made his way into Leon; the remainder, attempting a stand (Nov. 13) at Reynosa, were so utterly overwhelmed by Soult, who had already (Nov. 10) inflicted a disastrous defeat at Burgos on the Estremadurans under Belvidere, that Blake with difficulty rallied a few thousand half-naked fugitives in the heart of the Asturian mountains. The headquarters of the Emperor were established at Burgos, whence the country was scoured in all directions by the light troops, who completed the dispersion of the routed enemy.

495. Castanos and Palafox had now effected a junction at Tudela, where their united forces amounted to 39,000 foot, 4000 horse, and 40 guns. Before the two generals, however, could concur in any plan of operations, their disputes were brought to a close by the appearance of Lannes (Nov. 22) at the head of 35,000 men. The long scattered array of the Spaniards was pierced through the centre by the impetuous assault of the French; but the Spanish guards and the victors of Baylen, on the left, routed the troops opposed to them, and, when at last overborne by the accumulation of enemies, fell back in tolerable order by Calatayud to Madrid. But the army was completely dissevered; the right under Palafox, to the number of 15,000, had been driven back in disorder to Saragossa, and the road to Madrid lay open

before Napoleon, who had now joined the army in person. The only obstacle was the Somosierra pass, which was held by 12,000 men under General San Juan; but the Polish lancers of the guard, spurring right up the steep ascent, in the face of the fire (Nov. 30), stormed the batteries, and speared the artillerymen at their guns. The central junta fled precipitately from Aranjuez; and, on the morning of the 2d December, the French advanced guards appeared on the heights north of Madrid.

496. An indignant refusal was returned from the city to the summons to surrender, and a frightful scene of tumult and disorder ensued. Twenty thousand armed men, without discipline or organisation, paraded the streets with furious cries, the bells of all the churches and convents rang without ceasing, barricades were erected, and everything seemed to portend a desperate defence. But on the morning of the 3d, the heights of the Retiro, which completely command the city, were stormed by the French; and the authorities, in terror of a bombardment, sent to propose terms of surrender. Napoleon received the deputies with great harshness, particularly reproaching Don Thomas Morla, late governor of Cadiz, with the breach of the convention of Baylen; but submission was now inevitable, and at 10 A.M. on the 4th, Madrid was again occupied by the French. The most exact discipline was observed, and ere long the city resumed the appearance of tranquillity; while numerous deputations waited on Joseph to renew their protestations of attachment and fidelity.

497. Napoleon himself established his headquarters at Chamartin, four miles from the city, whence he issued decrees for the abolition of the Inquisition, the suppression of the greater part of the convents, of the feudal rights, &c. Severe measures were directed against all who had joined the patriots, after having sworn allegiance to Joseph; and five corps, under as many marshals, were sent to complete the reduction of the provinces. But there was yet another enemy, whom the Emperor had overlooked, or at least greatly underrated: this was the British army under Sir John Moore, who had long been extremely perplexed what

to do from the imperfect and contradictory information which reached him. The repeated assurances which he received that Madrid would be defended to the last extremity, at length determined him to advance on the enemy's line of communication; and moving, accordingly, by Toro and Benavente, he effected his junction with Sir David Baird (Dec. 20) at Mayorga. On the 21st, a body of French cavalry were defeated in a brilliant skirmish at Sahagun, by the 10th and 15th light dragoons under Lord Paget; and Soult, now seriously alarmed, called in his detachments from all quarters to resist the threatened attack.

498. But no sooner had the advance of Moore become known at Madrid, than the Emperor, instantly appreciating its importance, sent orders for suspending all the operations in the south; and putting himself (Dec. 21) at the head of 50,000 of his best troops, including the guards and Ney's corps, marched to throw himself on the line of the British retreat, while Soult attacked them in front. Two days were consumed in crossing the gorges of the Guadarrama mountains, in the midst of a hurricane of wind and snow; but the march was pressed with indefatigable activity, and, by the 26th, Ney had interposed himself between the British and the Portuguese frontier. Had he succeeded in reaching Benavente before them, and thus cutting them off also from Galicia, their situation must have been hopeless; but the British general had early become aware of his danger — the retreat was already commenced, and the bridge of Castrogonzalo, over the swollen torrent of the Esla, destroyed. The French were thus detained for two days, during which (Dec. 28) the cavalry of the Imperial Guard were gallantly routed at the fords of the river by the British dragoons, and their commander, Lefebvre Desnouettes, made prisoner.

499. On the 30th, however, the French effected the passage, and on January 1, 1809, all their columns were concentrated at Astorga, having in ten days marched two hundred miles from Madrid, across snowy ranges and swollen rivers, in the depth of winter —an exertion almost unparalleled in modern times. But intelli-

gence here reached Napoleon, which left no doubt on his mind of the hostile designs of Austria; and, instantly leaving the British to his lieutenants, he returned to Valladolid, and thence hastened with extraordinary rapidity by Burgos and Bayonne to Paris, which he reached on the 23d. The pursuit, however, was kept up with unabated vigour, and the condition of the British became daily more deplorable. Though the rearguard continued with unabated resolution to repel the enemy, who were worsted (Jan. 5) in a sharp skirmish at Villa-Franca, the rest of the line presented a frightful scene of misery, drunkenness, and disorder, which all the exertions of the general failed to restrain. At Lugo, where they halted two days (Jan. 6–8), Sir John Moore offered battle, but the combat was declined by Soult; and on the 11th, after a forced night-march, the disorganised columns of the British entered Corunna, where the transports from Vigo arrived on the 14th.

500. For two days the French suffered the embarkation to proceed unmolested, but on the 16th their columns, 20,000 strong, were seen advancing to the attack; and the British, now reduced to 14,000, were quickly arrayed to oppose them. The impetuosity of their onset at first drove the British from the village of Elvina, in front of the centre; but the 50th and 42d quickly retook it at the point of the bayonet, and followed up their advantage so far, that they were in turn assailed and broken by fresh French regiments. But Moore, instantly bringing up a battalion of the guards, again repelled the French with great slaughter; and when nightfall separated the combatants, the victory of the British was decisive along the whole line. But in the moment of triumph Sir John Moore had been mortally wounded by a cannon-shot: he expired the same night, and was laid, wrapped in his cloak, in a hasty grave on the ramparts of Corunna, where a monument was afterwards erected by the generosity of Marshal Ney. In the course of the night and succeeding day the embarkation was completed; when the Spaniards, who had bravely manned the walls to protect the retreat of their allies, surrendered the town to Soult, who a few

days after occupied Ferrol, with its stores, and seven sail of the line in the harbour.

V. *Fresh War with Austria—Battles of Landshut and Echmuhl.*

501. Since the unsuccessful struggle of 1805, the Austrian cabinet had observed a rigid and cautious neutrality, which not even the disasters of the French in the Polish campaign could tempt them to infringe: but this interval had not been idly spent. During 1806 and 1807, the war department was silently but indefatigably engaged in replenishing the arsenals and magazines, remounting the cavalry, &c.; while the infantry, under the zealous direction of the Archduke Charles, was remodelled on the French plan of corps and divisions, the efficiency of which had been so amply demonstrated in the campaigns of Napoleon. A decree was further issued (June 8, 1808) for the formation of a *landwehr* or national militia, the force of which, at first fixed at 200,000, was soon raised to 300,000, for the hereditary dominions alone: while the Hungarian diet, in addition to large supplies of recruits for the regular army, sanctioned the calling out the *insurrection* (or *levée en masse*) of 80,000 men. These armaments drew forth urgent remonstrances (August) from Napoleon, who clearly perceived their coincidence with the occurrences in Spain; but the address of Metternich, then ambassador at Paris, and the assurances of amity of which Baron Vincent was made the bearer to Erfurth in October, apparently lulled his suspicions. But decisive intelligence at length (Jan. 1, 1809) reached him, as already mentioned, at Astorga, which, coupled with the speech of the King of Great Britain on the previous 16th of December, left no doubt of the hostile intentions of Austria; and the Emperor, after a long conference with Maret at Valladolid, sent orders to the Rhenish princes to prepare for war, and returned with all haste to Paris.

502. The measures of Austria, meanwhile, notwithstanding her warlike preparations, were by no means finally decided. All

her efforts to procure the co-operation of Russia or Prussia had failed; the previous ill success of the British by land gave little hopes of their effecting any permanent diversion in Spain; and the finances were still in a deplorable state of dilapidation. Even the Archduke Charles, taught by past experience, sided with the peace party; but the majority of the nobles, headed by the prime minister Count Stadion, and supported by the universal enthusiasm of the people, were eager for war. The Tyrolese, it was known, were ready at the first signal to fly to arms against the hated yoke of Bavaria; and a general effervescence, fanned by the secret ramifications of the Tugendbund, prevailed throughout Germany in favour of the Austrian cause. The French force in Germany, moreover, had been reduced, by drafts for Spain, from 160,000 men to half that number, besides 100,000 soldiers of the Rhenish confederation; while the Austrian regulars now amounted to 300,000 foot and 30,000 horse, besides 200,000 landwehr and the Hungarian insurrection. War, therefore, was resolved on. It was determined to assume the offensive, by invading at once Franconia, Lombardy, Tyrol, and the grand-duchy of Warsaw, in all which districts they had numerous and active partisans. On the 8th April the frontiers were crossed on all points; the Archduke Charles, with 120,000 men, prepared to advance into Bavaria; the Archduke John had 47,000 in Italy; Chastellar led 12,000 into the Tyrol; and the Archduke Ferdinand, with 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, moved on the side of Gallicia against Poland.

503. Napoleon had certainly been taken in some measure at unawares by the commencement of hostilities: but the scattered divisions of the French had been for some time in the course of concentration; the Imperial Guard, under Bessières, had been summoned in all haste from Spain; and Berthier was despatched early in April to take the command till the arrival of the Emperor. His instructions were precise—to concentrate the army round Donauwerth or Ratisbon, according to circumstances; but he was utterly bewildered by the magnitude of his charge, and scattered his divisions in so useless and absurd a manner, that

his movements were ascribed by more than one of the marshals (though without cause) to treachery. Nothing but the extreme slowness of the Austrian advance saved the French army from ruin. Munich was occupied by Jellachich, the King of Bavaria flying to Stuttgard; and when Napoleon arrived at Donauwerth, on the morning of 17th April, he found the Archduke with 100,000 men interposed between Davoust and Massena—the former of whom was at Ratisbon with 60,000, while the latter had remained, by Berthier's orders, at Augsburg, thirty-five leagues to the south-west; and Oudinot and the Bavarians alone lay at Ingolstadt to oppose the Austrian advance. Dissembling his anxiety, however, he issued instant and pressing orders to the two marshals to effect a junction at all hazards; and addressed an energetic proclamation to his troops, reproaching the Austrians with commencing hostilities without cause, and promising them fresh glories in their overthrow.

504. But these movements, notwithstanding all the zeal of the marshals, could not be performed with the requisite celerity; and had not the Archduke, dividing his army, marched with the greatest part against Ratisbon, Davoust must have been crushed. They passed, however, within a short distance, without the bulk of the forces meeting: though a severe action took place (April 19) between Davoust and the covering corps of Hohenzollern, who attempted at Thaun, though without success, to arrest the march of the French through the important defile of Portsaal. Napoleon's plan was now to separate the Grand Army under the Archduke from Jellachich and Hiller, and drive it up into the narrow space formed by the bend of the Danube at Ratisbon; and, reassured by the junction of Davoust with the Bavarians under Lefebvre, he commenced the offensive by advancing his right against Landshut. On the 20th, accordingly, the corps of Hiller and the Archduke Louis were vigorously attacked on all points, and a running fight, rather than a regular battle, ensued, in which the Austrians, though not completely routed in any quarter, had generally the disadvantage. Following up his success, the Emperor again assailed Hiller on the following day, at

the passage of the bridges at Landshut over the Iser; the Austrian covering cavalry were broken by the impetuosity of the French horse, and Hiller, whose rear was at the same time menaced by Massena, drew off towards the Inn, having lost nearly 6000 men, 25 guns, and a vast quantity of baggage and ammunition. In all these encounters, Napoleon, leaving the French to his marshals, headed in person the troops of the Confederation —a policy at once generous and prudent, which kindled to the utmost their enthusiasm on his behalf.

505. Davoust, in the mean time, had been unable to prevent the Archduke Charles from occupying Ratisbon (April 20), and making prisoners the single French regiment left as its garrison: but the movements of the Archduke and Napoleon now evidently indicated the approach of a general engagement. The former had concentrated 80,000 men between Abensberg and Ratisbon; but half this number were thrown forward, under Kollowrath and Lichtenstein, on the great road to Neustadt, in order to menace the French left and rear,—so that Napoleon, on the 22d, was able to bring 75,000 men against the remaining 40,000 under Rosenberg and Hohenzollern, who lay behind the Laber, on the villages of Echmuhl and Laichling. The object of Napoleon was to cut off the Austrians from the Inn, and their communications with Vienna, and throw them back on Ratisbon; and at midday the battle of Echmuhl commenced. Lannes, with an overwhelming force, turned and drove back the Austrian left; and, following up his advantage, carried by a flank attack the village of Echmuhl in the centre, which had hitherto repulsed all the attacks of the Würtembergers in front. Davoust, on the other side, had made himself master of Laichling; and the Archduke, perceiving a retreat necessary, prepared to fall back to Ratisbon. The heroic gallantry of the Austrian cuirassiers, who covered this perilous movement, withstood till after nightfall the onset of the whole French cavalry; the Imperialists reached the Danube in safety, and passed the stream during the night, over the bridge of Ratisbon, and a hastily-constructed pontoon bridge. Their loss in the battle had been 5000 killed and wounded, and

7000 prisoners, besides 12 standards and 16 pieces of cannon: the French loss was about 6000 men.

506. Ratisbon was assaulted at noon the next day; and Napoleon himself, in his anxiety, approached so close that a musket-shot struck his foot. Consternation instantly spread through the ranks—the soldiers, in spite of the tremendous fire of the Austrians, crowding from all quarters round their beloved chief; but it was soon ascertained that the injury was a mere contusion, and the assault was resumed with redoubled fury. Lannes, with his own hand, at length planted a scaling-ladder—Labedoyère, reserved for a melancholy fate in future times, was the first who mounted the wall—and the place was speedily carried. On the following day, a grand review was held under the walls; honours and bounties were showered on those who had distinguished themselves; and the troops of the Confederation, to whom such a scene was perfectly new, were delighted beyond measure by the ample participation to which they were admitted.

507. The advantages gained were in truth very great. The errors of Berthier had been repaired—the Austrian forces everywhere driven back with loss, their corps separated from each other, and the road to Vienna laid open to the conqueror. But though these splendid triumphs attended the arms of Napoleon where he attended in person, the event was far different in other quarters. Hiller, whose retreat towards the Inn had been followed up by the Bavarians under Wrede, finding that Napoleon had diverged in another direction, suddenly turned on his pursuers (April 24), and gave them a signal defeat; and a still more serious disaster had befallen Beauharnais in Italy. His army, which was chiefly composed of Italians, was utterly routed by the Archduke John (April 16) at Sacile, between the Tagliamento and Adige, with the loss of 4000 killed and wounded, 4000 prisoners, and 15 guns; but the further fruits of this brilliant victory were lost to the Austrians, from the progress of events in Germany, which rendered necessary the assembly of all their armies for the defence of Vienna.

VI. *Capture of Vienna—Battle of Aspern.*

508. Immediately after the battle of Echmuhl, Napoleon, resolved on striking a blow at the heart of the Austrian power before they could rearrange their projects, issued orders in all directions for an advance on Vienna. Davoust's corps alone was left at Ratisbon to observe the Archduke; and by daybreak on the 26th, 100,000 men were in full march for the Inn. Hiller and the Archduke Louis, with 35,000 men, were all that intervened on the direct route; and though the Tyrol was in full insurrection on one flank, and the Archduke Charles, with 75,000 men, lay in the Bohemian mountains on the other, it was not the character of Napoleon to be deterred by such obstacles. The Guard, 20,000 strong, arrived on the 26th from Spain, and the onward march was pressed with ceaseless vigour. The advance was retarded for two days by the breaking of the bridges of the Salza; but at the wooden bridge of Ebersberg, over the wide and impetuous torrent of the Traun, a desperate conflict took place (May 3) between Hiller, who had determined to defend this important post, and the French vanguard under Massena. Led by General Cohorn (a descendant of the illustrious engineer), the French rushed to the attack with the exulting audacity derived from their late triumphs; the small islands which divided the stream were carried, but the fire from the head of the long bridge over the main current repulsed them, and a scene of carnage ensued, exceeding even the passage of the bridge of Lodi. After repeated assaults, the bridge was at last cleared, and the castle of Ebersberg carried by Le Grand; but the Austrians still held their ground on the heights, till, finding their flank menaced by troops which had crossed higher up, they drew off in the night to Enns. In this terrific combat 6000 fell on each side; and Napoleon testified his displeasure at this useless slaughter, which a flank movement might have rendered unnecessary.

509. This severe loss incapacitated Hiller from further impeding

the progress of the French; and he shortly after, in pursuance of orders which reached him, crossed to the left bank of the Danube. The French now redoubled their celerity, and on the 10th of May, exactly a month since the Austrians had crossed the Inn, their eagles appeared before Vienna. The Austrian capital, however, well provided with artillery, and garrisoned with 4000 regulars and 8000 landwehr, determined on defence; but the bridges of the Danube islands were stormed, and on the 12th a vigorous bombardment was commenced, from the same ground held by the Turks 126 years before. The city was soon on fire in several places; but the direction of the mortars was changed by order of Napoleon, on learning that a princess of the Imperial house lay ill, and incapable of removal, in the palace immediately opposite his batteries—this was the Archduchess Maria Louisa, the future Empress of France! The Archduke Maximilian, however, who commanded in the city, becoming aware that his position was untenable, withdrew with his troops; the authorities lost no time in capitulating; and at noon on the 13th, the French a second time entered Vienna.

510. The Archduke Charles, meanwhile, had set out from Bohemia to cover the capital; but his march was pursued with a tardiness only to be explained by the error into which he fell, of mistaking Davoust's force for the whole French army, and thus conceiving that Hiller would be adequate to check the movement of any detached corps on Vienna. But for this fatal misconception, he might easily have reached the capital before it surrendered; but his van only arrived at the northern extremity of the bridges on the evening of the 15th, when the enemy were already in full possession. On the following day he effected his junction with Hiller, and stood prepared to oppose, with his whole force, the passage of the river by the French.

511. The Archduke John, meanwhile, having been peremptorily summoned to the defence of the Hereditary States, had begun a retreat from the Adige (May 1) towards Friuli, followed at some distance by Eugene. His orders were to maintain himself in Styria, Carinthia, and the Tyrol, and thence to operate against

Lintz, on the line of the enemy's communications; but he unfortunately deviated in all points from these judicious instructions. On the 8th of May he gave battle to the French on the banks of the Piave; but the spirits of Eugene's army were now powerfully elevated by the news of the French triumphs in Germany—the fords of the river were forced, and the Austrians defeated, with the loss of 6000 men and 15 guns. After this reverse he fell back, first to Villach, and afterwards into Hungary, leaving the Tyrol and the Carinthian fortresses to their fate. The French, crossing the Austrian frontier on the 14th, successively reduced, after a heroic resistance in each case, the mountain forts of Malborghetto, Col di Tarwis, Prediel, &c.; while their right wing, under Macdonald, occupied Trieste (May 20), and took Laybach on the 22d, after routing the troops collected for its defence. Jellachich's division, which had moved towards Salzburg to co-operate with the Archduke John, was routed, and almost annihilated (May 24), in the valley of the Muhr; and on the 28th Eugene's army, amid shouts of joy, joined Napoleon before Vienna.

512. The eyes of all Europe were now fixed on the approaching struggle on the Danube, defeat in which to either party seemed fraught with irreparable ruin, since the Austrians had no other army to fall back upon, and a disastrous retreat to the Rhine would be the inevitable fate of the French. Well aware of the crisis, the Emperor was indefatigable in his efforts to station his troops so as to cover his rear and protect his communications, before he attempted to cross the Danube, the stream of which spreads near the city into a wide expanse, embracing several islands in its course. The first attempt was made (May 13) at Nussdorf, immediately above Vienna; but it was frustrated by the vigilance of Hiller; and 600 men, who had occupied an island, were made prisoners. The point next selected was the large island of Lobau, opposite Ebersdorf, the Austrian posts on which were surprised (May 19) by Massena's corps; and a pontoon bridge was completed the next day from the island to the opposite shore of the Marchfield. The passage instantly

commenced, and, by noon on the 21st, 40,000 men were assembled in battle array on the north side.

513. The Archduke Charles, relying on the expected co-operation of his brother, had directed Kollowrath, with 25,000 men, to attack the bridge of Lintz (May 19), held by the Würtembergers. But the arrival of Bernadotte with 30,000 Saxons defeated the enterprise; and the Archduke, who lay with the bulk of his army on the woody heights of the Bisamberg, resolved to crush the corps of Massena while still isolated on the left bank. Napoleon's overweening confidence had in fact at length brought him into a situation full of danger, where he was liable to attack from superior numbers in an open plain, with a great river in his rear; and the Austrians descended to the battle in the full anticipation of a victory which would deliver their country, and its captive capital, from the hated presence of the stranger. The French bridge joined the bank half-way between the villages of Aspern and Essling, which lay a mile apart, covering either flank of the position held by Massena and Bessières: and Napoleon, who perceived the magnitude of the peril, made every exertion to get over the remainder of the army. But the bridges had been so injured by the rise of the stream, and the constant march of troops, so as to be almost impassable; and 80,000 Austrians, including 14,000 magnificent cavalry, with 288 guns, were already hastening to the attack.

514. The Imperialists advanced in five massy columns, preceded by clouds of horse; and the village of Aspern, which was attacked by Hiller and Hohenzollern, became the theatre of a murderous conflict, which continued with equal obstinacy on both sides for several hours. All the military skill and invincible tenacity of Massena were displayed in the defence: every house, every garden, was contested; but the numbers and determination of the Austrians at last prevailed, and the village was carried amidst deafening shouts of victory. In the centre, meanwhile, a tremendous charge of cuirassiers against the Austrian artillery, which was tearing to pieces the French line, was baffled by the firm squares of the Hungarian infantry, and the routed cavalry

withdrew with the loss of half their numbers. A general charge was now ordered by the Archduke, and nearly succeeded in breaking the French centre; but all the efforts of Rosenberg failed to dislodge Lannes from Essling, which remained in the hands of the French at nightfall.

515. The peril of the French was now most imminent; but during the night so many troops were got over, that in the morning, when the battle was renewed, Napoleon had 70,000 men in line. With the first dawn Essling was again assaulted, and at last taken by Rosenberg; but Aspern, on the other hand, was recaptured by St Cyr, till Napoleon, further reinforced by part of Davoust's corps, ordered a grand attack in the centre. The shock, led by the fiery valour of Lannes, was for the moment irresistible, and a huge gap appeared in the hostile line; but the Archduke, feeling that the decisive moment had arrived, threw himself in person among the wavering troops, and led them back against the enemy. The reserve under the Prince of Reuss, supported by Lichenstein's numerous dragoons, arrested the progress of Lannes' column, which was finally driven back with heavy loss; and Hohenzollern, at this instant perceiving an opening in the French line, dashed through with the Hungarian grenadiers, and maintained the vantage-ground he had thus won. The bridges were at the same time broken by fire-ships and heavy vessels sent down the stream; and the French ammunition, after two days' incessant firing, was nearly exhausted.

516. In this terrible moment Napoleon's courage did not forsake him. Calm and collected, he gave general orders to fall back to Lobau, while the Austrians poured a terrific fire on the retiring columns, massed together at the entrance of the bridge, and the Archduke in person led the reserve of Hungarian grenadiers to a final charge. In resisting this attack, Lannes was mortally wounded by a cannon-shot, which carried off both his legs: but his last effort of heroism had saved the French army, which effected its retreat into the island of Lobau, having lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, not less than 35,000 men. The Austrian

loss, as admitted with German honesty in the official account, exceeded 20,000.

517. Such was the glorious battle of Aspern, the first in which Napoleon had ever been defeated. In the midst of the public calamity he shed tears beside the death-bed of Lannes, his early companion in arms; but despair pervaded the whole host, the situation of which appeared almost hopeless. Cooped up as they were in an island, without ammunition, and exposed to the attack of a victorious enemy, victory appeared hopeless, and retreat impossible; and in the council of war the marshals unanimously and strongly recommended a withdrawal to the right bank. But Napoleon, who clearly perceived that this step would be equivalent to an admission of defeat, absolutely negatived the proposition; and measures were instantly taken for re-establishing the bridges, and restoring the communication with the right bank and the remainder of the army.

VII. *War in the Tyrol, Northern Germany, and Poland.*

518. The country of the Tyrol, the scene of the immortal struggle which we are now about to commemorate, consists of the mountains stretching eastward from the Swiss Alps, and separating the plains of Bavaria from those of Italy. Though less lofty than the Helvetian peaks, those of the Tyrol are still more rugged; while the narrow valleys round their bases are of matchless beauty, and the climate and products, to the south of the great central chain of the Brenner, partake of a more genial character than to the north of that range. The country, wholly without level plains, is intersected only by a few long and spacious valleys, of which the most considerable are those of the Inn, the Eisach, the Adige, and the Pusterthal. The first of these extends from the borders of Switzerland to those of Bavaria; the second from Brixen to Bolsano, where it joins that of the Adige —which, descending from the frigid Alps of Glarus, widens into the Passeyrthal, the original seat of the Counts of Tyrol, and more famous in modern times as the birthplace of Hofer: the

upper parts of the valleys of the Drave, the Salza, and the Brenta, are also within the boundary of the Tyrol.

519. Though inhabiting the same mountain range, and under the same climate as the Swiss, the Tyrolese national character differs wholly from that of their neighbours. Though not yielding to the descendants of Tell in their ardent love of freedom, they have always been distinguished for their ardent and enthusiastic loyalty towards the house of Austria, to which they have been subject since 1363; and they have never expelled their ancient seigneurs, whose immense ruinous castles, perched on crags and lofty heights above every valley, form one of the most striking characteristics of the country. The romantic legends connected with them, and firmly credited by the superstition of the people, throw an air of Gothic interest over these relics of feudalism,—superstitions, too, of a gentler and more holy kind have arisen from the devout feelings of the people, whose uniform piety is a remarkable feature in their character. Nor has their religion been corrupted by any of those errors which have elsewhere dimmed the light of the Catholic church: absolution for money is almost unknown, and the control of the parish priests over their flocks is exercised with strict and unblemished conscientiousness. Though subjects of a despotic monarchy, they have from the earliest times possessed all the practical blessings of freedom, including a representative government and the right of self-taxation; and the peasants in the German Tyrol are almost all owners of the land they cultivate—a circumstance which has further contributed to nourish the martial and independent spirit they have always displayed. The frequent practice of the chase, and of firing at targets, has given them an extraordinary proficiency as marksmen — and to this is chiefly attributable their long and successful resistance, with little aid from Austria, against the united force of France and Bavaria.

520. To such a people, and so warmly attached to their ancient princes, their forcible transference to the rule of Bavaria was immeasurably odious. Though all their privileges had been solemnly guaranteed to them by the treaty of Presburg, this

compact was soon violated in every point. Their constitution was overthrown; their monasteries suppressed, and the church plate sold; new and oppressive taxes were arbitrarily imposed; and the introduction of the conscription irritated the people almost to madness. These feelings were well known to the Austrian government, and they kept up a constant correspondence with the malcontent leaders, in which the Archduke John, who had formerly passed much time in the Tyrol, was a principal agent. But the leaders of the peasantry, when they at last rose in arms, were taken from their own body; and the most noted among these, besides the immortal Hofer, were Spechbacher, Haspinger, and Teimer. Hofer himself was born in 1767, and exercised in the Passeyrthal the hereditary profession of an innkeeper. His means of improvement from his intercourse with travellers, and his frequent visits to Italy, had been superior to those of most persons in his rank, and his personal acquaintance with the Archduke John, formed during that prince's scientific rambles, gave him consideration in the eyes of his countrymen. His character was truly German, both in his merits and defects; his honesty, piety, and patriotism were unbounded; and though sometimes slow and vacillating, he possessed (as was shown when he was invested with supreme power in the autumn of 1809) a just discrimination, hardly to be expected from his limited opportunities. Convivial sometimes even to intemperance, he was often carousing when the troops were in action; but his energy in action, and his undoubted sincerity of patriotism, always preserved to him the attachment of his followers.

521. The other chiefs were persons of less note. Spechbacher, a substantial yeoman in the Innthal, had in his youth as a hunter acquired a knowledge of the country, and a degree of personal daring which made him superior to Hofer in the actual conduct of partisan warfare, though far his inferior in general powers of mind. Haspinger (often called *Rothbard* or Red Beard) was a Capuchin friar, who led his men into action in his monastic dress, wielding as his only weapon a huge wooden crucifix; and

the efficiency of Teimer, though a man of superior talents, both in war and negotiation, was impaired by his not possessing the confidence of the peasants in the same degree as his colleagues. Such were the leaders of the peasants, when, on the night of the 8th April, the long-expected and agreed-on signal was given by throwing sawdust into the Inn, which floated down the stream, and was instantly understood. The people rose as one man, amid the tears and blessings of their families and the clergy; every glen sent forth its band of intrepid riflemen, till the accumulated torrent, gaining strength at every step, pressed down the great valleys against the enemy; and Chastellar, on entering the country with ten thousand regulars (April 9), found every part of it already in insurrection.

522. The Bavarian commander Wrede lost no time in attempting to suppress the revolt, but his troops were everywhere overborne by the enthusiastic valour of the insurgents: two divisions were forced to lay down their arms: and on 11th April, Innspruck, the capital of the province, was stormed by 20,000 peasants from the Innthal, who put to the sword great part of the garrison. The French division of Bisson, 3000 strong, was compelled to surrender on the 12th; the strong post of Hall, in the Lower Innthal, was surprised by Spechbacher; and in a week from the outbreak, the whole province, except the fortress of Kuffstein, was cleared of the enemy. The French, discouraged by their reverses, evacuated Trent and Roveredo; the flame spread through the Italian Tyrol, even into the kingdom of Italy; while Napoleon, irritated by these disasters, fulminated a decree of outlawry against Chastellar and the Baron Hormayer (a Tyrolese noble active on the patriotic side), both of whom he ordered, if taken, to be tried and shot by a military commission as *brigands.*

523. Chastellar, meanwhile, after endeavouring to give some degree of organisation to the mountaineers, had commenced operations on the Italian frontier; but he was soon recalled to the north of the Brenner to repel Lefebvre—who, after the defeat of Hiller at Landshut, had routed Jellachich (April 29) near Salzburg, and forced the defiles between Reichenhall and Worgl on

Ascension-day (May 11), when most of the Tyrolese were at church or keeping holiday. A Bavarian corps, under Deroy, at the same time entered the country by Kuffstein; and Chastellar determined to combat Lefebvre before this new enemy came up. But in two desperate conflicts, at Feuersinger and Worgl, he was overpowered by superior numbers; and on the 19th, Lefebvre entered Innspruck without further opposition.

524. Affairs now seemed desperate, as another corps of 15,000 men, detached from Eugene's Italian army, was advancing up the valley of the Adige; but the cruelty of the Bavarians kept alive the spirit of resistance, and Hofer, who was at first overwhelmed with grief, once more summoned the Tyrolese to the general rendezvous at Mount Ysel. A proclamation (issued May 23, the day after the victory of Aspern), in which the Emperor Francis engaged "never to lay down his arms till the Tyrol was reunited to Austria," raised their spirits to the highest degree; and (May 29) a battle was fought near Innspruck, in which 20,000 undisciplined peasants, aided by 900 Austrian infantry, with 70 horse and 5 guns, utterly discomfited 8000 regular troops, with 800 horse and 25 pieces of artillery. The Bavarians lost 4000 men; and Deroy, having concluded a suspension of arms, commenced his retreat the same evening, leaving the whole country in possession of the victors. The bands from the Tyrol and Vorarlberg now spread terror through all the adjacent parts of Germany and Italy; Constance fell into their hands; and no less than 17,000 of the Austrian prisoners taken at Echmuhl, &c., were released in the course of these incursions. The flame of insurrection spread from the Black Forest to Lombardy, and from Salzburg to the Grisons; and, besides the brave but undisciplined peasants, not less than 20,000 foot and 800 horse, regularly organised and equipped, were under arms to repel the hated tyranny of the French.

525. During this heroic contest, a general revolt against the French had nearly taken place in Saxony and Westphalia, where the enormous burdens imposed on the people, and the insolence of the French troops, had kindled a deadly spirit of hostility against

the oppressors. Everywhere the Tugendbund were in activity; and the advance of the Austrians towards Franconia and Saxony, at the beginning of the war, blew up the flame. The two first attempts at insurrection, headed respectively by Katt, a Prussian officer (April 3), and Dornberg, a Westphalian colonel (April 23), proved abortive; but the enterprise of the celebrated Schill was of a more formidable character. This enthusiastic patriot, then a colonel in the Prussian army, had been compromised in the revolt of Dornberg; and finding himself discovered, he boldly raised the standard (April 29) at the head of 600 soldiers. His force speedily received accessions; but failing in his attempts on Wittenberg and Magdeburg, he moved towards the Baltic, in hope of succour from the British cruisers, and at last threw himself into Stralsund. Here he was speedily invested; the place was stormed (May 31), and the gallant Schill slain in the assault, a few hours only before the appearance of the British vessels—the timely arrival of which might have secured the place, and spread the rising over all Northern Germany.

526. The Duke of Brunswick-Oels, with his *black band* of volunteers, had at the same time invaded Saxony from Bohemia; and though then obliged to retreat, he made a second incursion in June, occupied Dresden and Leipsic, and drove the King of Westphalia into France. After the battle of Wagram he made his way across all Northern Germany, and was eventually conveyed, with his gallant followers, still 2000 strong, to England.

527. It has been already mentioned that, at the beginning of the war, an army of 36,000 men under the Archduke Ferdinand, with ninety-six guns, had been directed against the grand-duchy of Warsaw. As the bulk of the Polish forces were serving Napoleon either in Spain or on the Danube, Poniatowski had not more than 12,000 disposable troops: he, however, gallantly confronted the invaders at Raszyn (April 19); but the contest was too unequal, and he was forced to retreat, abandoning Warsaw to the enemy. The Austrians, now descending the left bank of the Vistula, menaced Thorn and Dantzic; while the Polish general, ascending the right bank, threatened the Austro-

Polish province of Gallicia, and expected the aid of a Russian army under Gallitzin. But these succours were slow and ineffectual; and a despatch was even captured by the Poles, from the Russian general Gortchakoff to the Archduke, congratulating him on his success, and expressing a wish that the Russian and Austrian arms might soon be again united! The letter was sent by Poniatowski to the French Emperor; and though it was disavowed at St Petersburg, and Gortchakoff disgraced, the impression remained on the mind of Napoleon, who frequently observed to those in his confidence, "I see, after all, I shall have to make war on Alexander."

528. Another important political effect of Aspern was a secret negotiation for an alliance between Austria and Prussia; but the exorbitant demands of Prussia caused it to fail in the first instance; and before it could be renewed, the battle of Wagram had been fought, and the opportunity had passed away. The most energetic appeals, meanwhile, were everywhere made by the Austrians to the German people at large to rise in arms; while Napoleon, weakened by defeat, could only maintain himself by concentrating all his forces under the walls of Vienna.

VIII. *Battle of Wagram—Armistice of Znaym.*

529. Both the military and political position of Napoleon were now full of peril; but it was precisely in such circumstances that his genius shone forth with most lustre. He at once saw that a victory before Vienna would enable him to disregard the Tyrolese, the revolts in Northern Germany, and the threatened landing of the British in the Scheldt; and his attention was directed solely to the keeping open the communications of the Grand Army with the Rhine.

530. During the month of June, however, no encounter took place between the main armies before Vienna; the French being engaged in covering the Isle of Lobau with field-works of the most gigantic magnitude and strength, and connecting it by three solid bridges with the southern bank—while one immense bridge

ran across all the islands from shore to shore, and three other movable bridges were concealed, ready for use, in one of the narrow channels. The Austrians had also erected formidable intrenchments, running from Aspern across the late field of battle to the bank of the river at Enzersdorf; and before the end of June, the main forces of Austria were collected in these lines —all filled, by their late victory, with unwonted ardour and confidence. The Archduke, during the interval, had directed his efforts to regain his communication with the Archduke John and the Hungarian insurrection; and a conflict ensued at the bridge of Presburg (June 3), between Bianchi and the corps of Davoust. But the Viceroy, Eugene, with the troops under his command, was now detached in this direction by Napoleon; and the Archduke John, in spite of the express injunctions of his brother the generalissimo, determined to give him battle in a strong position near Raab, where he had 22,000 regulars and 18,000 of the new levies. The action took place on 14th June (the anniversary of Marengo). The Italian regiments gave way before the fiery valour of the Hungarians, but the advance of the French reserves restored the battle; and the Imperialists were finally defeated with the loss of 6000 men. The fortress of Raab, with its intrenched camp, fell into the hands of the victors; while the Hungarian levies, broken and disheartened, retired under the cannon of Komorn.

531. While these successes secured the French right, Marmont and Macdonald were rapidly approaching from Dalmatia and Styria; and after several severe though partial actions with Giulay, and Chastellar in Carniola, arrived in the Isle of Lobau (July 3). Eugene, with the Italian army, had also been summoned to join the Emperor; and having concealed his departure from the Archduke John, by pushing forward large masses of cavalry, he reached the camp (July 4), with his artillery and infantry. Carniola and Croatia, evacuated by this concentration of the French troops, were re-occupied by the Austrians; and a British subsidy of £320,000 was landed in Dalmatia, and safely transported across the mountains into Hungary.

532. The successes of the Austrian arms in Poland, meanwhile, had come to an end. The Archduke Ferdinand was recalled towards Austrian Poland by the bold stroke of Poniatowski against that province, where he had occupied Lemberg, and spread his light troops even beyond the Carpathians to the borders of Hungary—powerfully exciting the enthusiasm of the Gallicians by the sight of the national uniforms. Repulsed in an attack on Thorn, the Archduke commenced his retreat (May 30), severely harassed by Dombrowski. Warsaw was abandoned to the Poles; and though Gallitzin, with the Russian auxiliaries, refused to cross the Vistula, his presence on the right bank secured the operations of the Poles on the other side of the stream. An attempt of the Russians, however, to occupy Cracow (July 6), had nearly kindled into a flame the ill-suppressed animosity of the two nations, and Gallitzin yielded the point. Hostilities were soon afterwards suspended by the armistice of Znaym; but the military ardour of the Poles was so strongly excited by their successes, that before the peace of Vienna, Poniatowski had 48,000 men under arms, in addition to those already raised for the service of Napoleon.

533. It was from Lobau, however, that the decisive blow was to be dealt; and thither, on the 3d and 4th of July, the different reinforcements converged from all points with a precision never yet known in military history, till 150,000 foot, 30,000 horse, and 750 pieces of artillery, were collected in a space two miles and a half long, by one and three-quarters wide. The Archduke's army was far from being equally concentrated, from the necessity of watching for a long space the banks of the river; and the Archduke John was still at Presburg. By a skilful feint, on the evening of the 3d, Napoleon succeeded in impressing the Austrians with the belief that the passage would be attempted at the same point as on the former occasion; but his real design was far different. While a tremendous fire was poured from all the Austrian batteries on the bridge of Aspern, the three movable bridges, already mentioned, were silently transported to a point opposite Enzersdorf, lower down the stream; the passage

instantly commenced; and such was the unprecedented activity exerted that, by 6 A. M. on the 5th, the whole French army, with its artillery, was grouped in dense array on the northern shore, in a position which took the Austrian lines in reverse, and cut off their communication with Hungary. The Imperial generals, struck with astonishment at this manœuvre, abandoned their now useless intrenchments, and fell back to a field previously chosen, on the vast elevated plateau of Wagram, four miles from the Danube, at the northern extremity of the Marchfield. Here, in a position presenting a concave front to the French advance, strengthened by the villages of Wagram and Neusiedel at each angle, and covered in front by the stream of the Russbach, they awaited the assault of Napoleon and his legions.

534. The French army, which had at first been drawn up in an immense close column perpendicular to the Danube, spread out its corps like the folds of a fan during its advance across the plain, to which the Archduke, who had at the moment only 60,000 men actually in position, offered no serious resistance. Napoleon, perceiving this, directed an instant attack by his own centre, 100,000 strong; and at 6 P. M. the action was commenced by the corps of Oudinot; while Eugene, fording the Russbach, gallantly ascended the heights of Wagram in the face of a murderous discharge of grape, which the Austrian artillery poured from their vantage-ground. The first line gave way before the shock; but the Archduke hastened in person to the spot, with the veteran regiments of Zach, Vogelsang, and D'Erlach; while the attacking column, enveloped and assailed on the right flank by Hohenzollern, and on the left by Bellegarde, at last gave way, and was driven in confusion headlong down the steep. The Saxons, who were advancing under Bernadotte, were overwhelmed by the flying battalions; two eagles were taken; and had the Imperialists been aware of the panic and disorder of the French line, the consequences might have been decisive. At eleven o'clock at night, however, a retreat was sounded; and the two armies rested during the night on their former positions.

535. Encouraged by this success, the Archduke resolved to assume

the offensive. Orders were despatched to the Archduke John to hasten his march; and at daybreak on the 6th, Rosenberg moved against the French right, in order to outflank it, and thus co-operate with the expected succours. As Prince John, however, had not come up, the attack on this point was suspended; but the village of Aderklaa, in the centre of the field (whence Bellegarde had driven the Saxons), became the scene of a desperate struggle. St Cyr, with the leading division of Massena's corps, had at one time retaken it; but while disordered by success, his troops, taken in flank by the cavalry, and charged in front by the grenadiers, led by the Archduke in person, were driven back at the point of the bayonet; the panic spread to the Saxons, Darmstadters, &c., and the progress of the victors was with difficulty arrested by the Guard and the cuirassiers, whom Napoleon himself led to the spot. On the French left, the advantage gained by the Austrians was still more unequivocal. Kollowrath and Klenau had swept the field with overwhelming numbers, taken 4000 prisoners and many guns, and driven the French to the edge of the Danube: already the cry was heard—"All is lost: the bridges are taken!" and a general consternation began to pervade the ranks. But at this critical moment the formidable corps of Davoust, which had made a long circuit out of the range of artillery, commenced its attack on the Austrian left, which was at last forced back, and driven from Neusiedel and from the angle of the plateau: and Napoleon, who still remained in the centre, gave orders for a general charge. The triumphant right wing of the Austrian was held in check by ten regiments of cavalry under Bessières; Eugene, Marmont, and Bernadotte were directed against Wagram; and a formidable column of all arms was arrayed by the Emperor himself, for the decisive effort in the centre.

536. The onset was led by Macdonald with eight strong battalions; but the storm of fire by which they were assailed on either flank was so tremendous, that this band of heroes, reduced to 1500 men, was at length compelled to halt; but the Emperor himself was at hand, and all the disposable troops were pushed forward

to prevent the halt from becoming a retreat. The cavalry everywhere recoiled before the tempest of cannon-balls, but the advance of the infantry was resumed with more success; and the Archduke, despairing of maintaining his position, ordered a general retreat. This movement, covered by Kollowrath, was conducted with consummate skill, and hardly any loss: the exhausted French were incapable of vigorous pursuit; and in spite of the chagrin of Napoleon, who repeatedly exclaimed, "No results! neither prisoners nor guns!" the Austrians took up their position at night on the great road to Brunn, while the French bivouacked on the field of battle. Twenty-five thousand on each side were killed or wounded: 5000 prisoners were taken by the Austrians, and 2000 by the French: but at no single point were the Austrians defeated, and it was at the command of their chief alone that they retired, unbroken, from the well-fought field of battle.

537. At the close of this mighty conflict, the columns of the Archduke John at length approached the field, advancing between three and four o'clock up to Neusiedel, and even to Wagram, through which the French had recently passed in pursuit! Finding, however, that the Austrians had retreated, he instantly countermarched his army, and before midnight regained Marcheck, 13 miles distant. Some of his advanced patrols of cavalry caused a panic in the French rear, which showed what might have been the results of his appearance at an earlier hour, when the fate of Europe hung in suspense on the success of Macdonald's column. But the opportunity was gone; and the tardiness of this prince, whether arising from incapacity or from jealousy of his brother, again proved fatal to his country, as it had before done when he was ordered to combine with Kollowrath at the bridge of Lintz.

538. Napoleon, according to his custom, rode the next day over the field, and personally inspected the relief of the wounded, whose multitude exceeded all the efforts of the surgeons. The inestimable services of Macdonald, between whom and the Emperor a coldness had hitherto subsisted, were repaid by a mar-

shal's baton, and the same distinction was conferred on Oudinot and Marmont. Bernadotte, on the contrary, was severely reprimanded for the misconduct of the Saxons under his command, as well as for a gasconading proclamation which he had addressed to them. He retired in disgrace to Paris; and his ancient jealousy of the First Consul, thus revived, probably contributed in no small degree, when he became a sovereign, to his appearance in arms against his old master.

539. Two lines of retreat lay open to the Archduke—one to Olmutz and Moravia, the other to Bohemia; and the strength of the country about Prague, as well as the important arsenals in that city, determined him on the latter. The Grand Army accordingly took the high road to Znaym (July 7), followed by the corps of Davoust, Massena, and Marmont; while the Viceroy, with 50,000 men, observed the Archduke John on the side of Presburg; and Macdonald remained to take charge of Vienna, and repel, if needful, the advance of Giulay from Croatia. The retreat of the Austrian main army was unmarked by any considerable action till its arrival at Znaym; but the Archduke halted on the strong position afforded by that town, and repelled with great slaughter (July 11) all the efforts of Marmont and Massena to dislodge him. But in the midst of the action it was announced that an armistice, proposed by the Archduke the night before, had been accepted by Napoleon. Hostilities were immediately suspended, and the two armies remained stationary on the positions they then held; while Napoleon lost no time in imposing, on the provinces thus occupied, a war contribution of 237,000,000 francs (£9,500,000), a burden at least equal to what £50,000,000 would be on Great Britain! The Imperial cabinet, then at Komorn at Hungary, at first hesitated to ratify the armistice, which appeared to them unnecessary; but it was at last signed (July 18) by the Emperor; and the flames of war were quenched in Germany till they broke out with awful violence, three years later, on the Niemen.

IX. *Walcheren Expedition—Second War in the Tyrol—Dethronement of the Pope.*

540. Nature has formed the Scheldt to be the rival of the Thames; and Antwerp, the key of this great estuary, has been in every age the point whence the independence of Britain has been seriously menaced. It was in the Scheldt that the preparations of the Duke of Parma were made, in the time of Elizabeth, for the overthrow of the liberties and religion of England; and it was from the Scheldt that Napoleon, after the ruin of his profound naval combinations in 1805, intended to invade the British Isles. Hence for centuries it had been the fixed policy of Britain to prevent this formidable outwork against her independence from falling into the hands of her enemies.

541. When the war commenced, the cabinet of Vienna had earnestly requested a diversion, by a British land force, in the north of Germany, where so many ardent spirits were ready to rise in revolt; and also that an Anglo-Sicilian expedition should be sent to the coast of Italy. But matters were changed since 1807; and instead of Germany, Antwerp was chosen as the grand point of attack—a selection judicious both from the importance of the position, and from the absence (from the employment of the French army in Germany and the Peninsula) of any considerable force which could be sent to its relief. But the value of time in war was not even yet understood in Britain; and though the Austrians crossed the Inn on the 9th of March, it was not till the end of May that any serious preparations began to be made; and the expedition did not finally sail till the 28th of July, a week after the battle of Wagram was known in London. Its strength, however, was on a scale truly worthy of the mistress of the seas: 37 ships of the line, 23 frigates, 33 sloops, 82 gunboats, and innumerable transports, with 40,000 land troops, fully equipped with stores, battering-trains, &c., formed the largest and most formidable armament which had ever put to sea in modern times, and which, if conducted with vigour and directed

by skill, might have shaken the empire of Napoleon to its foundations.

542. On the 30th of July, 30,000 troops were disembarked in Walcheren and took Middleburg; while another division occupied Cadsand; and South Beveland, with the fort of Bahtz, which commanded the junction of the East and West Scheldt, surrendered to Sir John Hope. It is admitted by all the French military writers that, had the English at once pushed on for Antwerp, it must have fallen into their hands without resistance; but Lord Chatham, the general-in-chief, though a respectable veteran, had none of the energy of his family, and in defiance of the dictates of common sense, he determined, in the first place, to besiege Flushing. After three days' bombardment, this fortress, with its garrison of 6000 men, surrendered (Aug. 16); but during this precious breathing-time the French fleet had been removed above Antwerp; and when, on the 26th, Lord Chatham at length moved forward, the city had been put in a state of defence, and 30,000 troops collected there under Bernadotte and the King of Holland. The British, moreover, were suffering severely from the pestilential air of the marshes; and further advance being deemed impossible, the whole force was withdrawn, early in September, into Walcheren, of which it was intended to retain possession. But the ravages of fever among the troops were such that before Christmas the whole army was brought back to Britain, having lost seven thousand men by sickness; while many of the survivors felt the effects of the disease during the remainder of their lives.

543. An untoward consequence of this expedition was a schism in the cabinet. Mr Canning, then foreign secretary, having unsuccessfully endeavoured to procure the dismissal of Lord Castlereagh from the secretaryship of war, threw up his own office—a duel ensued, and Mr Canning having been wounded, Lord Castlereagh found himself also under the necessity of retiring. The Duke of Portland soon afterwards withdrew from office on the plea of declining health; and after a fruitless negotiation with Lords Grey and Grenville, a new Tory ministry was constructed under

the leadership of Mr Perceval—the Earl of Liverpool taking the war-office, while Mr Ryder became home, and the Marquis Wellesley foreign secretary. The cabinet, thus constituted, though consisting chiefly of men of respectable rather than brilliant talents, possessed the inestimable advantage of unanimity on all vital questions, especially on the great one of the prosecution of the war; and the glorious triumphs achieved under their administration remarkably indicate the power of unity and resolution of purpose to compensate for the want of those showy qualities which usually command popular admiration.

544. During all this time Austria was anxiously protracting a painful negotiation, in the vain hope of some favourable change in the political horizon. The victory of Wagram had at once restored at least the appearance of cordiality between France and Prussia, in accordance with the usual temporising policy of the latter power; and, secure in this quarter, Napoleon insisted at first on terms so extravagant as to amount to a virtual subversion of the monarchy. He even threatened, if driven to extremities, to separate the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia from that of Austria, and confer them on two of the Archdukes; and he afterwards, at St Helena, expressed his regret for not having done this. Still the Emperor was not free from disquietude on account of the danger of Antwerp, the war in the Tyrol, and the disasters in Portugal; and an attempt (Sept. 15) by an enthusiastic youth, named Stabs, the son of a clergyman at Erfurth, to assassinate him as the merciless enemy of his fatherland, was probably not without its effect. The peace of Vienna, which was signed on 14th October, was sufficiently humiliating to Austria. Territories were given up containing 3,500,000 souls, including great part of Gallicia, ceded partly to Russia, partly to the grand-duchy of Warsaw; Salzburg, with an important line of strong frontier, to Bavaria, which also retained the Tyrol; and Carniola, with Trieste, part of Croatia and Carinthia, Fiume, and various other towns and districts, to the kingdom of Italy. The army was moreover to be reduced to 150,000 men, and a further contribution of £3,500,000 levied on the occupied provinces. Such was

the treaty of Vienna. It excited great disapprobation at St Petersburg, from the augmentation of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, which Alexander, in spite of all Napoleon's assurances, viewed with suspicion as tending towards the national restoration of Poland; but Napoleon now began to perceive that an ultimate rupture with Russia was inevitable, and paid less attention than formerly to these remonstrances. No sooner was the treaty ratified than he set out for Paris, having given orders, before leaving Vienna, for blowing up the ancient ramparts of the city—a useless piece of tyranny, which bitterly exasperated the citizens.

545. The battle of Wagram, and the armistice of Znaym, fell like a thunderbolt on the Tyrolese in the midst of their triumphs. Abandoned by the Austrian soldiers, who received orders (July 21) to evacuate the country, their cause at first appeared hopeless; and Lefebvre, who re-entered the country with 20,000 men, marched into Innspruck (July 30) without resistance. But Hofer, Haspinger, and the other patriot leaders, at length recovering from their consternation, met at Brixen, and mutually pledged themselves to sacrifice their lives rather than abandon the cause of freedom; and hostilities were recommenced (Aug. 4) by a desperate and successful attack on a Bavarian corps under Rouyer at the bridge of Laditch, on the road from Innspruck to Bolsano. Lefebvre himself, in attempting to force his way with his whole force over the ridge of the Brenner, was defeated with immense loss (Aug. 10, 11) by the armed peasants under Hofer. The enthusiastic valour of the Tyrolese was equally triumphant in other quarters; and a decisive battle was at last fought (Aug. 12) before Innspruck. The French and Bavarian force amounted to 25,000, including 2000 horse and 40 guns; but the troops were dispirited by defeat, and filled with a mysterious awe of the prowess of the mountaineers; and after a contest which lasted from six in the morning till midnight, they gave way on all sides, with the loss of 6000 men. Lefebvre immediately evacuated the Tyrol, retreating with his whole army to Salzburg; while Hofer entered Innspruck in triumph, and assumed,

as general-in-chief, the entire civil and military command of the country.

546. But darker days were approaching, in which all the patriotism and valour of the Tyrolese were destined to be unavailing. No sooner was the Tyrol given up by Austria, at the peace of Vienna, than the country was invaded (Oct. 10) at three different points—from Bavaria, from Carinthia, and from Italy—by forces amounting in the aggregate to 50,000 men; and Hofer, warned by the Archduke John that no further aid could be given by Austria, issued (Nov. 8) a proclamation recommending submission. But a few days after, finding that the spirit of the people was still unsubdued, he once more put himself at their head, and continued for a month a heroic but hopeless struggle. The setting in of the winter, however, soon rendered the mountains untenable; and by the middle of December most of the chiefs had taken advantage of an amnesty published by Eugene Beauharnais, and were allowed to retire into Hungary. Hofer alone, refusing either to fly or submit, was betrayed in his concealment by a treacherous friend (Jan. 5, 1810), and carried prisoner to Mantua, where he was instantly brought to a court-martial, condemned and shot, on the charge of having fought against the French after the amnesty—a judicial murder, which leaves one of the darkest stains on the memory of Napoleon. Peter Mayer, another patriotic leader, was also taken and executed; but Spechbacher and Haspinger, after numberless perils, and many hair-breadth escapes, reached Vienna in safety, where they were sheltered and provided for by the grateful bounty of the Emperor.

547. This eventful year was marked by yet another momentous occurrence—the dethronement and imprisonment of the Pope. The dazzling reception which the pontiff had met with in Paris, at the coronation in 1805, had given him the hope of regaining, from the new Charlemagne, the temporalities of which the Holy See had been stripped during the war; but not only were all his representations on this point eluded, but fresh encroachments soon followed. In October 1805, the French troops occupied

Ancona; and Napoleon, in reply to the remonstrances addressed to him, openly declared that he was Emperor of Rome, and the Pope only his viceroy. The absorbing cares of the war for a time drew off his attention from Italy; but soon after the peace of Tilsit, he renewed his assaults on the independence of the papal government, and, on the continued refusal of Pius VII. to declare war against Britain, Rome was at length (Feb. 2, 1808) occupied by French troops, and the government of the city given to General Miollis. The Pope, with his secretary of state, Cardinal Pacca, became virtually a prisoner in the Quirinal palace; but, as all the insults heaped on him failed to shake his resolution, a decree was at last issued from the camp at Schönbrunn (May 17, 1809,) annexing Rome and the Ecclesiastical States to the French empire.

548. This edict was carried into effect at Rome (June 10), and was immediately responded to by the publication of a bull of excommunication against Napoleon, and all concerned in this act of spoliation. Miollis, alarmed at this vigorous measure, instantly entered into communication with Murat at Naples; and before the intelligence had reached Napoleon at Vienna, it had been determined between them to seize the Pope's person. A military force, under General Radet, accordingly forced an entrance into the palace at daybreak (July 5); and the Pope, having steadfastly refused to subscribe the resignation which was required of him, was conducted under an escort, in company with Cardinal Pacca, first to Florence and afterwards to Alessandria. Here they were separated—the Cardinal being hurried off to the state-prison of Fenestrelles, amid the Alpine snows of Savoy, where he was closely confined till 1813; while the Pope was conducted across the Alps to Grenoble, and finally fixed at Savona, where he remained under restraint, though not guarded, till after the Moscow campaign, when he was transferred to Fontainebleau.

549. Napoleon subsequently declared, with apparent truth, that the seizure of the Pope was wholly without his knowledge, and that he was at first much perplexed what to do with him. However this may have been, he speedily approved of what had

been done, and kept his hold of his prey so tenaciously that the captive pontiff was only liberated on the passage of the Rhine by the Allies in 1814. Rome, meanwhile, was declared the second city of the Empire; and the difference between the drowsy rule of the cardinals, and the energetic sway of Napoleon, speedily became manifest. The ruins and accumulations of fourteen hundred years were cleared away from the majestic monuments of ancient Rome, which again stood forth in renovated splendour; and the hideous practice of private assassination was repressed by severe laws impartially executed.

PART VII.

PENINSULAR WAR.—1809–12.

I. *Domestic History of Great Britain from* 1809 *to* 1812.*

550. THE reign of George III. comprehends, beyond all question, the most eventful and important period in the history of mankind: it embraces the transition, not only from one century to the next, but from one age of the world to another. Its commencement was coeval with the glories of the Seven Years' War, and the foundation of the Indian empire of Britain; its meridian witnessed the momentous conflict for American independence; and its latter years were involved in the heart-stirring conflicts of the French Revolution. New elements of fearful activity were brought into operation in the moral world, and new principles of government established. Nor were the characters less remarkable which rose to eminence during this period. The military genius of the Prussian Frederick; the burning eloquence and lofty patriotism of Chatham; the incorruptible integrity and philosophic spirit of Franklin; the spotless virtue and serene

* In order to simplify the narrative, it has been found necessary, in this section, slightly to anticipate the course of events; but any such allusions will be fully elucidated in the subsequent sections of this Part.

fortitude of Washington; the masculine understanding and ruthless ambition of Catherine of Russia, would alone have rendered memorable any other age. But still more brilliant was the constellation which followed later in succession; when the British senate was shaken by the rival genius of Pitt and Fox, and the prophetic wisdom of Burke; when the arm of Nelson cast its thunderbolts on every shore, and the deluge of imperial power was stayed by the prowess of Wellington: while the Revolution was illustrated by the splendid genius of Mirabeau, the republican virtue of Carnot, and the marvellous exploits and universal intellect of Napoleon.

551. Inferior to many, perhaps all, of the illustrious men of this era, both in intellect and attainments, George III. will yield to none in the importance of the duties to which he was called, or the enduring benefits which he conferred on mankind. It was his fate to hold, during an age of revolutions, the sceptre of the only free empire in existence; and no monarch ever possessed qualities more peculiarly fitted for the difficulties with which he had to contend. His education had been neglected, his information was not extensive, but he was endowed, in a high degree, with that strong sense and just discrimination, for the want of which no intellectual culture can compensate. With the personal courage hereditary in his family, he combined an unrivalled share of moral determination, which was memorably exhibited on the occasion of the run on the bank, and mutiny at the Nore, in 1797, and in his opposition to Fox's India Bill in 1783, when he expressed his resolution rather to resign his crown, and retire to Hanover, than permit it to become a law. It is true that this inflexible temper sometimes betrayed him into undue obstinacy: he prolonged the unhappy contest with the Americans long after his ministers were aware that it had become hopeless; but his first words to the American envoy who came to his court after the peace—"I was the last man to acknowledge your independence; but I will be the first to support it, now that it has been granted"—portray at once the firmness and the honesty of his character. He had long survived the popular obloquy of which

in his earlier years, he had been the object; and the jubilee of 1809, for the 50th year of his reign, was celebrated by the whole nation with loyal thankfulness and devotion. But the rule of the venerable monarch was now drawing to a close. The anguish consequent on the death (Nov. 2, 1810) of his favourite daughter, the Princess Amelia, induced a return of the mental aberration which had afflicted him in 1788; and the malady having assumed a fixed character, Mr Perceval (Dec. 20) brought forward in the Commons the subject of a regency.

552. Vehement debates ensued in both houses on this momentous question, in which (as in 1788) the two parties took sides diametrically opposite to what might have been expected—the Whigs supporting the *inherent right* of the heir-apparent to the regency; while the Tories strove to negative the claim *de jure*, and confer it only by act of parliament, and under such restrictions as the legislature might think fit to impose. After a long and violent contention, the ministers at length prevailed, though some clauses of the bill (particularly those restricting the Regent's prerogative for a year, in the creation of peers, and others points) passed by extremely slender majorities; and on Feb. 6, 1811, the Prince of Wales entered on the functions of royalty. From the intimacy which had long subsisted between the new Regent and the Whig leaders, it was universally expected that his first act would be to place Lords Grey and Grenville at the head of a new ministry; but to the surprise of all parties, the Tories were still retained in office. An attempt was, however, made (Feb. 1812) on the retirement of the Marquis Wellesley (who was succeeded as foreign secretary by Lord Castlereagh), to form a ministry from both parties, on the principle of mutual concession; but irreconcilable subjects of difference (of which Catholic Emancipation was one of the principal) were soon discovered to exist, and the project of coalition fell to the ground.

553. A dreadful and unexpected event, however, soon after gave rise to a renewal of the negotiation. This was the assassination of Mr Perceval, who was shot dead in the lobby of the House of Commons (May 11), by a man named Bellingham, in revenge

for the neglect of an application for indemnity for severe losses sustained in Russia. He was tried, condemned, and executed on the 18th, in spite of an attempt to prove him insane. A vote of £50,000 to the family of the deceased minister, and of an annuity of £2000 to his widow, unanimously passed the Commons; and a monument was erected to him in Westminster Abbey. But, notwithstanding the removal of this uncompromising opponent, the Whigs still found insuperable difficulties in the way of their accession to office; and the Prince-Regent at last, irritated at what he deemed an unwarrantable attempt to interfere with his choice of his household, broke off the negotiation, and appointed Lord Liverpool (June 8) first lord of the treasury—Lord Castlereagh continuing foreign secretary. And thus, from such inconsiderable causes, was averted a change of ministry which, occurring at the crisis of the war, would probably have changed the destinies of the world. The Whigs, fettered by their continued protestations against the war, must have taken the first opportunity of concluding it; and Wellington would have been withdrawn, with barren laurels, from the Peninsula.

554. It was the good fortune of George IV. to wield the British sceptre during the most glorious period in our annals; yet no monarch ever owed less to his own wisdom or exertions. He mounted the throne at the time when the seed sown by the sagacity and valour of preceding statesmen and warriors was beginning to come to maturity; and thus he reaped the harvest prepared by others. Yet his talents were of no ordinary kind; and he is entitled to the credit of having, in no small degree, kept together the discordant elements of the Grand Alliance, amidst the occasional disasters and frequent jealousies of the last years of the war. Similar to the good fortune of his royal master was that of Lord Liverpool, who, called to the helm at a crisis of unexampled difficulty, was, almost from that moment, borne forward on an uninterrupted flood of success; so that, though far inferior in capacity to most of those who had preceded him, he surpassed them all in the felicity of his career. His talents, however, were still such as entitle him to a respectable rank in the second class

of statesmen; the efforts of Wellington and Castlereagh were admirably seconded by his prudence, temper, and judgment, as well as by the skilful use which he made of the unexampled resources placed at his disposal by the spirit of the nation.

555. The year 1811 was marked by the occurrence of alarming disturbances, arising from the distress in the manufacturing districts. Various causes had combined to produce this effect; the vast improvements of Arkwright in machinery, which greatly lessened the demand for labour; the closing of the Baltic ports against British produce; the deficiency of the harvests of 1810 and 1811; and, above all, the American Non-intercourse Act of Feb. 1809, whereby the United States, irritated at the unbounded vexations to which they were exposed by the operation of the French decrees and the British Orders in Council, broke off all trade with both France and Britain, thus closing a market which took off £13,000,000 annually of British manufactures. So overwhelming were these embarrassments that, notwithstanding a loan of six millions advanced by government (Feb. 1811) to uphold commercial credit, a wide-spread conspiracy was formed among the starving operatives for the destruction of the obnoxious machinery, to which they attributed their calamities. The *Luddites* (as they were called, from the name of an imaginary leader) at length carried their outrages so far that the offence was made capital, and no fewer than seventeen men were executed for frame-breaking at one time at York. This dreadful but necessary example stopped the evil; and before the end of the year all disposition to these excesses died away, under the impulse given to manufacturing industry by the peace with Russia, and consequent opening of the Baltic harbours.

556. Three great subjects of internal debate, during 1811 and 1812, occupied the parliament and the nation: these were the currency question, the repeal of the Orders in Council, and the prosecution of the Peninsular war. The suspension of cash payments by the Bank, first adopted by Mr Pitt in February 1797, had been prolonged from time to time, till it was at last enacted that the restriction should continue till six months after

a general peace. Meanwhile the issues of Bank paper had increased from £11,000,000 in 1797, to £21,000,000 in 1810. Gold and silver, from the immense drain occasioned by the foreign subsidies, and the expenses of the Peninsular war (the money for which was necessarily remitted in specie or bullion), had almost disappeared from circulation; and this state of things, occurring simultaneously with a vast increase of foreign trade and domestic industry, was a phenomenon so extraordinary that a committee, comprising many of the ablest men on both sides in Parliament, was appointed (Feb. 1810) to report on it. The *Bullion Report* (as the resolutions agreed to by the majority were called) was presented to the House in May; and the debate which ensued was one of the most important, and the most ably conducted on both sides, in the modern history of Britain. Mr Horner, the chairman of the committee, ably supported by Mr Huskisson, and on most points by Mr Canning, urged the absolute necessity of returning to cash payments, and suggested two years from that date as the time of their resumption; while counter-resolutions were moved by Mr Vansittart, and supported by the whole ministerial party, deprecating the proposed reaction as fraught with ruin to the national credit and solvency, if carried into effect when the country was in the eighteenth year of a costly war, waged for its very existence. These latter propositions eventually triumphed (May 13) by a majority of 40.

557. The repeal of the Orders in Council, which was earnestly pressed both by the Opposition and the manufacturers, afforded another fertile subject of discussion during 1811-12; and these debates are further memorable as the occasion on which a statesman, reserved for the highest destinies in future days—Henry Brougham—first rose to distinguished eminence. Between these Orders on the one hand, and the French decrees on the other, the trade of neutrals was wellnigh destroyed; and the Americans, on whom, as the only great neutral carriers, the weight of these penalties principally fell, felt themselves so deeply aggrieved, that they determined on breaking off all communication with both

of the belligerents. A Non-intercourse Act was accordingly passed (Feb. 6, 1809), prohibiting all intercourse between the United States and either France or Britain. Various abortive diplomatic efforts were made to restore a good understanding; and the British envoy, Mr Erskine, at one time went so far (April 1809) as to promise a withdrawal of the Orders in Council if the Non-intercourse Act were repealed; but as he had exceeded his powers in this point, the government at home refused its ratification, thereby awakening a storm of indignation in America at what was considered the duplicity of the British. The Non-intercourse Act, therefore, continued in force during the whole of 1810 and 1811; and such was the distress which the consequent cessation of all exports to the United States occasioned in the manufacturing districts, that petitions were presented from all quarters against the Orders in Council; and little resistance was opposed by the government to the arguments advanced, with uncommon ability, by Mr Brougham, Mr Baring, and Mr Ponsonby. A fortnight after the debate, which ended without a division, the Orders in Council were revoked (June 23), conditionally on the Americans recalling their acts against British commerce. But this concession came too late: the democratic party was in the ascendant in America, and war had been declared before the conciliatory act of the British government had crossed the Atlantic.

558. The prosecution of the Peninsular war was the last of the momentous subjects which occupied parliament during 1810-11. But both houses, by large majorities, supported the ministers in their determination to continue the war, and ample supplies were voted in 1811 for its prosecution.

559. To this period also belongs an attempt in April 1810, which was frustrated by the extravagant demands of Napoleon, to procure an equitable exchange of prisoners, who had accumulated on both sides to an unprecedented extent—not fewer than 50,000 French being in the hands of the British; while Napoleon had nearly as many—10,000 of whom were British, the remainder being Spaniards and Portuguese.

II. *Maritime War, and Campaign of* 1809 *in Portugal and Spain.*

560. Though the military power of France and Britain had never been brought fairly into collision during the war, and though the government and the nation were almost inconceivably ignorant of the principles of land warfare, the military spirit of Britain had been raised, by the universal arming of all classes, to a height of which the Continental nations were wholly unaware; and both soldiers and citizens were fully penetrated with the recollection of their ancient victories, and the conviction of their natural superiority to the French. The fidelity, moreover, with which the national engagements were adhered to, was nobly exemplified in the refusal to entertain the proposals of peace made by Alexander and Napoleon (Oct. 12, 1808) from Erfurth, unless the existing government of Spain were admitted as a party—and this at a time when the Spanish war was little more than a tumultuary insurrection. A treaty, offensive and defensive, was soon after (Jan. 14, 1809) concluded with Spain, though her armies were utterly routed and dispersed, her capital taken, and more than half her territory in the hands of the enemy; and a treaty had been signed (Feb. 8, 1808) for supporting and subsidising Sweden against Russia, which was confirmed and extended by a new convention a year later. Peace was also signed (Jan. 5, 1809) with the Porte, where the knowledge of the secret articles of Tilsit had completely overthrown French influence; and the extensive sea-coast of the Ottoman empire became, during the remainder of the war, a vast inlet for British manufactures and colonial produce, which thence penetrated up the Danube through Austria and Germany.

561. But praiseworthy as was the constancy of the British government at this crisis, the defeats of the Spaniards, the fall of Madrid, and the calamitous retreat of Sir John Moore, had filled the public mind with desponding anticipations. Nevertheless, the government resolved to continue their support to the Spanish war. The land forces for the year were 210,000 men, besides

60,000 militia; the navy, manned by 130,000 seamen, numbered no less than 1061 vessels of all sizes: of 242 line-of-battle ships, 113 were actually at sea—the highest point reached by the navy during the war, and to which the world had never seen, and perhaps never will see, a parallel.

562. The first success which revived the hopes of the British, after the disasters in Spain, was in consequence of the escape from Brest of a squadron of 8 sail of the line and 2 frigates, under Admiral Villaumez, which effected its junction, in Basque Roads, with another force of 3 ships and 5 frigates. They were immediately blockaded by 11 sail of the line under Lord Gambier; and as the strength of the French position under the batteries of Isle d'Aix and Oleron, and surrounded by shoals, made a regular action hazardous, an attack was resolved on by fire-ships, and was executed with such courage and skill on the night of the 11th April, by Lord Cochrane, that the whole French fleet slipped their cables in dismay and ran on shore. The whole, as the French themselves confess, might have been taken or destroyed if Lord Cochrane had been properly supported; but Lord Gambier hesitated to entangle his fleet among the shoals; and though Lord Cochrane, with a single frigate and some small craft, succeeded in burning five ships and a frigate, the rest were got afloat and warped into the Charente. Public indignation was loud against Lord Gambier; but after a protracted trial by court-martial, he was not only acquitted of misconduct, but received, as well as Lord Cochrane, the thanks of both houses of parliament.

563. The victory in Basque Roads, however, led to the capture of the French West India islands, which it had been the object of the ill-fated sortie of the Brest squadron to relieve. Martinique yielded in February to an expedition from Jamaica; the fortress of St Domingo was taken in July, by General Carmichael; and the French flag was thus wholly excluded from the West Indian sea. The African settlement of Senegal was also captured; and the Isle of Bourbon, in the Indian Ocean, surrendered (Sept. 21). In the Mediterranean, meanwhile, an Anglo-Sicilian force

of 15,000 men, sent in June, under Sir John Stuart, to the coast of Naples, failed in gaining any durable advantage; but the seven Ionian Isles were reduced in October by Lord Collingwood—a conquest the importance of which was not adequately perceived at the time; and on the 30th of the same month, a large French flotilla was burnt or destroyed in the Bay of Rosas, by the boats of the squadron under the same gallant commander. But these brilliant operations had no decisive effect—the naval contest had been decided at Trafalgar. It was on land that the struggle now lay; it was on the soldiers of Wellington that the eyes of the world were turned.

564. After the retreat to Corunna, there remained in the Peninsula about 8000 British, under Cradock, chiefly in and about Lisbon, who were raised to 14,000 at the end of February, by the arrival of reinforcements: the Portuguese troops were not more than 9000. Affairs in Spain were still more unpromising. Blake had only 8000 or 9000 ragged and half-starved troops in the Galician mountains; Castanos, who had been reinforced from Andalusia, had 25,000 at Toledo; and 10,000 more were at Badajos. The Aragonese and Catalonians were fully occupied within their own bounds; and altogether there were not more than 120,000 men scattered all over the Peninsula, to resist a French force amounting, even after the departure of the guards for Germany, to 280,000 infantry and 40,000 cavalry. But the spirits of the Spaniards were revived by the assurances of continued support from Britain, and by the alliance just concluded with that power. General Beresford, appointed a marshal in the Portuguese service, had raised 20,000 new levies, to be taken into British pay; and further encouraged by the landing of Sir Arthur Wellesley with fresh troops at Lisbon, the Central Junta, now established at Seville, issued an animated proclamation, declaring their resolution to maintain the contest to the utmost.

565. The first place of note attacked by the French was Saragossa, before which 50,000 French, under Moncey and Mortier, appeared (Dec. 20, 1808). After the battle of Tudela, Palafox had retired

thither with 15,000 soldiers; and the number of defenders was raised to 50,000 by the multitude of stragglers and armed peasants who flocked in, bringing with them, unhappily, the seeds of a contagious malady. The defences had been considerably strengthened since the former siege: but the walls were soon levelled by the French cannon; and on 27th January an assault was ordered by Lannes,* who, as well as Junot, had arrived to aid in the conduct of the siege. The strong convents of the Capuchins and of Sta Engracia, on the ramparts, were stormed after a desperate struggle, and the convents of St Augustin and Sta Monica (Feb. 2) shared the same fate. But now began a dreadful war from house to house, while the French had recourse to mining and blowing up the edifices so dauntlessly defended; and for three weeks did this murderous strife continue, without intermission night or day. The suburb on the left bank of the Ebro was at length (Feb. 18) carried by assault; and Ric, second in command to Palafox (who was himself disabled by fever), capitulated on the 20th. Never had such a spectacle been seen as the town exhibited when entered by the French: 6000 corpses lay unburied in the streets among the ruins, and 16,000 sick filled the cellars, the only places which could protect them from the shot and shells of the enemy. The French had 3000 killed and 12,000 wounded during the siege. The capitulation, however, was but ill observed by the victors: the church of Our Lady of the Pillar, one of the richest in Spain, was rifled by Lannes of all its jewels, to the enormous amount of £184,000; and several of the monks and clergy, who had taken an active part in the defence, were put to death in cold blood by his orders. The fall of Saragossa drew after it the submission of Aragon: Jaca, Benasque, and other strongholds, surrendered without resistance; and by the end of March the reduction of the province was complete.

566. A sanguinary warfare was meanwhile going on in Catalonia, the subjugation of which had been intrusted to St Cyr, with an army of 30,000 men. His first operations were against

* Lannes had not yet been called to Germany, where, in the summer of this year, he was killed at Aspern, as already narrated.

Rosas, which capitulated (Dec. 4, 1808) after a siege of a month, the defence having been prolonged by the presence and example of Lord Cochrane, who lay with a frigate in the harbour; and the marshal then moved to the relief of Barcelona, where Duhesme was still shut up with 8000 men. A motley force of 14,000 men, under Vivas and Reding, was totally routed in half an hour (Dec. 16), at Cardaden; Barcelona was relieved; and on the 21st, the Spaniards sustained a decisive overthrow near Molinos del Rey, in which all their stores, including 30,000 English muskets, fell into the hands of the French. Not yet dismayed, however, the gallant Reding once more collected his scattered followers, in the hope of relieving Saragossa; but at Igualada (Feb. 17) he was again defeated, receiving a mortal wound in the action. This decisive victory terminated the regular war in Catalonia; and St Cyr, retiring to Vich, commenced preparations for the siege of Gerona. The undertaking was for some time delayed by the discord of St Cyr and Verdier; but in the beginning of May they appeared before the town, and on the 1st of June the investment was completed. But the prowess of the Spaniards nowhere appeared to greater advantage than in the defence of their walled towns: it was not till 12th August, after thirty-seven days of open trenches, and two unsuccessful assaults, that the French possessed themselves of the fort of Monjuich, which commands the town: yet the gallant governor, Alvarez, still held out, and the safe arrival of a convoy sent by Blake reanimated the spirit of the garrison. The grand assault of the lower town was given (Sept. 17); but the French were repulsed from the breach with the loss of 1600 men; and St Cyr, despairing of carrying the place by force, converted the siege into a blockade. The capture of three successive convoys, sent by Blake for their relief, reduced the besieged at last to extremity; famine and pestilence devastated the city; but it was not till the inhabitants were reduced to the necessity of eating *hair* that the place was yielded (Dec. 12) to Augereau, who had superseded St Cyr in the command. A more memorable resistance is not

on record; but the heroic Alvarez, to the eternal disgrace of Augereau, was immured in a dungeon at Figueras, where he soon afterwards died.

567. Junot, in the mean time, had been taken ill, and was succeeded in the command in Aragon by Suchet, a young general whose talents and success gave him a brilliant career in the later years of the empire. His first essay, however, was unfortunate; for the indefatigable Blake, encouraged by the retreat of St Cyr towards the Pyrenees, had again advanced with 12,000 men; and an action ensued (May 23) at Alcaniz, in which the French, seized with a panic, fled in confusion from the field. This unwonted success emboldened Blake to approach Saragossa; but the discipline and manœuvres of the French asserted their wonted superiority in the plains; the Spaniards were routed close to Saragossa (June 16), and more decisively at Belchite the next day. The army of Blake was entirely dispersed; and all regular resistance ceased in Aragon, as it had done in Catalonia, after the fall of Gerona.

568. In Asturias and Galicia, 6000 or 8000 half-starved troops, under Romana, without cannon, stores, or resources, were all that upheld the standard of independence; and Napoleon, apprehending no danger in this quarter, sent orders to Soult to invade Portugal from the north with 25,000 men, while Victor, with 30,000 more, was to co-operate from the side of Estremadura. Soult broke up from Vigo accordingly early in February; but his progress was arrested on the banks of the Minho, then swoln into a raging torrent, by the firm countenance of the Portuguese militia; and he was at last obliged to make a painful circuit by the bridge of Orense. It was not till the 17th March that he advanced from Chaves, where he established his hospitals and depots; and on the 20th he encountered and routed with great slaughter, near Braga, 22,000 Portuguese, only 2000 of whom, however, were soldiers, the remainder being a confused and furious rabble, who had murdered their general, Freire, on an unfounded suspicion of treachery. No force now remained to impede his progress to Oporto: but on his appearance before

that city (March 29), he was opposed by a tumultuous body of 25,000 men, animated by unbounded hatred to the French, but without discipline or organisation. The victory was easy, but sullied by savage cruelty: 4000 of the fugitives were slaughtered by the cavalry on the banks of the Douro, or perished in the river; in the city itself, 8000 were massacred, and all the horrors of an assault were carried to the utmost by the ruthless victors.

569. Ney, during these operations in Portugal, was waging a harassing and desultory warfare, from March to May, against the undaunted mountaineers in Galicia and Asturias, among whom Romana still wandered with a few thousand followers, cutting off insulated detachments, and animating the guerilla resistance of the people. Hard pressed in all directions, Romana at last gave Ney the slip, by setting sail from Gijon in Asturias, and landing in North Galicia, whither Ney was following him, when, as will be afterwards mentioned, he met Soult (May 29) at Lugo, retreating after his defeat by the British in Portugal.

570. It now only remains to notice the state of affairs in Estremadura and New Castile; in which latter province the Duke del Infantado had assembled 20,000 men after the fall of Madrid. But so little were the Spanish generals aware of the inferiority of their troops to the French, that no sooner had he heard of the march of Napoleon and Ney against Sir John Moore, than he advanced in the hope of retaking Madrid! and was most disastrously defeated by Victor (Jan. 13) at Ucles: 1500 were slain on the spot; 9000 taken, with all their stores and artillery. The clergy and inhabitants of Ucles were massacred by the victors, with circumstances of ferocious cruelty which recalled the Reign of Terror; and great numbers of the prisoners were murdered in cold blood. The soldiers who escaped rallied, however, in the Sierra Morena, under Cartaojal and the Duke d'Albuquerque, who ventured, at the end of March, on a movement towards Toledo, only to be routed in half an hour by Sebastiani (March 27), near Ciudad Real, with the loss of 4000 men. Even more signal was the overthrow sustained in Estremadura by Cuesta, who was assailed by Victor (March 28) at the bridge of Medellin on the Guadiana.

The loss of the Spaniards in killed, wounded, and prisoners, exceeded 10,000 men; and Cuesta, with only a few horsemen, escaped with difficulty into the recesses of the Sierra Morena.

571. While defeat and disaster thus everywhere attended the Spanish armies, Soult lay inactive in Oporto; and the Galicians, again taking up arms, availed themselves of his absence to blockade and take Vigo, with the military chest and a garrison of 1300 men. Chaves, with its magazines and sick, fell, about the same time, into the hands of the Portuguese under Silviera. Soult was, in fact, doubly embarrassed at this juncture, having himself set on foot an intrigue for assuming the crown of Portugal; while many of his officers were organising a conspiracy for the overthrow of Napoleon and his marshals, and the restoration of republicanism in France. Both these schemes became known to Napoleon, who had the wisdom and magnanimity to overlook them; and secret overtures in reference to the latter were made to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had landed at Lisbon (April 22)—an important epoch, from which the annals of the Peninsula, instead of a confused and involved narrative of separate operations, begin to present a connected and consecutive stream of events.

572. Operations against Soult having been resolved on in the first instance, Wellesley himself, with 15,000 foot and 1600 horse, moved direct from Coimbra on Oporto; while Beresford, with 6000 foot and 1000 horse, marched by Visen and Lamego towards the Upper Douro. The advanced posts met on the 11th of May; but the French, rapidly retreating, crossed the Douro, and burned the bridge of boats. A few skiffs, however, were fortunately discovered on the morning of the 12th, and about 100 of the Buffs were ferried over, who, protected in some measure by the British artillery, held their ground with invincible obstinacy till the passage of the rest of the army forced the French to a hasty retreat, abandoning their sick and great part of their stores; and so complete was the surprise, that Wellesley sat down to the dinner prepared for Soult. The French, meanwhile, fell back towards the bridge of Amarante on the Tamega, the only line of retreat

practicable for artillery; but it was already in the hands of Beresford, and Soult's situation appeared desperate. Relinquishing, however, his artillery, ammunition, and baggage, he made his way, by almost impracticable hill-roads, to Montalegre, burning and ravaging all the country on his route, till he at length joined Ney at Lugo, as previously mentioned, "in much worse condition" (says Jomini) "than that of General Moore six months before."

573. After this brilliant opening of the campaign, Wellesley returned to Oporto, where he was detained above a month by the want of money, and not less by the necessity of enforcing order among his troops, whose conduct to the natives (as he himself said) was "worse than that of an enemy." At length (June 27) he marched from Abrantes for the Spanish frontier, with 22,000 men, including 3000 horse; and effected his junction at Oropesa (July 20) with Cuesta, who had 32,000 foot, 6000 horse, and 46 guns. Venegas, at the same time, moved from the south, with 26,000 men towards Toledo; and Joseph, alarmed at the convergence of so considerable forces towards Madrid, summoned his detachments from all quarters, and appeared in front of the enemy (July 24) at Talavera de la Reyna.

574. The right of the Allied position, secured in flank by the Tagus, was held by the dense but disorderly array of the Spaniards, who occupied the town, with the olive woods and enclosures beyond it; while the British were drawn up on the open and rugged ground to the left, whence a rivulet ran along the front of the whole position. The battle commenced on the afternoon of the 27th, by an attack of Victor on the British outposts, which were driven back in disorder by the violence of the onset; and Victor, encouraged by this partial success, hazarded at nightfall an attack on the British left. The firmness of Hill's division, however, repulsed the assailants with the loss of 800 men; on the renewal of the battle the next morning the assault was repeated in the same quarter with the same ill success, and Joseph at length ordered a general charge of the whole line. But now were apparent the disadvantages of the attack in column

against a steady opponent: torn by a rolling fire on each flank, and charged with the bayonet by Campbell's division, the French were repulsed with the loss of ten of their guns; while Ruffin and Villatte were once more foiled in an attack on the left, though some of the British cavalry, pressing the pursuit too far, were severely handled by the Polish lancers. The centre, meanwhile, where the Guards and German Legion were posted, was galled by the fire of 50 heavy cannon, under cover of which the division of Lapisse rushed up the hill with shouts of victory. But the assailants were bravely met and hurled back by the Guards: and though these gallant troops, while disordered by success, were in turn charged and broken by the French reserve, the advance of the 48th restored the battle; and the French, beaten at all points, drew off in good order across the Alberche. Seventeen guns remained with the British as trophies of the victory, which cost the French nearly 9000 men: the loss of the British was 6268; that of the Spaniards, who took hardly any share in the battle, very trifling. Such was the glorious battle of Talavera, "which at once" (says Jomini) "restored the reputation of the British army, and proved that the British infantry could dispute the palm with the best in Europe."

575. But as Wellesley was preparing to follow up his victory by an advance on Madrid, he received (Aug. 2) the unexpected intelligence, that the combined forces of Soult, Mortier, and Ney, to the number of 34,000, having evacuated Galicia and Asturias in pursuance of orders from Joseph, had already reached Placentia, directly in his rear. He accordingly moved against this new enemy, leaving his wounded at Talavera, in charge of Cuesta; but Cuesta speedily abandoned the town, leaving the wounded to their fate; and Wellesley, in the apprehension of being attacked in front and rear by two armies, each superior to his own, crossed to Deleitosa on the south of the Tagus (Aug. 7), destroying the bridges. The French generals, however, satisfied with having saved Madrid, again separated their forces, and thus lost the most favourable opportunity which ever occurred of crushing the British power in the Peninsula.

576 During these operations, Venegas had advanced as far as Aranjuez, and was besieging Toledo; but the retreat of the British having set the French armies at liberty, he was attacked and defeated after a sharp action at Almonacid (Aug. 11) by Dessoles and Sebastiani; and Sir Robert Wilson, who had approached Madrid with 6000 Spaniards and Portuguese, was encountered and driven back by Ney (Aug. 8) at Puerto de Baños. The British at length, after lying a month at Deleitosa, were compelled, by the scandalous failure of the Spanish authorities to furnish them with supplies or provisions, to cross the mountains and fix their headquarters at Badajos, after an angry correspondence between Wellesley and Cuesta, who soon after was removed from his command. A gleam of success at Tamanes, where Marchand was routed with loss (Oct. 24) by Romana's army under the Duke del Parque, encouraged the Spaniards to make another effort for the recovery of Madrid; and an army of 50,000 men, including 7000 horse and 60 pieces of cannon, advanced for this purpose from the Sierra Morena, under General Areizaga. The battle was fought (Nov. 12) at Ocana, near Aranjuez; but though the Spaniards behaved with considerable spirit, the miserable incapacity of their commander counterbalanced all their efforts, and an unparalleled rout was the result. Pursued over the wide plains of Castile by the French cavalry, 20,000 prisoners were taken, with all the guns and stores: the wreck was complete and irretrievable; and the defeat of the Duke del Parque (Nov. 25) at Alba de Tormes, dispersed the last force which could be called a Spanish army. It was evident from these events that Portugal was the only basis from which the deliverance of the Peninsula could be effected; and Wellesley, after conferring with the junta at Seville, withdrew his troops northwards, early in December, from the valley of the Guadiana, where they had suffered dreadfully from fever, and quartered them on the banks of the Agueda, between Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, commencing at the same time those formidable lines of Torres Vedras, the importance of which was subsequently so amply demonstrated.

577. In this campaign of 1809, Great Britain first appeared in the field on a scale adequate to her mighty strength, though her success was not yet equal to the magnitude of her exertions. With a fleet of near 1100 vessels, including 240 of the line, she blockaded every hostile harbour in Europe, and still had 37 ships of the line to strike a blow at the Scheldt. With 100,000 regular troops she maintained her immense colonial empire: with 191,000 more she kept in subjection her 70,000,000 of Indian subjects: with 400,000 regular and local militia, she guarded the British Isles: and with yet another 100,000 disposable troops she carried on the war on the Continent, and menaced at once Antwerp, Madrid, and Naples.

III. *Napoleon divorces Josephine, and marries Maria-Louisa—Campaign of Torres-Vedras.*

578. The battle of Wagram, and the peace of Vienna, had placed Napoleon on the highest pinnacle of present greatness and power. Russia, Prussia, and Austria had been successively vanquished; the Spanish contest seemed hopeless; and if Britain still continued the maritime war, her barren sovereignty of the seas was purchased only by the sacrifice of all the objects for which the dominion of the earth had ever been coveted. Yet all the glories, all the achievements of Napoleon, but inadequately compensated for the want of historic descent and ancestral recollections; the rapid fall of almost all dynasties founded on individual greatness, recurred even to superficial observers; and the Emperor himself was too clear-sighted not to perceive, that the policy of his own government, by reviving the sway of old feelings in the breasts of the people, in regard to the throne, might react in a manner dangerous to his own line. In order to supply this deficiency, he had long meditated divorcing Josephine, and marrying a princess who might give him hopes of an heir; and though, from the genuine affection which he felt for the partner of his youth, he suffered severely from the prospect of this separation, these emotions were with him always subor-

dinate to considerations of public necessity or reasons of state policy.

579. It was at Fontainebleau, in November 1809, after the return of Napoleon from Wagram, that this cruel resolution was made known to Josephine. Her grief was at first heartrending: but by degrees she was convinced of the necessity of the sacrifice; and on the 15th December the Emperor and Empress, in language suitable to the dignity of the occasion, announced their intended separation to the Imperial family and the great officers of state. The marriage was the same day dissolved by an act of the Senate: the jointure of Josephine (who retained the title of Empress) being fixed at £80,000 a-year, and Malmaison assigned as her residence. Proposals had already been made simultaneously to the courts of St Petersburg and Vienna; but as difficulties and delays were started by the Empress-mother of Russia, an alliance with Austria was definitively fixed upon. So rapidly were the preliminaries arranged, that the marriage-contract between Napoleon and the Archduchess Maria-Louisa was signed on the 15th February; and the marriage was celebrated by proxy at Vienna on the 11th of March.

580. On the following day the youthful Empress set out for Paris, and was met at Compiègne (March 28) by Napoleon; who, breaking through all the previously arranged etiquettes, introduced himself at once to his wife. The formal marriage was celebrated on 1st April, with extraordinary pomp, at St Cloud: four queens held the train of Maria-Louisa—all the splendour of riches, all the brilliancy of arms, was exhausted to give magnificence to the scene. The innocence and simplicity of his new consort, whose character, though utterly without any lofty impress, was amiable and prepossessing in the highest degree, speedily won the affection of the Emperor, whose warm regard she retained to the last hour of his life; though his esteem for Josephine at the same time knew no diminution: and he often visited and consulted her in her retirement. In the company of his young bride he visited the Low Countries, where he inspected the immense works in progress at Antwerp, and

directed the reparation of the damages done by the British at Flushing.

581. A deplorable accident occurred soon after their return to Paris, which brought to mind the equally sinister augury which had marked the nuptials of her aunt Marie-Antoinette. At a grand ball given (July 6) by the Austrian ambassador Prince Schwartzenberg, a temporary room fitted up for the occasion took fire; many persons were injured by the flames and the falling beams; and the Princess Pauline of Schwartzenberg, sister-in-law of the ambassador, perished in the burning pile. This frightful incident occasioned a deep sensation, and was regarded as an evil omen for the young Empress. But the pique of the Emperor Alexander, who considered that the negotiation for the hand of his sister had been too abruptly broken off, was of more serious import; and the coldness between the two courts soon became apparent.

582. This period was rendered remarkable by the disgrace of Fouché, in consequence of an unauthorised negotiation which he opened, through the capitalist Ouvrard, with the Marquis Wellesley, to whom Napoleon had at the same time caused private overtures to be made through a different channel, for a general peace. "So!" said the Emperor on detecting this intrigue, "you assume to make peace and war without my knowledge: your head ought to fall on the scaffold." His punishment, however, was finally limited to dismissal from office; and he was allowed to live in retirement at Aix in Provence, till Napoleon was at last obliged once more to have recourse to him.

583. An important result of the journey of Napoleon to the Low Countries was the resignation of the Dutch throne by Louis, with whom the Emperor had long been dissatisfied for his reluctant and imperfect execution of the decrees against British trade, particularly during the Walcheren expedition, when an enormous importation had taken place. Louis was first compelled (March 16) to cede to France the whole left bank of the Rhine, including Walcheren, South Beveland, Cadsand, &c. But the menaces of Napoleon still continued; and at last, threatened with an armed

intervention, he fled (July 10) to Toplitz in Bohemia: and on the 9th of the same month, Holland was formally incorporated with France. This rupture in his own family gave great pain to Napoleon; but it was soon followed by an event which still more deeply affected him. His brother Lucien, whose sturdy republicanism, and refusal to divorce his wife (an American lady) for a more exalted match, had for some years caused a coldness between them, had fixed his residence in Rome; but on the union of that city to France, he determined to take refuge in America. He was captured, however, by a British frigate: and being allowed to reside on parole in the British dominions, took up his abode near Worcester, where he lived in affluent retirement, engrossed with literary pursuits, till the end of the war.

584. The retreat from Talavera, and the balanced success of the preceding campaign, produced an extraordinary degree of despondency in the British public, at this seemingly unprofitable waste of British gallantry: and this feeling, sedulously fomented by the Opposition, rose so high that when, on the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo in 1811, parliament granted an annuity of £2000 on Wellesley (now created Lord Wellington), the Common Council of London not merely petitioned against the annuity, but even prayed the king for an inquiry into his conduct! Both the abilities of the general, and the policy of continuing the war in Spain, became the subject of repeated and violent philippics from the Whig leaders: and these speeches, though they failed in shaking the resolution of the government, were ostentatiously quoted in the *Moniteur* by order of Napoleon, who trusted to these party declamations as an index to the real feelings of Great Britain, and was consequently led to believe that either the nation would compel the government to abandon the struggle, or that the strength of Britain must speedily be worn out by the distress resulting from its long duration.

585. The Austrian alliance having now secured Napoleon on the side of Germany, he deemed it high time to complete the subjugation of the Peninsula. A great part of the army engaged in the Wagram campaign, to the number of 120,000, was accordingly

sent across the Pyrenees, thus raising the total effective French force in Spain to no less than 366,000 men; but this immense force (on the Emperor's principle of making war support war) was almost entirely maintained by requisitions from the Spanish provinces, the resources of which were so thoroughly exhausted that Joseph had nothing to depend upon but the tolls collected at the gates of Madrid. Early in January 1811, 65,000 men, under King Joseph, Soult, and Mortier, were collected on the north of the Sierra Morena: and the passes of Despino-perros and Puerto del Rey forced, almost without resistance, on the 21st and 22d of that month.

586. The Spanish troops, still stunned by the catastrophe of Ocana, everywhere gave way at the approach of the invaders: Granada and Cordova quietly submitted to different French corps; at Malaga alone a slight and ineffectual defence was attempted; and on 1st February, Joseph entered Seville in triumph. Cadiz, the last refuge of the Central Junta and of Spanish independence, was only saved from the same fate by the vigour of the Duke d'Albuquerque (Cuesta's successor), who by an extraordinary forced march reached the city (Feb. 3) with 8000 men, just as the outposts of Victor appeared on the other side: and by breaking the bridges between the Isla de Leon and the mainland, secured the place for the time. The arrival (Feb. 23) of 5000 British and Portuguese troops raised the garrison to near 20,000; the British fleet lay in the bay; and the government at Cadiz, thus fortified, continued to present an undaunted front to the enemy.

587. Suchet, at the same time, experienced a check before Valencia, having advanced up to the walls of the city (March 3) without heavy guns, in the expectation of its being betrayed to him: but the plot was detected, and he suffered severely in his retreat to Saragossa from the attacks of the guerillas. Campoverde and O'Donnell, meanwhile, kept the field in Catalonia against Augereau: Hostalrich, however, after a long blockade, fell into the hands of the French on 12th May; and Lerida surrendered on the 14th to Suchet, who also made himself master, after a siege

of three weeks, of the almost inaccessible castle of Mequinenza on the Ebro. But the French detachments, injudiciously dispersed over the country, continued to be cut up in detail by O'Donnell and the guerillas; and the incapacity of Augereau for separate command became at last so obvious, that Napoleon recalled him from Spain, and gave the supreme command in Catalonia to Macdonald.

588. The short campaign of Talavera had fully convinced Wellington that no reliance could be placed on the co-operation of the Spanish armies in the field; and he therefore sedulously employed himself, during the winter, in disciplining and equipping the Portuguese levies, and completing the vast fortifications commenced during the autumn at Torres-Vedras. But the difficulties of his military position were far from being all with which the British general had to contend. Neither Mr Perceval nor Lord Liverpool, now secretary at war, possessed that self-confidence in their own judgment, in warlike matters, necessary to insure their affording him adequate support: the unfortunate issue of all their enterprises, and particularly of the Walcheren expedition, had materially diminished their popularity; and they distinctly stated that they threw upon him the entire responsibility of the continuance of the British troops in Portugal. The weakness, imbecility, and corruption of the Portuguese regency afforded him even less prospect of efficient assistance: yet under all these discouraging circumstances, Wellington did not for a moment swerve from the plan which he had formed, and on the success of which he risked at once his popularity, military renown, and chances of glory.

589. The forces which Napoleon was preparing for the subjugation of Portugal were immense. The three corps of Reynier, Ney, and Junot, in all 86,000 men, were placed under the command-in-chief of Massena; 22,000 more under Drouet formed a reserve at Valladolid; and 15,000 under Serras covered the right of the army towards Galicia. Wellington, on the other hand, had at the utmost not more than 25,000 British and 30,000 Portuguese regular troops; and, after making the necessary detachments,

only 32,000 remained under his own command on the frontier, while 13,000 under Hill guarded the valley of the Tagus: there were, moreover, about 30,000 Portuguese militia, who could be relied on only for partisan warfare. The first operation of massena, who joined the army on 1st June, was the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, which was most gallantly defended: but Wellington, though lying in the immediate vicinity, ventured not to risk his inexperienced army in a battle with a veteran force of twice its number, and this important fortress was compelled to surrender (July 11). Almeida was next invested (July 25), after a spirited skirmish on the preceding day with the British rearguard under Craufurd, at the bridge of the Coa. The French batteries opened their fire on 26th August; but the explosion of the great powder magazine on the same evening deprived the garrison of the means of defence; and the place was yielded the next day to the French.

590. Wellington now retreated down the valley of the Mondego, followed on the north bank by Massena. But this retrograde movement, with the crowds of fugitives who flocked into Lisbon, struck consternation into the capital; and Wellington, who had been joined (Sept. 21) by Hill, feeling the necessity of striking a blow to support their drooping spirits, halted his whole army, about 50,000 men, on the summit of the ridge of Busaco, north of the Mondego, and there awaited the enemy, whose force in the field was 72,000. At daybreak on the 27th, the British position was assailed by the French in overwhelming masses; but their attacks were repulsed with slaughter, throughout the day, by the firmness of the British and Portuguese; and in the evening Massena drew off, with the loss of 1800 killed, and 3000 wounded, while the total loss of the Allies was not above 1300.

591. Wellington expected that this battle would have stopped the advance of Massena; but the orders of Napoleon were peremptory, and the French marshal, defiling to the right, gained the great road from Oporto to Lisbon; while the British, rapidly falling back, and driving the population before them, collected their

whole forces, between the 8th and the 15th of October, within the lines of Torres-Vedras. These famous intrenchments presented three distinct lines of defence, one within the other, of which the first, extending 29 miles from Alhandra on the Tagus to the sea, was fortified by 30 redoubts and 140 guns; the second line, eight miles in the rear, was still stronger; and on the whole defences, not less than 600 cannon were mounted on 150 redoubts. Such was the appalling obstacle which unexpectedly appeared to bar the progress of the French marshal, who had never heard of its existence. For more than a month did Massena watch this impregnable barrier, in the vain hope of starving out the enemy, who were amply supplied by sea; while 15,000 Portuguese militia, gathering round the rear of the French, cut off their communications, and captured 5000 of their sick and wounded at Coimbra. At length, having no alternative but retreat or starvation, Massena broke up from his position (Nov. 14); and for the first time since the accession of Napoleon the French eagles were seen permanently receding.

592. Wellington immediately advanced with 60,000 men in pursuit; but Massena at first retreated only to Santarem, where he took up a strong position at the junction of the Rio Mayor and the Tagus, with the intention of crossing the latter river into the fertile and hitherto untouched province of Alentejo. But Wellington, anticipating the design, detached two divisions across the Tagus under Hill, who watched the banks so closely that Massena, though joined by Drouet, with 10,000 men, found it impossible to pass—till hearing of the arrival (Feb. 2) of strong reinforcements from Britain, he finally broke up from Santarem, retreating by the mountain road towards Almeida.

593. Soult, meanwhile, leaving Victor to conduct the operations against Cadiz, had invaded Estremadura with 20,000 men; captured Olivenza (Jan. 22) after a siege of twelve days; and immediately after laid siege to Badajos. Wellington instantly resolved to despatch Romana (who had recently joined him with two divisions) to the relief of this important fortress; but the sudden death (Jan. 23) of that noble Spaniard left the

command in the incapable hands of Mendizabal, who only led his troops under the walls of Badajos to be surprised and annihilated (Feb. 19) by Soult. The town itself was still strong and well provided, but it was surrendered (March 11) by the treachery of Imaz, who succeeded to the command on the death of the brave governor, Manecho; and Soult, after this short but brilliant campaign, returned in all haste to Andalusia, where his presence was loudly called for. Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded the British and Portuguese troops in Cadiz, encouraged by the absence of Soult, had sailed for Algesiraz in hopes of compelling Victor to raise the siege. But the enterprise was ruined by the misconduct of the Spanish general, la Peña, who took the command-in-chief; and though, in a battle under the heights of Barossa (March 6), the French were routed with the loss of 2300 men, six guns, and an eagle, no farther results could be obtained; and Graham, disgusted with his Spanish allies, re-entered the Isla de Leon a few days before the arrival of Soult.

594. Massena, meanwhile, was conducting with consummate skill the retreat of his army, encumbered as it was with 10,000 sick and an immense artillery, from Santarem to the Spanish frontier. Ney, with a powerful rear-guard, covered the march and kept at bay the pursuing British; and the French arrived at Celorico (March 21) with comparatively little loss. But this retreat, though admirable as an example of military ability, was disgraced by such systematic and deliberate barbarity, as, in the words of Wellington, "has been seldom equalled, and never surpassed." Everywhere the villages, towns, and convents were burned, the peasants massacred, and nothing but ruins and desolation left to mark their route. At Celorico, however, Claparede joined the army with 9000 fresh men, and Massena, in opposition to the opinion of Ney, determined to make a stand; but several partial conflicts with the British, about Guarda and on the Coa, convinced him of the inability of his diminished army to maintain itself in Portugal, and he accordingly fell back across the frontier (April 5) into the

neighbourhood of Salamanca, having lost during the invasion and retreat, by want, sickness, and the sword, not less than 45,000 men.

595. Almeida was immediately invested by Wellington; and Massena, in obedience to peremptory orders from Napoleon, again advanced with 50,000 men to its relief, and engaged Wellington's covering army of 30,000 men (May 4) at Fuentes d'Onore. The British were drawn up on the level summit of a plateau between two deep ravines, accessible only by a neck of land on their right; and against this point the attack of the French was directed. So vehement was their onset that the British were driven back; and Montbrun, with 4000 cuirassiers (covered with the glories of Wagram, and to whom the Allies had only 1200 horse to oppose), instantly taking advantage of the confusion, turned and broke the right wing. Wellington now fell back at right angles to his former position — a perilous movement, but executed by his troops with invincible steadiness in the face of the enemy; and the desperate combat continued without decided advantage till nightfall, when the French drew off. The loss on each side was about 1500; but though the British were certainly more nearly defeated than in any other action in Spain, their object was gained. Finding it impossible to relieve Almeida, Massena sent orders to the governor to blow up the works and evacuate the place, which was done on the night of May 10, though 400 of the garrison were made prisoners in the attempt to escape—and thus the soil of Portugal was cleared of the enemy.

IV. *Proceedings of the Cortes—War in Spain—Reduction of Java.*

596. When the Central Junta, expelled from Seville by the progress of the invaders in January 1810, had sought a precarious refuge in Cadiz, they had passed a decree vesting the power which had fallen from their hands in a regency *ad interim* of six persons (which was proclaimed Jan. 31), and laying down

regulations for the convocation of a national Cortes, which was appointed to meet on 1st March, "if the national defence would permit." But as the whole of Spain, except Galicia, Asturias, and part of Catalonia, was in the hands of the enemy, the deputies for the other provinces, as well as for the marine dependencies of Spain (forming a great majority of the whole), were to be chosen within the walls of Cadiz by electoral juntas of the natives of those regions—a proceeding which threw the elections almost wholly under the influence of the municipal junta of the city, and imparted from the first a democratic character to the body. The revolutionary action in Cadiz, in fact, soon became so violent, that only the presence of 27,000 Allied troops prevented it from breaking out into all the excesses of the French Revolution. The members of the late Central Junta, including the venerable and illustrious Jovellanos, were the first objects of popular frenzy, and most of them were either imprisoned or banished; and, as the elections proceeded, the torrent became irresistible. The three *estamentos*, or chambers, of the nobles, clergy, and commons, each of which (according to the ancient institutions) had a negative on any enactment, were merged in a single chamber; the elective franchise was thrown open to every Spaniard above the age of twenty-five; and, after innumerable delays, the Cortes thus constituted, and thus elected by universal suffrage, met on 24th September.

597. They began, like the French National Assembly in 1789, with religious ceremonies and monarchical forms; but their first resolution was decisive of the character of their proceedings. It ran—"The deputies, representing the Spanish nation, declare themselves legitimately constituted in the general Cortes, *in which is vested the national sovereignty.*" This usurpation of supreme power, which virtually converted the monarchy into a democracy, was followed up by a declaration that they should be addressed by the title of *majesty;* an oath of allegiance to their body was exacted from all the authorities; and the Bishop of Orense, who alone attempted to stem the torrent, withdrew, after a fruitless opposition of several months, to his Galician

diocese. The liberty of the press was decreed (Nov. 10), and a deluge of inflammatory pamphlets and journals immediately appeared; while the language of many members of the Cortes was calculated to stimulate, rather than allay, the popular effervescence. The example of Robespierre and the Jacobins was openly cited, not as a warning, but as a pattern for imitation; and it was with difficulty that the more moderate of the representatives, aided by the Allied commanders, prevented matters from coming to extremities. In two important particulars, however—their rigid adherence to the Roman Catholic faith, and their resolute defiance of the French—the Cortes faithfully represented the Spanish people; and the proclamation which they issued (Jan. 1, 1811), declaring their resolution "never to treat for peace while a French soldier remained in the Peninsula," must ever be held as a memorable instance of constancy, when it is remembered that the bombs from the French batteries were at that moment reaching the nearest houses of Cadiz, and that more than three-fourths of Spain was in the possession of the invaders.

598. During all this time a committee had been busily employed in framing a constitution for the whole monarchy, on a uniform and systematic plan; and, after more than a year's discussion, the important task was completed. On the 19th of March 1812, the Cortes took the oath to the new constitution; and as this famous instrument was the model of the subsequent democratic constitutions of Spain, Portugal, Piedmont, and Naples, its enactments deserve particular attention. Supreme sovereignty was declared to reside in the nation—the Roman Catholic to be the sole established religion—and the supreme legislative power to be vested in the Cortes, which alone raised taxes, levied troops, enacted laws, and appointed judges. The royal prerogative was confined within very narrow limits: the king could neither marry, leave the kingdom, nor make peace and war, without the consent of the Cortes; he nominated the public functionaries, but from a list furnished by the same body; and an act of the legislature, to which he had twice refused his assent, became

valid the third time without his sanction. The Cortes was to sit in a single chamber; the elections took place by three successive steps of parishes, districts, and provinces; and every Spaniard above the age of 25 was qualified, without restriction as to property, either to elect or be elected. The American colonies were to be fully represented in the assembly, which was to be renewed every two years; but no member was capable of re-election for two successive legislatures. Such were the leading provisions of this celebrated constitution, the democratic tendency of which insured it an enthusiastic reception in the great towns; but the country population, whose ancient faith and loyalty were still untainted, viewed it with unqualified hatred, as leaving the king and the church powerless in the hands of the urban populace; and the provinces occupied by the French, which had sent no representatives, loudly complained of being deprived of their rights by an assembly chosen at Cadiz without their concurrence. The pernicious tendency of these democratic measures was from the first clearly perceived by Wellington, whose predictions, though little heeded at the time, have now acquired an extraordinary interest from their exact and melancholy accomplishment; and an attempt was made by the British cabinet (March 1810) to contrive the escape of Ferdinand from Valençay, in order to provide a legitimate head for the government at Cadiz. But the enterprise failed; and the British government, though far from insensible to the dangers of the republicanism which had thus sprung up, as it were, under their very wing, deemed it inexpedient to interfere in any way with the internal affairs of their ally.

599. Meanwhile, Napoleon, in defiance of his guarantee given at Bayonne for the integrity of Spain, had begun to develop his long-entertained project of uniting to France the provinces north of the Ebro; and a decree appeared (Feb. 1810) organising this territory into four military governments, as a preparatory step to its final incorporation. The design of dismemberment, however, was vehemently opposed both by the well-meaning Joseph and his able minister Asanza; and the intrusive king at

length, finding his orders disregarded, and his revenues seized by the French marshals, while his kingdom was oppressed and ruined without its being in any degree in his power to prevent it, set out in disgust for Paris, and laid his resignation (May 1811) at the feet of Napoleon. The Emperor, well aware of the scandal which would be caused by such family dissensions, did his utmost to appease him, and he at length consented to return to Madrid. The transference of the northern provinces was postponed for a time, and before it became practicable to resume it, the whole kingdom was reft from both Napoleon and Joseph by the arms of Britain.

600. The conquest of Spain, in a military point of view, might have been considered almost complete at the commencement of 1811. The aggregate French force in the Peninsula amounted to fully 300,000 men, admirably equipped, commanded by veteran generals, masters of nearly all the strongholds, and of all the main roads and interior lines of communication. To oppose this immense host, there were at the utmost 80,000 or 90,000 Spaniards, 37,000 of whom, in Valencia and Murcia, pretended to the name of regular troops, but were so wretchedly inefficient in equipment and discipline that no reliance could be placed on them; the new levies in Galicia, 15,000 strong, were only fit to defend their native mountains; the remainder chiefly consisted of the Catalonian guerillas, who still kept up a desultory warfare in the mountains, though the level country, except the fortresses of Tortosa and Tarragona, was entirely in the hands of the French. But the keystone of this brave but disjointed resistance was in Cadiz, the natural strength of which, from its situation in the Isla de Leon, and its being separated from the continent by an arm of the sea 300 yards wide, and by salt marshes of still greater breadth, afforded extraordinary facilities for defence. Yet such was the incredible ignorance of the Spanish engineers, that the two strong forts of Matagorda and the Trocadero, on the promontory of the mainland nearest the city, had been abandoned before the arrival of General Stewart with 2000 British troops from Gibraltar (Feb. 11, 1810). Matagorda, however, was regained by 150

seamen and marines under Captain Maclaine, and defended with heroic gallantry for fifty-five days; and though this undaunted little band, after losing half its number by an incessant bombardment of 36 hours, was at last withdrawn, the panic had meanwhile subsided in Cadiz. The fleet had come round from Ferrol; 6,000,000 dollars had arrived from Mexico; and the garrison, British, Portuguese, and Spanish, amounted to 30,000 men, supported by 24 ships of the line and 12 frigates. The defence of Matagorda had saved Cadiz; and Victor, finding its speedy reduction hopeless, turned the siege into a blockade. Enormous intrenchments, extending in a semicircle of ten leagues from sea to sea, were constructed round the bay, at the distance of a league and a half beyond the exterior defences of the Isla de Leon; but the real object of these gigantic works was only to prevent this powerful garrison from issuing forth to rekindle the war in Andalusia, and accordingly they were guarded by 20,000 men under Victor, while Soult and Sebastiani, at the head of powerful divisions, ruled in princely state at Seville and Granada.

601. The campaign in Southern Catalonia, meanwhile, was conducted with consummate energy and skill by Suchet; while Augereau in the north, as already noticed, had been superseded by Macdonald. Nearly 60,000 excellent troops, besides those in garrison, were at the disposal of the French generals, to whom Campoverde and O'Donnell could only oppose 20,000 men; but this deficiency of numbers was supplied by the multitudes of guerillas and armed peasants, by whose bands Barcelona itself was so closely blockaded, that supplies could only be thrown into it under cover of a force of 10,000 men; and Macdonald, finding the northern parts of the province entirely exhausted by repeated requisitions, crossed the mountains (Sept. 1810), and took up his quarters near Lerida. O'Donnell forthwith availed himself of his absence to make a sudden attack on the scattered detachments in the Ampurdan and Upper Catalonia, which were surprised and cut off in detail; and Macdonald, retracing his steps at the news of this disaster, sustained a severe repulse at

Cardona (Oct. 21). After revictualling Barcelona, and leaving Baraguay d'Hilliers with 14,000 men in the Ampurdan, he again moved south at the end of November, to cover the siege of Tortosa, which had been some months blockaded, and which Suchet was now assailing in earnest. The trenches were opened on 19th December; but the defence did little credit to the governor, the Conde de Alache, who, seized with a panic, surrendered at discretion (Feb. 2, 1811), without abiding an assault.

602. After the fall of this important fortress, the key of southern Catalonia, Macdonald again marched northwards, and was engaged for some time in desultory operations. While engaged in these, his movements were further disconcerted by the loss of Figueras, which was captured by surprise (April 10), with the governor and most of the garrison, by a partisan leader named Martinez. Suchet, meanwhile, had been occupied during several months in preparing for the siege of Tarragona, the principal place now remaining in the hands of the Spaniards, and the seat of the ruling junta; and at length (May 4) he appeared before its walls with 20,000 men and 100 pieces of cannon. The first efforts of the besiegers were directed against Fort Olivo, a strong outwork half a mile from the town, which, after an intrepid defence, was breached and carried by storm on the night of 29th May. But the city was still garrisoned by 17,000 men, supported by a British squadron in the port; while Campoverde and Sarsfield, with 14,000 irregulars, hovered round the French camp. Such was the vigour of the defence that it was not till 21st June that the lower town, with its citadel of Fort-Royal, was carried by the besiegers; the upper town still dauntlessly held out, and the arrival (on the 26th) of 2000 British from Cadiz, under Colonel Skerrett, raised the spirits of the garrison to the highest pitch. But these invaluable auxiliaries, who might have rendered Tarragona as impregnable as Acre had been to the enemy, were first directed to co-operate with Campoverde in an attempt from without to raise the siege, which the inactivity of that general rendered futile; and they finally remained on board their trans-

ports, passive spectators of the last and fatal assault, which was given on 29th June. The struggle on this occasion was desperate, the combatants on both sides being wrought up to the highest pitch of inveteracy; but the Spaniards were at length overborne by the pertinacity of the assailants, who tarnished their glory by savage cruelty after the city was taken. Above 6000 of the defenceless inhabitants, without distinction of age, rank, or sex, were butchered by the infuriated troops; and "the blood of the Spaniards," to quote a French historian, "inundated the streets and the houses." Campoverde, disheartened by the fall of the city, retreated to the frontier of Aragon, where most of his men disbanded as regular troops, joining Mina and the other guerilla leaders of the neighbouring provinces.

603. The reduction of Tarragona earned for Suchet his marshal's baton, and he was directed by Napoleon to invade Valencia; but before undertaking this enterprise, he succeeded in carrying by a *coup-de-main* (July 25) the celebrated mountain convent of Montserrat, overlooking the plain of the Llobregat near Barcelona, which had been converted into a patriot stronghold. Figueras, after a long blockade, was also compelled by famine to surrender to Macdonald (Aug. 19); and the subjugation of Catalonia being now deemed complete, Suchet commenced his march against Valencia early in September, at the head of 20,000 men. The first resistance which he experienced was at Murviedro (the ancient Saguntum, renowned for its resistance to Hannibal), the citadel of which, perched on a rock inaccessible on three sides, repelled with the loss of 400 men the first attempt to carry it by escalade (Sept. 28), and the French were compelled to commence the investment in form. A second assault after the walls had been breached (Oct. 18) was also unsuccessful; bands of guerillas, closing round the besieging army, cut off its communications and supplies; and the Empecinado, Mina, d'Eroles, and other partisan leaders, at the same time overran Aragon and Catalonia, captured the French detached posts and convoys, and even crossed the frontier, and plundered the valleys on the French side of the Pyrenees. The situation of Suchet, detained

before Murviedro while these disasters were occurring in his rear, was becoming extremely hazardous; but he was relieved from his embarrassments by the imprudent daring of the Spaniards themselves. Blake, now captain-general of Valencia, advanced to raise the siege with 25,000 men, comprising nearly all the remaining Spanish regulars, and a battle was fought (Oct. 25) under the walls of Murviedro; but after an obstinate contest, in which Suchet himself was wounded, the assailants were compelled to retire on Valencia with considerable loss; and the garrison of the beleaguered fortress, disappointed in their hopes of succour, surrendered the same night.

604. Notwithstanding this important success, Suchet halted for six weeks at Murviedro awaiting reinforcements, and occupied in dispersing the guerillas under Duran and Campillo, who infested his rear. The arrival of two fresh divisions having raised his total force to 33,000 men, he again moved forward in the beginning of December, and succeeded by a rapid manœuvre, on the night of Christmas day, in crossing the Guadalaviar, and getting round the intrenched camp which had been constructed in front of the town, so as to cut off the retreat of the Spaniards towards Alicante. In two attempts to break the leaguer (Dec. 26 and 28), the Spaniards were repulsed in severe conflicts on the margin of Albufera* or salt lake of Valencia, though about 4000 succeeded in forcing their way through and reaching Alicante. The intrenched camp was abandoned in despair; and Suchet, perceiving the depressed and irresolute state of the enemy, determined on trying the effect of a vigorous bombardment, instead of wasting time in regular approaches. His expectations were speedily realised: the bombardment had only continued a few days, when Blake, pressed by the inhabitants, whose spirit was completely broken, surrendered (Jan. 8, 1812) at discretion. Sixteen thousand regular troops laid down their arms, and were sent as prisoners into France; 390 pieces of cannon, 30,000 muskets, and immense military stores of all kinds,

* Suchet was created, in memory of this exploit, Duke of Albufera.

fell into the hands of the victors; and a contribution of not less than £2,000,000 was exacted from the war-wasted city and province. The conquest of Valencia was complete: Alicante alone continued to hold out; and its defenders being shortly after strengthened by the arrival of a powerful British force from Sicily, this city eventually shared, with Cadiz and Carthagena, the glory of being the only Spanish cities never sullied by the presence of the enemy.

605. The year 1811 was memorable for the reduction of Java, the last colonial possession of the French empire—the Isle of France having surrendered in December 1810, and Amboyna and Banda in February 1811. Shortly after, a force of nearly 11,000 men, under Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and accompanied in person by Lord Minto, the Governor-general of India, sailed from Madras for Java, and landed near Batavia (Aug. 4). The French and Dutch troops, under General Jansens, to the number of about 10,000, occupied the strong intrenched camp of Fort Cornelius; but their lines were stormed with severe loss early on the morning of 26th August; and though Jansens endeavoured to prolong his defence, he was eventually obliged (Sept. 26) to capitulate with his whole force. The whole of this magnificent island (afterwards relinquished by misplaced generosity) fell under British dominion; and Lord Minto, with great but well-founded pride, announced in his despatches that "the French flag was nowhere to be seen flying from Cape Comorin to Cape Horn!"

606. Thus was the maritime war closed by the extinction of the LAST REMNANT of the colonial empire of France.

V. *Campaign of* 1811 *on the Portuguese frontier.*

607. When the retreat of Massena from Torres-Vedras, and the battle of Fuentes d'Onore had insured the security of Portugal, Wellington's eyes were immediately turned towards Badajos, the loss of which he justly considered as one of the greatest calamities which had befallen the Allies. From its

great strength, and its position on the Estremaduran frontier, it at once formed the base for the operations of an army invading Portugal, and (with Ciudad Rodrigo) the strongest defence of the Spanish territory, which it was hopeless to enter while these two fortresses were in the hands of the enemy. But as the first siege of Badajos, and its immediate consequences, are the true commencement of the deliverance of the Peninsula, it is necessary, in the first place, to give a clear idea of the relative position and force of the contending armies at this eventful period.

608. The Anglo-Portuguese army was nominally above 80,000 strong, but from the reduced state of the Portuguese regiments, and the vast number of British sick, amounting (in Oct. 1811) to upwards of 19,000, not more than 50,000 were fit for actual service. The whole French force, on the other hand, amounted to the enormous number of 370,000, including 40,000 cavalry; and though a considerable part was actively engaged under Macdonald and Suchet, and in keeping up the communications with France, the united forces of Soult in the south, of Joseph in the centre, of Marmont in Leon, and of the army of the north under Bessières (afterwards succeeded by Caffarelli), were not less than 240,000 men, at least 140,000 of whom were disposable for active service in the field against the British, after providing for garrisons and detachments. It is obvious that all the generalship of Wellington, and all the gallantry of his troops, could never, under ordinary circumstances, have prevailed against so overwhelming a disproportion; but many causes co-operated to produce this result. The first of these circumstances was his central position, midway between the widely scattered stations of the French generals, with a secure retreat to the sea, and with the command of the navigable rivers, which brought up from Lisbon the supplies poured in from Britain; while the French, notwithstanding their long practice in the art of providing for themselves, had so completely exhausted the country that they were forced to procure seed-corn from France. They were consequently unable to keep together for any length of time in large

bodies; while the inhabitants, goaded to desperation by their exactions, and the cruelty with which they were enforced, everywhere formed themselves into guerilla bands, which cut off their communications, murdered their stragglers, and (in spite of the sanguinary severity by which it was attempted to repress them) increased so much in numbers and boldness as to give employment to a great part of the French army. The strange and impolitic division of the government of Spain, made by Napoleon, also contributed in no small degree to the successes of Wellington. The most bitter animosity prevailed between King Joseph at Madrid and the marshals in the provinces, who usurped his authority, set at naught his orders, and intercepted his revenue; while the discord among the marshals themselves, each of whom held royal state in his own province, was such as to prevent any unity of design, or even co-operation on equal terms, between any two of the lieutenants of Napoleon.

609. But while such were the difficulties with which the French generals had to contend, the obstacles which impeded the operations of Wellington, though arising from different causes, were scarcely less embarrassing. The first and greatest was the long-established and incurable corruption and imbecility of every branch of the Portuguese administration, and the timidity of the regency, whose fear of endangering their own popularity was such, that all the remonstrances of Wellington could not persuade them to enforce the laws or make the inferior officers do their duty; the British subsidies were thus so much diverted to other objects that the pay of the troops was always in arrears, while the army in the field was seldom more than half the number for whom pay was drawn. The Spanish troops, moreover, from their total want of discipline and equipment, and from the pride and obstinacy of their generals, were so utterly useless in the field that, after the experience of Talavera, Wellington never joined them in field operations; while, even in the seat of government at Cadiz, the flame of democracy rose to such a height that, almost on the eve of the liberation of Spain, secret negotiations were in progress between Joseph and a con-

siderable portion of the Cortes, for the submission of Cadiz and the whole of the Peninsula to the French, provided the democratic constitution of 1812 was recognised! When, in addition to these drawbacks, we consider the extraordinary difficulty experienced by the government at home (from the causes mentioned in the preceding sections) in remitting specie for the army—by the want of which he was often most grievously hampered—and the universal inexperience of the inferior functionaries, which obliged the commander-in-chief himself to attend to the minute details in every department, it is hard to say whether an impartial survey of the relative situations of Wellington and his antagonists does not leave his superiority as great as if his vast inferiority of force and unbroken career of victories were alone considered.

610. Having then determined, in the outset, to attempt the recovery of Badajos, Wellington moved forward in the middle of May towards Estremadura, where Beresford had already begun the campaign, and taken Olivenza (April 17). Badajos was invested immediately after; but the British, unskilled in sieges, had made little progress, when intelligence was received that Soult was approaching from Seville; and Beresford, abandoning the siege, drew up his army at Albuera (May 15) to oppose him. The French marshal's army consisted of 19,000 veteran infantry, with 4000 horse and 50 guns; the Allies were in all 30,000, with 38 guns and 3000 cavalry; but 16,000 of the number were Spaniards under Blake and Castanos, on whom little reliance could be placed; 8000 were Portuguese, and only 7500 British.

611. The action began early on the 16th, by a movement of the French against the bridge of the Albuera rivulet, which was opposed by the Portuguese and the Hanoverian brigade: but the real attack was made on the right, where a range of heights was held by the Spaniards. Blake, with characteristic obstinacy, at first refused to change his front to receive the enemy; and when the evolution was at last ordered, the unwieldy masses of the Spaniards were charged, in the midst of this critical movement, by an overwhelming body of the enemy; and, after a

short and sanguinary struggle, were driven in confusion from their vantage-ground, which was immediately occupied by the French artillery. Beresford, perceiving the danger, ordered up the British divisions from the centre; but as the leading brigade, consisting of the Buffs, the 66th, and a battalion of the 48th, were deploying into line to charge, they were assailed in flank and rear by the French hussars and Polish lancers (who had got round them under cover of a mist), and were almost all slain or taken. All seemed lost; but the 31st still undauntedly stood its ground, and Houghton's brigade came up to the front. Still, however, the combat was far from re-established. Houghton himself fell, nobly heading the 29th; and the fire of the British began to slacken from failure of ammunition, while a deep gully prevented their reaching the enemy with the bayonet.

612. In this extremity, the firmness of one man saved the day. Colonel, now Lord Hardinge, on his own responsibility, while Beresford was preparing for a retreat, ordered Cole's division to mount the hill on the right, while Abercromby, with the reserve, ascended on the left. The French were thus assailed on both flanks, in the position into which their advance in the centre had led them: the fusilier brigade, incessantly pressing on, retook six guns which had been captured by the Polish lancers; and the French were at length driven headlong down the hill, on the summit of which 1500 unwounded men, the remnant of 7500 unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant. The Portuguese and Germans, with Abercromby and the fusilier brigade, pressed the pursuit; and the French, though covered by the fire of their artillery and by Montbrun's gallant cuirassiers, were driven in headlong confusion from the field of battle.

613. Such was the memorable battle of Albuera, the most desperate and bloody of the whole revolutionary war. In a four hours' engagement, 8000 were killed and wounded on the part of the French, and near 7000 on that of the Allies—an amount of loss, in proportion to the numbers engaged, unparalleled in modern war. Of 7500 British alone, 4300 were slain or disabled! But the moral effects produced by this extraordinary display of the

unconquerable intrepidity of the British, were marked and lasting: the French, on the confession of their own historians, no longer approached them but with a secret feeling of distrust; and Soult, instead of endeavouring to retrieve his failure, retreated, the day but one after the battle, towards Seville. The siege of Badajos was now resumed (May 27) under the direction of Wellington in person; while Beresford returned to Lisbon to reorganise the Portuguese army. But the governor, Philippon, was eminently skilled in defensive warfare: two attempts (June 6-9) to storm Fort Christoval, which commanded the approaches to the body of the place, were repulsed with considerable loss; and Marmont and Soult, whose combined armies would amount to 60,000 men, were advancing from different quarters to relieve the fortress. The siege was accordingly raised (June 10), and the heavy guns sent back to Elvas; but Wellington, still in the former position at Albuera, kept Soult at bay till the 17th, when the near approach of Marmont compelled him to retire across the Guadiana; and on the 18th, the united French armies entered Badajos, where the brave garrison was at the last extremity for want of provisions.

614. The French generals had now a signal opportunity for striking a great blow at the British army. With 56,000 infantry 8000 cavalry, and 90 guns, they crossed the Guadiana (June 20), and advanced to reconnoitre Wellington's position behind the Caya, where he awaited them with 46,000 British and Portuguese, including 4000 horse and 64 guns. It was undoubtedly their interest to have brought on a battle, as the British had no reserves to fall back on; but they now knew the quality of British troops, and shrank from the responsibility of hazarding the fate of the war on a single field. After some days, during which a British dragoon regiment was surprised and worsted near Elvas (June 24), they withdrew without any further encounter, and separated their forces—Marmont defiling up the valley of the Tagus, while Soult marched towards Seville, which Blake had threatened during his absence. The Spaniards hastily retired into Portugal at his approach; and after routing at Baza

(July 8) a numerous but disorderly levy of Murcians, he led back his troops to their cantonments in Andalusia.

615. The evacuation of the Asturias, and the concentration of the French in Old Castile, had meanwhile produced an extraordinary excitement in the northern provinces. The retreat of the French from Portugal, and the battles of Fuentes d'Onore and Albuera, led to the belief that they would soon be driven from the Peninsula; and the insurrection spread like wildfire through the hill-country. Duran and the Empecinado overran Old Castile, and even besieged and took Calatayud; Mina, in Navarre, with 12,000 men carried his arms up to the gates of Saragossa; and Mendizabal was at the head of an equal force in Biscay. So uneasy did Napoleon become at the state of affairs in the north, that the Imperial Guard, which had entered Spain, was directed against these insurgents; but their successes little availed the victors. The routed bands quickly reassembled at some distant rendezvous; and this harassing and murderous warfare continued to absorb great part of the reinforcements which poured into Spain.

616. Marmont, meanwhile, in obedience to the Emperor's orders, had moved into the valley of the Tagus to cover Badajos, while Dorsenne, who now commanded the army of the north, was charged with the protection of Ciudad Rodrigo, against which Wellington had moved with 40,000 men early in August. The French general, supposing that the object of this movement was to co-operate with the Galicians, turned on the latter, who were routed, and driven across the Esla at the end of August; while Wellington, concentrating his army at Fuente-Guinaldo, had brought his battering-train, unknown to the French, up to Villa de Ponte, 16 leagues in the rear. But no sooner was his design perceived, than Dorsenne and Marmont, uniting their forces (Sept. 21), advanced with 60,000 men against the British general, who turned the siege into a blockade, and awaited their approach. His position was, however, too extensive; and the corps on the heights of El-Bodon, in advance of the centre, was unexpectedly assailed (Sept. 24) by Montbrun with the flower of the French cavalry. The steady fire of the artillery, however, and the

devoted bravery of the German dragoons, repulsed these splendid horsemen, who were more than twenty times hurled back from the summit into the ravines; but the advance of a French division across the line of retreat at length made the post untenable, and the British and Portuguese were compelled to cross a plain six miles broad to Fuente-Guinaldo, in the midst of a whirlwind of cavalry, which charged, with apparently resistless force, on three sides of their column. But they recoiled before the rolling volleys of their immovable antagonists; the British reached their destination in safety; and a decisive battle was expected on the morrow. As only a small part of the British army had yet come up, Marmont might have attacked at great advantage; but after displaying the whole of his splendid array in front of the British position, he retreated to his former ground on the Tagus. A skirmish at Aldea del Ponte (Sept. 27) was the only encounter which occurred; and Wellington put his army into cantonments on the Coa, while the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo was resumed by the British light cavalry and the guerillas under Don Julian Sanchez.

617. Thus ended the campaign of 1811, as far as the main armies were concerned; but some minor operations are yet to be noticed. Bonnet was detached by Dorsenne (Nov.) into Asturias, where he reoccupied Oviedo and the principal posts in the province. Hill, who had been left in North Estremadura to watch Drouet, succeeded by a rapid march in completely surprising Gerard's division (Oct. 28) at Aroyo de Molinos; a brilliant affair, in which 1300 prisoners, 3 guns, and all the baggage, were taken, with the loss of only 20 men to the victors.

618. Ballasteros, who, after serving at Albuera, had embarked for the south of Spain, had, in the mean time, revived the war in that quarter; and Tarifa, at the extreme south point of the Peninsula, had been occupied by 2000 men, 500 of whom were British. The first attempt to retake it having failed, 7000 men were directed against it, under General Laval, a highly distinguished officer; and ground was broken on 19th December. The old walls were soon brought down, and a breach sixty feet wide

was assaulted on the 30th; but the attacking column was repulsed with great slaughter; and the besiegers, abandoning their artillery, retreated (Jan. 4) with the loss of 1000 men.

VI. *First Invasion of Spain by Wellington.*

619. The close of 1811 and commencement of 1812 saw the power of Napoleon at its highest point; the hour was now at hand for its decline and fall. On the 8th of January 1812, the long series of French triumphs in Spain closed with the fall of Valencia; and the next day Wellington led his army across the Agueda, and commenced the career of victory, which never paused till the British standards waved in triumph from the walls of Paris.

620. No sooner was Ciudad Rodrigo abandoned to its own resources, by the dispersion of the French armies of Portugal and of the North into cantonments (Dec. 1811), than Wellington perceived that the moment had arrived for an attack on that fortress. To conceal his design, a demonstration was made by Hill in Estremadura, which led Soult to believe that Badajos was threatened; while on the 8th of January a portable bridge, previously prepared, was fixed over the Agueda, and the British army, crossing the next day, advanced against Ciudad Rodrigo. The fortified convents of Santa Cruz and San Francesco were stormed, and on the 14th the batteries opened. On the 19th, two large breaches in the rampart were declared practicable: and as Marmont was already collecting his troops to raise the siege, an immediate assault was ordered. The main breach was assigned to the 3d division, under General Mackinnon—Craufurd, with the light division, was to attack the lesser; and at 7 P.M. the signal was given. The assailants reached the walls and cleared the counterscarp; at the foot of the great breach they were met by a terrific discharge of grape and musketry at a few yards' distance: shells and grenades were rolled down, which burst in the midst of the throng; and when they had at last won their way to the summit, a mine was fired under their feet, and the

most forward, among whom was the gallant Mackinnon, were blown into the air. Still they held the ground they had gained; the lesser breach had been stormed after a desperate struggle by the light division, though Craufurd was mortally wounded on the glacis; the Portuguese had also scaled the walls on the opposite side, and the fortress was won. A frightful scene of plunder, intoxication, and violence now ensued, and it was with difficulty that the town was saved from total destruction by the exertions of the officers; but order was at length restored, and the remainder of the garrison, 1500 men, made prisoners of war. The whole battering train of Marmont's army, with immense military stores, was found in the town, the capture of which excited unbounded joy both in Britain and the Peninsula. The thanks of parliament were voted to the army; and its chief (besides being created Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo in Spain, and Marquis of Torres-Vedras in Portugal) was raised to the rank of an English earl, with a pension of £2000 a-year.

621. No sooner had Wellington put his prize in a state of defence against any sudden attack, than he turned his eyes towards Badajos; but as the French marshals were now thoroughly on the alert, it was necessary to conduct the preparations with all secresy. Considerable delay was caused by the utter impossibility of procuring, from the Portuguese regency, the means of land-carriage for the heavy guns and siege equipage, after they had been brought as far inland as possible by water; so that, though the troops crossed the Tagus on the 8th and 10th of March, it was not till the 17th that the investment could be completed. Marmont, however (in obedience to express orders from Napoleon, who insisted that the British meditated entering Spain on the side of Salamanca), had countermarched into Old Castile; while Soult, who had only 25,000 men, was watched by a covering force of 30,000 under Hill. But the defences of the place had been repaired and strengthened since the last siege; the garrison was 5000 strong; and the heavy rain, which saturated the ground, impeded the approaches of the besiegers. The important outwork of La Picurina was at length (March 25)

carried by storm, by Kempt and the 3d division; by the 6th of April, three breaches had been effected in the bastions of the town, and at 10 o'clock that night the assault was given. The 4th and light divisions, together nearly 10,000 men, were to assault respectively the breaches of the Trinidad and Santa Maria bastions; while attempts were to be made by escalade by Picton and Kempt on the castle, and by Leith on the distant bastion of San Vincente.

622. A scene now ensued, unparalleled even in the long and bloody annals of the Revolutionary wars. The storming parties approached the breaches in silence; no sooner had they descended into the fosse than the foremost were blown to atoms, by the explosion of shells and powder-barrels placed there for the purpose; many others were drowned by falling into the inundated part of the ditch: but the survivors pressed on, boiling with ardour, over the mangled bodies of their comrades; and though assailed on every side by a plunging cross-fire, forced their way to the summit of the breach. But here their way was barred by chevaux-de-frise, formed of ponderous beams studded with sword-blades; their ranks were enfiladed by grape and musketry within pistol-shot range; and after two hours of hideous carnage, in which 2000 had fallen, they were withdrawn from the walls. Picton, however, had been more fortunate. The first attempt to scale the castle wall had been unsuccessful; many had been thrown from the ladders, and miserably transfixed on the bayonets of their comrades below; but the attack was renewed in a more accessible quarter, and Ridge of the 5th having succeeded in mounting the walls, the castle at length was won. The San Vincente bastion had also been carried, and the troops, pouring into the town, took the breaches in reverse. The victors were now in possession of Badajos; and Philippon, who had taken refuge in Fort Christoval, surrendered the next morning. An immense prize indeed was thus gained; a first-rate fortress, with 3800 prisoners, 170 heavy guns, and immense stores; but it had been dearly purchased by the loss of 5000 killed and wounded, of whom no less than 3500 were struck down in the assault. But

this glorious victory was stained by the barbarous excesses which ensued: the national vice of intemperance broke forth in frightful colours; pillage was universal; and for two days the scene of disgraceful outrage continued, till it was checked by the summary execution of some of the worst offenders.

623. Soult, who had never dreamed of Badajos being so quickly lost, fell back towards Seville when the intelligence reached him; and Wellington, whose force was now superior to that of the French marshal, for a time entertained a hope of striking a decisive blow against him. But, in the mean time, Marmont had advanced from Salamanca into the unprotected province of Beira, which he ravaged with the utmost cruelty; and even pushed on as far as Castello Branco. Both Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida were thus in danger, as all the representations of Wellington had failed in inducing the Spanish and Portuguese governments to put these fortresses in a good state of defence; and he rapidly returned to his old position on the Agueda (April 7), while Marmont withdrew across the frontier to his former cantonments about Salamanca. Napoleon at this time, though he poured the severest reproaches on his generals for the loss of the frontier fortresses, withdrew the Imperial Guards and other troops, to the amount of 40,000, from Spain, to swell the array against Russia; while he increased the exasperation of the Spaniards by formally declaring the incorporation of Catalonia (Jan. 26) with the French empire. The army in Spain, however, still mustered not less than 280,000 men, while Wellington had only, including 27,000 Portuguese, 80,000 under his orders—one-fourth of whom were constantly non-effective from sickness.

624. Having at length succeeded in repairing and victualling the two Spanish fortresses, as well as Almeida and Elvas, Wellington prepared to assume the offensive in Spain. But before commencing his operations, he resolved to attack the French fortifications which covered the bridge of boats over the Tagus at Almarez (all the permanent bridges having been destroyed); and Hill, with a column of 6000 men, was intrusted with this difficult service. The attention of the French was diverted by a

demonstration towards Andalusia, and Hill, by a rapid movement from Jaraicejo across the mountains, passed the castle of Mirabete, and assaulted the forts early on the morning of 19th May. After a brief but fierce conflict, Fort Napoleon, on the left bank, was scaled and carried; Fort Ragusa, on the opposite shore, was abandoned by its defenders; and the bridge, with all its defences, was destroyed. Hill now retired unmolested to Merida, where, his force being raised to 23,000 men, British, Portuguese, and Spaniards, he continued to confront Drouet in Estremadura, though the total defeat of Ballasteros (June 1) at Bornos in Andalusia, had enabled Soult to reinforce that general to the number of 21,000 troops, whom their homogeneous quality rendered superior to the mixed army of the British commander.

625. At length Wellington, having completed all his preparations, crossed the Agueda on the 13th of June, and four days after appeared before Salamanca. Marmont retired as he advanced, after throwing garrisons into the forts of the town and the castle of Alba de Tormes, which commands the passage of the river. An attempt to storm the forts (June 23), after a short cannonade, was repulsed, and general Bowes, who led the assault, killed; while Marmont again advanced with 36,000 men to raise the siege. A general battle was now expected; but Marmont, after lying for several days in front of the British at San Christoval, no sooner heard of the fall of the forts, which were taken on the 26th, than he withdrew the garrison of Alba de Tormes, and retired behind the Douro. Here his force was raised to 45,000 men by the junction (July 7) of Bonnet from the Asturias; and as Caffarelli was approaching with 12,000 more, while Joseph was in motion with the army of the centre to fall on the right flank of the British, the situation of Wellington was becoming precarious—while he was further embarrassed, not only by the accounts from Cadiz of the traitorous intrigues of many members of the Cortes with Joseph, but by the failure of Lord William Bentinck to land, as hadbeen arranged, with a force from Sicily on the east coast of Spain—a useless descent on Italy having been substituted for this important movement. Marmont now again

advanced, and by a skilful feint towards Toro, followed by a rapid countermarch to Tordesillas, crossed the Douro with his whole army at the latter place (July 17); and thence moving with extraordinary celerity to Nava del Rey, reopened his communications with the army of Joseph.

626. This able manœuvre left Wellington no alternative but a retreat; but in the commencement of this movement (July 18), the British right, composed of the 4th and light divisions under Sir Stapleton Cotton, was for a time exposed to the attack of the greater part of the French force. The firmness of the troops, however, extricated them from the danger; and for ten miles the two hostile bodies marched together across the plains, in such close proximity that the officers saluted each other by lowering their swords! At Castrillo, however, the French cavalry sustained a severe repulse from Alten's German dragoons, in an attempt to push past the British left; and on the 20th, Wellington took up a position on the high land of Vallesa, and there offered battle. Marmont, however, marched past, while Wellington followed in a parallel line on the other side of the Guarena; but towards evening it became manifest that the British were outflanked, and Wellington, abandoning the parallel march, fell back towards Salamanca; and on the 21st established his whole army on the heights of San Christoval.

627. These manœuvres had turned out entirely to the advantage of the French marshal; and the junction of the army of the centre, as well as of Clausel, who was close to him with the cavalry and artillery of the army of the north, would have given him an overwhelming superiority of numbers. But in this critical moment the star of Britain prevailed. Marmont was well aware that the arrival of Joseph, or of Jourdan, the senior marshal in Spain, would supersede him in command; and was ambitious of gaining a victory before they came up. He commenced operations (July 22) by seizing the more distant of two rocky heights, called the Arapeiles, on the British right—in a dash at the other he was anticipated by the British; but a change of position on Wellington's part was thus rendered

necessary, and as the British divisions defiled past the French Arapeiles, the left of the enemy was pushed forward to menace the Ciudad Rodrigo road. But the rapidity with which this manœuvre was performed caused a chasm between their left and centre; and Wellington perceiving this error from the summit of the British Arapeiles, emphatically exclaimed, "At last I have them!" and instantly prepared to take advantage of it. The British line, speedily formed in echelon, with the right in front, burst on the scattered left wing of the French, which was utterly routed, with the loss of 3000 prisoners, and its general, Thomière, killed; while Marmont, hurrying in person to the scene of danger, had his arm broken by the explosion of a shell. Clausel's division, at the same time, was crushed by a brilliant charge of cavalry under Lord Edward Somerset and General le Marchant, the latter of whom fell in the moment of triumph; 2000 prisoners and 5 guns were taken in a few minutes, and the French left was annihilated. Pack's Portuguese, in the centre, had been signally foiled in an attack on the French Arapeiles—the 4th division was at the same time thrown into disorder; but Beresford, bringing up a brigade of the 5th division, restored the battle, and regained all the ground which had been lost. Clausel, however, who had succeeded to the command, though himself wounded, gallantly bore up against the torrent; and the divisions of Foy and Maucunne, taking post on the ridge of Ariba, endeavoured to cover the retreat: but the steep ascent was surmounted by Clinton and Pakenham with the 4th division; and when darkness set in, the victory of the Allies was complete on all points. Had not the Spaniards evacuated during the day the castle of Alba de Tormes, no line of retreat would have been left for the French; and this circumstance alone saved their army from total destruction. Even as it was, their loss (which was never divulged) could not have been less than 14,000 men, of whom 134 officers and 7000 rank and file remained prisoners; two eagles and 11 guns were taken; and such was the number of stragglers after the battle, for want of subsistence, that three weeks later (as proved by

intercepted returns) Clausel had only 22,000 men round his standards, out of 44,000 who went into action at Salamanca. The loss of the Allies was 5200, of whom 3176 were British, 2013 Portuguese, and only 8 Spaniards! a fair index, probably, to the share each had taken in the battle. Nearly all the generals on both sides were wounded; and Wellington himself was struck by a spent ball, but sustained no injury.

628. The retreat of the routed army was conducted by Clausel with admirable diligence and expedition; but at noon the following day (July 23) their rear was overtaken by the Allies, and three squares of infantry, formed on the slope of a hill, were successively broken by the irresistible charge of Bock's Hanoverian dragoons, who took twelve hundred prisoners—the most brilliant cavalry affair, by the enemy's admission, which occurred during the war. The pursuit was kept up till the French reached Valladolid (July 29), when Wellington, finding them totally disabled for the time, left them to the care of the Galicians and Clinton's division; and himself turned against the army of the centre under Joseph, who had retraced his steps towards Madrid on the tidings of Salamanca. Little opposition was experienced on the march: on the 10th of August the Allies occupied the Escurial; and, notwithstanding a check sustained in a cavalry skirmish at Majalahonda, their outposts were pushed the same evening to the neighbourhood of Madrid. On the next day, Joseph with his whole court, followed by a motley multitude of 20,000 persons who were implicated in his fortunes, abandoned the capital and took the road to Aranjuez; and on the 12th the Allies entered in triumph, in the midst of the rapturous plaudits of the people, who were wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiastic joy. The garrison left in the Retiro surrendered the next day at discretion; and the new constitution was solemnly proclaimed amidst the acclamations of crowds, who fondly believed that both the independence and civil freedom of their country were now for ever secured.

629. The French affairs in all directions now exhibited that general crash which follows a great military disaster. Guadalaxara

with its garrison of 700 men, yielded to the Empecinado; Astorga and Torden capitulated; Mirabete and Puerto de Baños were evacuated; and above all, no sooner was the loss of Madrid known than the siege of Cadiz was raised (Aug. 26), and the gigantic intrenchments, which had been the labour of three years, were either destroyed or evacuated, with 500 pieces of cannon. Still the power of the French in Spain had been loosened, not annihilated; and the loss of so large an extent of country had been in one point of view even beneficial to them, by compelling the greater concentration of their still enormous forces. Andalusia and Estremadura had been reluctantly evacuated, in pursuance of repeated and positive orders, by Soult, who directed his march towards Murcia; while Hill, thus released, advanced to cover Madrid on the south. Wellington, however, perceiving that the vital point lay in the north, where Clausel was again strengthening himself, set out with four divisions (Sept. 1) from Madrid for Valladolid. Clausel retired at his approach, first to Burgos (Sept. 17) and afterwards to Briviesca, where the junction of General Souham raised his numbers to 30,000 men; while the British laid siege to the castle of Burgos, which, besides commanding the great road from Bayonne to Madrid, contained all the stores and reserve artillery of the army of Marmont.

630. The siege, however, presented unexpected difficulties, not so much from the strength of the defences as from the want of heavy artillery, which compelled the assailants to depend chiefly on the effect of mines. The enterprise was persevered in for thirty days, and repeated but fruitless attempts were made to storm the works; till, on the failure of a final assault, on the night of 18th October, Wellington determined on raising the siege, which had not only cost him 2000 men, but given the French generals time to reassemble their forces. Clausel, now joined by the army of the north, was again at the head of 44,000 men; while Soult and Drouet had effected their junction with Joseph (Sept. 29) in the south, and were rapidly advancing on Madrid with a host of 60,000 men—unmolested by the

Spaniards, whose general, Ballasteros, had refused, on the recent appointment of Wellington as commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies, to serve under the orders of a foreigner, and had consequently been cashiered and confined in the fortress of Ceuta by the government at Cadiz. Thus the whole weight of the contest, as usual, fell on the British, whose united force was scarce half that brought to bear on them; and it became obviously necessary to abandon Madrid, and concentrate the army in Leon. On the night of the 21st October, therefore, the British army under Wellington defiled from before Burgos; while Hill, evacuating the capital, marched for the Guadarrama pass (Nov. 2) a few hours before Joseph made his entry.

631. Wellington, meanwhile, had extraordinary difficulties to encounter in his retreat from Burgos. The French cavalry were active in pursuit; and the soldiers, plundering the caves where the wine of the vintage was stored, became mutinous and disorderly. At the passage of the Carrion at Palencia (Oct. 25) a severe action took place, in which the French were repulsed; and the army crossed the Douro (Oct. 29) without further molestation, destroying all the bridges. It was not till the 6th of November that the retreat was resumed; on the 8th the junction with Hill was effected; and the united force, to the number of 52,000 British and Portuguese, and 14,000 Spaniards, taking post on the old position of the Arapeiles, offered battle to the French, whose two armies had also effected a junction, and presented an aggregate of not less than 95,000 men, including 12,000 horse, with 120 pieces of cannon. But Soult overruled the wish of Jourdan to attack them on that strong ground; and by extending his force to the left, and thus threatening their communications with Ciudad Rodrigo, compelled Wellington (Nov. 15) to a further retreat. In this movement the flank of the Allies was laid open to the enemy, but the march was masked by a violent storm of rain and a thick mist; and the single trophy of the French was the British second in command, Sir Edward Paget, who accidentally fell into the hands of their cavalry. Still the march from the Arapeiles to Ciudad

Rodrigo, which only lasted three days, presented a frightful scene of distress, disorder, and insubordination. The weather was to the last degree inclement; the guns could hardly be dragged through the mire of the roads, and the disorganisation of the regiments was completed by the universal intoxication of the men. But Soult, whose troops were equally distressed, did not continue the pursuit beyond the Huebra; and on the 18th the British reached Ciudad Rodrigo, the ample magazines of which supplied their wants. They were shortly after dispersed into cantonments on the Coa and Agueda; while Soult's army was broken up, and quartered in detachments, wherever supplies could be had, all over Old and New Castile. The losses of the Allies during the retreat from Burgos amounted to nearly 7000 men, principally drunken stragglers; but no guns, stores, or wounded, were lost or abandoned. The relaxation of discipline had been, however, so great, that Wellington addressed a severe letter of admonition* to officers in command of divisions and brigades — a censure which, though in great part well founded, gave rise to vehement complaints and feelings of dissatisfaction at the time, but doubtless, as usual with such reproofs, produced salutary effects in the end.

632. On the east coast of Spain, meanwhile, the British expedition from Sicily, diminished to 6000 men by the Italian schemes of Lord William Bentinck, landed early in August at Alicante. Three successive generals, Maitland, Mackenzie, and Clinton, held the command here in the course of three months; but the usual difficulties occurred in dealing with the Spanish authorities; and though General Campbell at last arrived with 4000 fresh troops from Sicily, the season for active operations passed away without anything being effected. In Catalonia the guerilla warfare was still actively kept alive, and the power of the

*The celebrated document concluded in these words: "The discipline of every army, after a long and active campaign, becomes in some degree relaxed; but I am concerned to observe, that the army under my command has fallen off in this respect, in the late campaign, to a greater degree than any army with which I have ever been, or of which I have ever read."

French extended only over the fortresses and plains; and a British squadron under Sir Home Popham cruised all the summer on the coast of Asturias, keeping up a communication with the insurgents in the interior, and ruling the whole coast from Corunna to Guetaria.

633. Such was the memorable campaign of Salamanca, one of the most glorious, in a military sense, in the British annals. At its opening, the French occupied the whole of Spain from Asturias to Cadiz; at its close, not only had the great frontier fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos been wrested from them, but they had evacuated half, and that the richest half, of the kingdom,—and the ground thus lost was never recovered. The Imperial standards never again crossed the Sierra Morena; Asturias and Estremadura, Andalusia and Murcia, were for ever delivered from the presence of the invader. The capture of their great arsenals, at Madrid, Seville, Ciudad Rodrigo, and the lines before Cadiz, had deprived them also of the means of repairing their losses; they held no fortresses which might delay the enemy, if he should make a second inroad into the interior; and the loss of the rich provinces of the south deprived them of the means of carrying out Napoleon's favourite system of making war support itself.

PART VIII.

TURKISH WAR—CAMPAIGN OF MOSCOW—DELIVERANCE OF GERMANY—LIBERATION OF SPAIN. 1808–13.

I. *War between the Ottomans and Russians, from* 1808 *to* 1812.

634. THE immense provinces which fell into the hands of the Turks on the overthrow of the Lower Empire, embraced, perhaps, the fairest and most delightful regions of the earth. Notwithstanding its great losses during the last seventy years, the Ottoman empire still comprehends 815,000 square miles—about nine times the area of the British Isles—but the population of

this vast territory in Europe and Asia, notwithstanding its genial climate and general fertility, does not, at the highest estimate, exceed 25,000,000 souls, or 28 to the square mile, and is by some authors rated much lower—while Great Britain contains an average of 200 in the same space. It is only in the great towns and the mountainous regions, in fact, that any considerable population is found; the finest plains are nearly uninhabited; nine-tenths of Mesopotamia, once the garden of the world, is an absolute desert; and the wild grass comes up to the horses' girths from the gates of Constantinople to Adrianople. Such has been the desolation practically produced by the rule of the Turks, who, though encamped for four centuries in Europe, have been prevented, alike by the stubbornness of their national character, and the unbending tenets of their religion, from sharing in the knowledge, or adopting the advancing civilisation, of their European neighbours. Yet it must be admitted that to this same religious and national immutability, which has rendered abortive every attempt at reform, the Turks owe a degree of stability in their institutions, which has been attained nowhere else in the East: for five centuries and a half the throne has never been filled but by the descendants of Othman; and, without the formal recognition of the principle of hereditary succession, they have obtained most of the benefits of that invaluable institution.

635. But even amid the general decay of the Turkish empire, the matchless situation and natural advantages of Constantinople still assert their indefeasible pre-eminence, and compensate in some degree for the ruin of the provinces. Placed between Europe and Asia, this unrivalled capital is at once the natural point of contact for the productions of the East and the West, and the common centre of the internal water-communication of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The caravans of the desert, the ample sails of European and even American commerce, meet within its walls, or in its incomparable harbour of the Golden Horn, where a three-decker may lie close to the quay, and the mouth of which may be closed by a single chain. Nor is the beauty of

the city inferior to the commerical and political advantages of its situation; rising from the margin of the water, it exhibits, in its successive terraces, a mixture of European domes, green foliage, and Eastern minarets, which presents an assemblage of striking points unparalleled in any other quarter of the globe. But even the lustre of the capital fades before the extraordinary variety and richness of the scenery in the Bosphorus, which winds for nearly twenty miles between bold headlands and lofty promontories, from the Euxine to the Sea of Marmora. It is not surprising that such a city should have formed in every age a chief object of human ambition. Since the days of Peter the Great, all the efforts of Russia had been directed to its acquisition; and this project, though frustrated by the active interference of Britain after the fall of Oczakow, on the eve of the Revolutionary War, and suspended during the dangers of that dreadful contest, was never forgotten. At Tilsit, when Napoleon gave a verbal assent to the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, the destination of Roumelia and Constantinople was still left in the dark—neither would cede the prize to his rival; and this point was at last the real object of discord between the courts of Paris and St Petersburg.

636. The chief strength of the Turks, as of all Asiatic nations, consists in their numerous and excellent light cavalry, supplied not only by the Turkoman tribes of Anatolia, but also, in a great measure, by the Moslem proprietors of Europe, who hold their lands under tenure of military service as spahis, and who are unrivalled in their skill and daring as horsemen. A numerous body of infantry, variously estimated at from 60,000 to 100,000 men, is also drawn from the *timariots*, or military feudatories; and the famous janissaries, the earliest disciplined corps of infantry embodied in Europe, though far degenerated from their ancient efficiency and renown, were still at this period, by their zeal and prowess, the main stay of the empire. Such were the military resources of the Ottomans; and the long and bloody wars which they have sustained with invincible tenacity, during the decline of their power, against the Austrians and Russians,

prove what powerful elements of strength still exist in their national courage and energy.

637. The Turkish fortresses would be of little value if considered solely as to the solidity or scientific construction of their works; but the obstinacy with which they are defended renders them more formidable obstacles than the most regular ramparts of the West. Many European commanders deem their duty discharged if they hold out till the breach is practicable; but in Turkey the serious part of the defence begins with the assault. In personal conflict the bayonet has never proved a match for the scimitar and poniard, when wielded by the skill and dauntless bravery of the Osmanlis; and the inveteracy with which war has long been carried on between the Turks and Russians, animates with the courage of despair the efforts of the defenders, who are aware that their only chance of safety lies in resistance. Thus the siege of one or more of the barrier fortresses on the Danube invariably detained a Russian invading army during several months; after which, traversing slowly and painfully several hundred miles of the waterless and pestilential plains of Bulgaria, exposed to the constant assaults of clouds of hostile cavalry, they found the great intrenched camp at Shumla garrisoned by the Moslem feudatories, and the Balkan bristling with daring cavaliers; till the weary battalions of the Muscovites melted away in inglorious warfare at the foot of the great mountain-barrier of Constantinople.

638. We have already (p. 267-8) detailed the origin of the war of 1807 between Turkey and Russia, and the failure of Sir John Duckworth's attempt on Constantinople—an event which had a powerful effect in raising the spirits of the Moslems. But a revolution soon after took place in the capital, which seemed likely again to prostrate the reviving strength of the empire. The Sultan Selim, an amiable and enlightened prince, had been endeavouring to remedy the weakness of the state by reforming its institutions; but the organisation of a new corps, disciplined in the European method, had excited the violent discontent of the janissaries, who saw in this measure the prelude to their

own abolition, and a furious revolt at length broke out. The *ulemah* or priesthood openly sided with the rebels; the ministers were massacred by the exasperated soldiery; and after a frightful scene of bloodshed and confusion, the Sultan was dethroned (June 1, 1807), and replaced by his cousin Mustapha. But the abilities of the new monarch were altogether inadequate to the direction of affairs; and anarchy continued to reign in the capital, till, in the spring of the following year, Mustapha-Bairakdar, Pasha of Rudshuk, who had been warmly attached to Selim, marched with a chosen body of troops from the Danube to Constantinople in the hope of reinstating him. He was already at the gates of the palace when his design was detected, and Selim was strangled in prison by order of Mustapha. But the Bairakdar had now gone too far to recede with safety: Mustapha was summarily dethroned, and confined in the apartment lately occupied by Selim; while Mahmood, the last of the imperial family, was placed on the throne (May 21, 1808).

639. But the new Sultan was not less bent on reform than the unfortunate Selim had been; and his efforts were ably seconded by the firmness and capacity of Bairakdar, now appointed Grand Vizier. The jealousy of the janissaries was again awakened, and another and more sanguinary revolt broke out in November. The Vizier, attacked in his palace by the ferocious multitude, blew himself up with the edifice; the new troops were overpowered and slaughtered; and the Sultan only preserved his throne by the execution of his predecessor Mustapha (Nov. 20), which left himself the only survivor of the sacred line, and by yielding to the demands of the rebels for the abrogation of all the recent reforms. These repeated convulsions gave Napoleon a pretext for his abandonment of the Turks at Tilsit, on the plea that his engagements had been with Selim, and that the recent excesses in Constantinople had proved the Ottomans to be mere barbarians, who were not to be tolerated in Europe. A negotiation was, however, kept on foot between Russia and the Porte during the war with Sweden, and it was not till March 1809 that the contest on the Danube was resumed with vigour.

640. The Russian army under Prosoroffski amounted to 80,000 foot and 25,000 horse—a force greatly superior to that of the Turks, who were besides embarrassed by the revolt of the Servians under Czerni George; yet Prosoroffski was detained on the Danube, and repulsed with slaughter from the fortresses of Giurgevo (May 19) and Brahilow (June 14); while the Turks, having routed and driven back the Servians, boldly crossed the Danube (Aug. 4), and began to ravage Moldavia. Bagrathion, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Prosoroffski, now laid siege to Silistria; but the Russians were worsted at Tartaritza (Nov. 3); and though Ismail and Brahilow were reduced by famine at the end of the campaign, Bagrathion was superseded, early in 1810, by Kamenskoi (son of the general who had commanded in Poland in 1807), who determined at once to push on with the main body of his army for the intrenched camp of Shumla on the Balkan, leaving Langeron, with the other divisions, to reduce the fortresses on the Danube.

641. The operations of Langeron were entirely successful: Silistria, Tourtoukai, and Rasgrad successively surrendered in the early part of June, though not without strong suspicions of treachery; and on the 22d, Kamenskoi appeared with 40,000 men before Shumla. This celebrated stronghold, though without any pretensions to be considered as a regular fortification, proved, however, impregnable when defended by the Turkish scimitar; and, after several weeks spent in fruitless efforts, Kamenskoi was compelled to renounce the enterprise (July 12); and, leaving only a blockading corps before Shumla, hastened with 12,000 choice troops to aid in the siege of Rudshuk. The walls were soon laid in ruins, and the grand assault was given on the 3d August, but it was repulsed with the loss of 8000 men; and the Russians soon after, raising the blockade of Shumla, withdrew to the north bank of the Danube, whence they still watched the ramparts of Rudshuk.

642. The *Beglerbeg*, or Viceroy of Roumelia, Muktar Pasha, was meanwhile advancing with 30,000 feudatory troops for the relief of Rudshuk, and had intrenched himself at Battin, near the con-

fluence of the Tantra and the Danube, where Kamenskoi resolved to attack him. The first assault on the Turkish lines (Sept. 7) was repulsed with great slaughter, but on the following day the camp was stormed; the Seraskier himself was mortally wounded in attempting to cut his way through at the head of his cavalry; and the flotilla on the Danube, destined for the relief of Rudshuk, having been captured at the same time, that fortress capitulated on the 26th September. Giurgevo surrendered soon after; and Nicopolis, after a long blockade, yielded on the 12th December; and on the death, shortly after, of Kamenskoi, the command-in-chief was given to an officer destined to immortality in a more glorious war — General Kutusoff.

643. The great draft of troops from the Danube to Poland, early in 1811, in consequence of the doubtful aspect of the relations with France, reduced the Russian army to 50,000 men, dispersed all along the line of the Danube; and the Seraskier, Achmet Pasha, encouraged by this diminution of the strength of the enemy, advanced against Rudshuk. A severe action was fought (July 2) under the walls of the town; but though Kutusoff succeeded at the time in repulsing the assault of the Turks, he found it necessary to evacuate Rudshuk and withdraw to the left bank of the river, whither the Vizier, after spending six weeks in repairing the defences of the recovered fortress, pursued him on the 8th September. The corps of Boulatoff, which attempted to oppose the passage, was routed with the loss of 2000 men; and 30,000 Turks succeeded in intrenching themselves on the northern shore. But Kutusoff, having received powerful reinforcements, availed himself of the supine security of the Turks to draw a semicircle of redoubts round their lines on the northern bank; while the camp on the south side of the river, where the magazines had been left, was surprised and stormed (Oct. 13) by General Markoff. The Turkish corps still remaining on the left bank, to the number of 18,000 men, were thus cut off from both supplies and succour; and the Vizier escaped into Rudshuk, leaving the command to Tchapan-Oglou, one of the great feudal

chiefs of Anatolia. Though without provisions or forage, compelled to feed on horse-flesh, and incessantly cannonaded by 200 guns on both banks of the river, the Turks refused to capitulate, and held out with unflinching gallantry till the 4th December, when the conclusion of a convention, with a view to peace, put an end to the sufferings, and saved the honour, of these brave men, more than half of whom had perished.

644. The French ambassador, Latour Maubourg, made every effort to retain the Turks in hostility with Russia; but the secret articles of Tilsit had come to the knowledge of the Divan, and the Turks, considering that the triumph of Napoleon in Russia would be only a prelude to his conquest of Constantinople, readily acceded to an accommodation. By the treaty of Bucharest (May 28), Russia restored to the Porte Moldavia and Wallachia, which she had declared to be annexed to her empire; retaining, however, Bessarabia, and fixing the Pruth as the boundary of the two nations. Peace was also concluded (July 18) between Russia and Britain; and Admiral Tchichagoff, who had conducted the negotiation, set out from Bucharest for the Vistula (July 31) with 40,000 men, who subsequently appeared with fatal effect at the passage of the Beresina by the French on their retreat from Moscow.

II. *Accession of Bernadotte to the Swedish throne—Causes which brought on the rupture with Russia.*

645. The kingdom of Sweden, in former days, maintained an eminent place in the European commonwealth; and the patriotism of Gustavus Vasa, the heroic valour of Gustavus Adolphus, and the marvellous exploits of Charles XII., have shed a distinguished lustre over its annals. But the physical resources of the country (the population of which, including Finland, was in 1808 hardly three millions, scattered over a surface thrice as large as the British Isles) were inadequate to maintain this elevated position, when wars came to be carried on by numerous standing armies; the long and arduous wars of Charles XII. exhausted her

strength, and reduced her to the rank of a second-rate monarchy. From the earliest times Sweden has enjoyed a free constitution and a representative government; the states, consisting of the four orders of nobles, clergy, burghers, and peasants, have the exclusive right of enacting laws and imposing taxes; and though many of the kings have ruled with almost unlimited authority, the power of the monarch is limited and defined by the constitution, which was finally settled in 1772.[1]

646. The valuable province of Finland, running almost up to the gates of the Russian capital, had long been viewed with covetous eyes by the cabinet of St Petersburg, which had never forgotten that in the war of 1789 the cannon of the Swedish fleet had been heard by the Empress Catherine in her own palace; and no sooner were the conferences of Tilsit concluded than war was declared, as has already been noticed, against Sweden (Feb. 6, 1808)—an example speedily followed by Denmark and Prussia; while 20,000 Russians, under Buxhowden, were poured into Finland. The ostensible cause of this violent and unjust oppression was the honourable adherence of Sweden to those principles of hostility to France which Russia herself had so recently professed; but the real object was speedily revealed by a ukase (March 28), which declared the annexation of Finland to the Russian empire. The Swedish troops, unprepared for defence, were compelled to retreat; the fortresses of Trevastus and Helsingfors fell into the hands of the invaders; Abo, the capital of the province, was taken (March 2); and the impregnable fortress of Sveaborg, the Gibraltar of the north, was disgracefully surrendered by the treachery of the governor, Admiral Cronstedt.

647. This dreadful blow, soon followed by the capture of the islands of Aland and Gothland, spread consternation in Sweden, which the extravagant conduct of the king did not tend to allay. Instead of supporting General Klingspor, who had gallantly resumed the offensive and driven the Russians from East Bothnia, he assembled 20,000 men with the wild design of invading Norway; violated all diplomatic courtesies by the arrest of the Russian minister, Alopæus; and suffered 10,000 British troops, under

Sir John Moore, which arrived at Gothaborg in May, to return without effecting anything. The Swedish fleet, meanwhile, maintained its reputation, and gained some important advantages over the Russian admiral Kanikoff; but the brave Klingspor, after maintaining through the summer a hopeless struggle in Finland, was compelled (Nov. 19) to sign a convention surrendering the province to the Russians. These calamitous events, joined to a general belief of the partial insanity of the king, led to an almost universal feeling that a change of sovereign was indispensable; and a revolution was accordingly effected, without disturbance or bloodshed, in March 1809. The king was arrested in the palace and conveyed to the castle of Grippsholm, where he signed (March 29) an act of renunciation; the states of the kingdom solemnly deposed, not only Gustavus himself, but all his descendants; and his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, was proclaimed king (June 5) by the title of Charles XIII.

648. The first care of the new monarch was to conclude peace with Russia, and for this purpose he solicited the mediation of Napoleon. But nothing less than Finland would satisfy Russia; and the passage of the Gulf of Bothnia on the ice (March 1809), by general Barclay de Tolly, rendered submission inevitable. Peace was at length concluded at Frederiksham (Sept. 17), Sweden resigned Finland, West Bothnia, and the Aland Isles to Russia, and acceded (by a separate treaty with France) to the Continental System; while Pomerania, on the other hand, was evacuated by the French, and restored to the Swedish crown.

649. As Charles XIII. was childless, the succession had been vested in the Prince of Holstein-Augustenburg; but the sudden death of this prince from apoplexy (May 13, 1810), once more left the throne without an heir-presumptive, and opened a vast field of intrigue in the north of Europe. The King of Denmark openly declared himself a candidate, and prohibited the brother of the late crown-prince, to whom the Swedes were inclined, from accepting the dignity. But the prospect of subjection to their ancient enemies the Danes was hateful to the whole nation, and in this extremity a powerful party at last turned their eyes on

Bernadotte, who was favourably known to many of the best families in Sweden from his kindness to the Swedish prisoners taken in the Polish war of 1807; and the choice of whom, they thought, though erroneously, might tend to propitiate the French Emperor. His election in the diet at Oerebro (Sept. 17) was almost unanimous; and though Napoleon, with whom Bernadotte had been in a sort of disgrace since Wagram, was at first surprised at the elevation of his fortunate lieutenant, he did not oppose his accepting the dignity, and Bernadotte forthwith set out for his adopted country.*

650. Napoleon was meanwhile pursuing his system of pacific encroachment in Central and Northern Europe. The republic of the Valais was united to the Empire (Nov. 12) by a simple decree, on the ground that this measure was necessary from the immense works constructed there for the passage of the Alps. But a more alarming aggression was the incorporation with France (Dec. 13) of the Hanse Towns, and the whole coast of Germany on the Northern Ocean up to Lubeck and the shores of the Baltic—a monstrous spoliation, which (it was alleged) had become indispensable for the carrying out of the Continental System, but which not only stripped the King of Westphalia and the Grand-duke of Berg of 700,000 subjects, but swallowed up the whole possessions of the Grand-duke of Oldenburg, brother-in-law to the Emperor Alexander. The jealous irritation which had long smouldered in the breast of the latter potentate (arising both from the slight thrown on his sister by the marriage with Maria-Louisa, and his suspicions of a design of Napoleon to restore the nationality of Poland) was blown into a flame by this unprecedented act of rapacity; and an angry correspondence ensued between the two courts, while the Russian troops in Poland received large reinforcements, and extensive intrenchments were commenced on the Dwina. A ukase was at last

* Bernadotte was the son of a petty lawyer at Pau, where he was born on 6th Jan. 1764. He commenced his military career as a private in the marines, with which corps he served in India during the American War, and had, at the breaking out of the Revolution, attained the rank of sergeant.

issued (Dec. 31, 1810), which affected Napoleon in the most sensitive point by a relaxation of the decrees against British produce, which was admitted if under a neutral flag; while many articles of French manufacture were virtually prohibited. This amounted, in fact, to a secession from the Continental System, which Napoleon forthwith proceeded to enforce with increased rigour on the other northern powers. From Denmark he met with the most willing compliance, but the obedience of Sweden was forced and reluctant; and though she was compelled to go through the form of declaring war (Nov. 1810) against Britain, all the demands of Napoleon for a supply of seamen, and for the accession of Sweden to a new confederacy of the North, were evaded or refused. At length, finding all his menaces ineffectual, he directed the seizure (Jan. 1812) of Pomerania by Davoust, who occupied Stralsund and Rugen, and confiscated all the Swedish property in the harbours; and Bernadotte, determined by this act of hostility, concluded an alliance offensive and defensive (April 5, 1812) with Russia, which was soon followed (July 12) by the re-establishment of amicable relations with Britain.

651. During the progress of these events, the wishes of Napoleon were crowned (March 20, 1811) by the birth of a son—the King of Rome—which was hailed with unbounded joy, as affording the long-desired assurance of the continuance of his dynasty. About the same time, in anticipation of the gigantic contest which he foresaw must ere long take place with Russia, he relaxed in some measure the burdens of Prussia, the financial and individual ruin of which unhappy state had reached their climax, in consideration of an alliance offensive and defensive (Feb. 24, 1812), by which Prussia bound herself to furnish 20,000 troops against Russia—Austria also engaged (March 14) to supply 30,000 men for the same purpose. Advantageous proposals of peace were at the same time (April 17) made to Britain; but as the British government refused to treat on any other basis than the restoration of Ferdinand in Spain, the negotiation fell at once to the ground. A constant interchange of recriminatory

notes, meanwhile, was kept up between the French and Russian cabinets, till an *ultimatum* was presented by Russia (April 24), offering to come to an accommodation if France would evacuate Prussia and Pomerania, reduce the garrison of Dantzic, and come to an arrangement with Sweden. These proposals remained unanswered.

652. On the 29th of April, accordingly, Alexander arrived at Wilna; and, in the middle of May, Napoleon set out for Dresden to take the command of his army against Russia.

III. *Advance of Napoleon to Moscow.*

653. Since the fall of the Roman empire, no monarch had ever attained the commanding station held by Napoleon at the commencement of the Russian war. From the shores of the Baltic to the mountains of Calabria, from the sands of Bordeaux to the forests of the Vistula, the whole forces of Europe were marshalled at his will; the Austrians, the Italians, the Prussians, and the Bavarians, marched in the same ranks with the French and the Poles; the conquerors of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, were seen side by side with the vanquished in those disastrous combats. All the roads of France and Germany were thronged, during the spring of 1812, with troops converging towards the Vistula; and such was the general enthusiasm, that young men of the richest and noblest families eagerly solicited employment in a expedition where success appeared certain, and danger unlikely. "We are going to Moscow, but we shall soon return," were the words with which the joyous youth took leave of their friends. The marshals and older officers, indeed, whose fortunes were made, beheld with ill-disguised aversion the profitless hardships before them; and Napoleon, unable to inspire his old companions in arms with the ardour felt by himself, gradually exchanged their society for that of the young generals of division, whose fiery spirit was more congenial to his own undiminished energy.

654. The forces at the command of Napoleon at this period

amounted to the enormous aggregate of 1,200,000 men; 850,000 of these were native French, of whom 300,000 were in Spain. The Grand Army, destined to act against Russia, comprised not less than 500,000, including 80,000 horse, with 1300 pieces of cannon; but of this prodigious armament only 200,000 were native French, the remainder being Germans, Italians, Poles, and Swiss, compelled to follow the conqueror's banners. To oppose this unprecedented host, the Russians could collect only 217,000 men in the first line, and 35,000 in the second—though the army of Moldavia, 35,000 strong, came up at the close of the campaign; but they lay close to their own resources, and the chasms in their ranks were constantly filled by crowds of enthusiastic and devoted recruits. RELIGION and PATRIOTISM were the principles which Alexander invoked in this awful crisis; and though the French ridiculed the expression, in the Russian proclamations, of sentiments of which they themselves were ignorant, these appeals produced a deep impression on the simple and devout minds of the rural population. They awaited the shock alone and unaided; for, taught by the disastrous issue of former coalitions, Britain had not offered, nor would Russia accept, any pecuniary assistance.

655. On the 9th of May, Napoleon left Paris for Dresden, accompanied by Maria-Louisa. In that city were assembled all the sovereigns of Germany, including the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia; and the power and grandeur of Napoleon were never more strikingly displayed than during his residence at this time in the capital of Saxony. Four kings were frequently waiting in his ante-room; and queens were Maria-Louisa's ladies of honour. A countless crowd of princes, ministers, dukes, and courtiers, thronged with Oriental servility round his steps; and everything announced the presence of the king of kings, now elevated to the highest pinnacle of earthly grandeur. "Never," said he, "was the success of an expedition more certain; I feel that it draws me on; and if Alexander refuses my propositions, I will pass the Niemen."

656. Napoleon's forces, at the commencement of the campaign,

were divided into three great masses. The first, commanded by the Emperor himself, 220,000 strong, was directed against Barclay de Tolly's army of 127,000; the second, under Jerome, of 75,000, was to crush Prince Bagrathion, who had only 48,000; while the viceroy Eugene, with 75,000 more, was to prevent the junction of the two Russian armies. The extreme right under Schwartzenberg, and the left under Macdonald, each 40,000 strong, were to act against Tormasoff and Essen. But notwithstanding the enormous magazines which had been formed in Dantzic and other depots, principally by forced requisitions on Prussia, the prodigious accumulation of troops in Poland utterly ruined the country; and though the infantry arrived on the Niemen in good order, the cavalry and artillery already suffered from the total exhaustion of forage, and pillage and disorder were universal on the flanks of the army. Still the masses pressed on; on the 23d of June the imperial columns approached the Niemen; and on the following day 200,000 men, including 40,000 horse, passed the river in magnificent array under the eye of the Emperor.

657. The invasion of their country was announced to his subjects by the Emperor Alexander in a noble proclamation (June 25); and it was with regret that the Russian army, filled with enthusiasm, received orders to retreat before the enemy. But the wisdom of this course soon became evident: the horses of the French perished so fast in Lithuania, from incessant rain and want of provender, that 120 guns were left at Wilna for want of the means of transport; and 25,000 men were in the hospitals. At Wilna, where he arrived on the 28th June, Napoleon remained seventeen days—a delay for which he has been much blamed, but which was in fact inevitable, from the want of resources in the country, and the necessity of allowing the convoys to keep pace with the army. The enthusiasm of the Poles broke out in Lithuania on the appearance of the French, as it had done in the duchy of Warsaw in the campaign of Friedland; their national restoration was confidently expected, and the Diet of Warsaw presented an animated address to Napoleon, urging him

to complete the glorious task. But however willing to avail himself of the ardour of the Poles, he was obliged to inform the deputies that he had guaranteed to Austria her Polish provinces; yet, notwithstanding this revelation, which greatly damped their patriotic zeal, not fewer than 85,000 Poles took service in the French army in the course of the campaign.

658. During Napoleon's march on Wilna, Jerome and Davoust advanced to cut off Bagrathion's army from that of Barclay de Tolly; but the rapidity and skill of the Russian's movements, and the tardiness of Jerome's pursuit, rendered this design abortive. After two sharp cavalry skirmishes (July 9 and 10)—the first blood drawn in the campaign, both of which terminated to the disadvantage of the French—Bagrathion reached Bobrinsk on the Beresina in safety; while the Emperor, irritated at this failure, transferred his brother's command to Davoust. The marshal anticipated the Russians in seizing the defiles at Mohilow, and repulsed their attempt to force his position in a severe action (July 23), which cost each side 3000 men; but Bagrathion, again falling back, crossed the Dnieper near Novo-Bikhow, and eventually (Aug. 3) joined the main army under Barclay at Smolensko.

659. On leaving Wilna, Barclay had at first retired to the intrenched camp of Drissa on the Dwina, which covered the road to St Petersburg. But this position was rendered useless by the movement of the mass of Napoleon's forces towards the right; the camp was therefore evacuated, and Barclay marched up the Dwina by Polotsk to Witepsk, where he crossed the river (July 23). Napoleon, with 180,000 men, came up on the 25th; and though Barclay had only 82,000 he boldly resolved to give battle, rather than risk a flank attack while defiling to the spot where he had appointed to meet Bagrathion. Several severe skirmishes took place between the advanced guards; but on the night of the 27th intelligence was received of Bagrathion's having crossed the Dnieper; and Barclay, immediately breaking up his encampment, effected his retreat towards Smolensko with such skill and secresy, that the French advanced guard, the next day, was for

some time unable to discover what route he had taken. Little pursuit was attempted, for the losses of the army, from the want of magazines or convoys, were already such as materially to impair its efficiency,—neither forage for the horses, nor spirits and bread for the men, could be procured; and the flanks and rear, filled with stragglers and marauders, presented a frightful scene of pillage and confusion. Yielding to necessity, Napoleon established his headquarters at Witepsk, and put his troops into cantonments; while the Russian army retired unmolested to Smolensko.

660. During these movements the Emperor Alexander had repaired to Moscow, whence he issued orders for hastening the levies, and appealed afresh to the patriotism of the people in energetic addresses, which were instantly and eagerly responded to by voluntary enlistments of men, and contributions of money from all quarters. Wittgenstein, meanwhile, who had been left with 25,000 men on the Dwina, had been victorious (July 31) over Oudinot, whom Napoleon had stationed at Polotsk to oppose him; but the French marshal, who lost 4000 men, was enabled to keep the field by a reinforcement of 12,000 Bavarians who joined him under St Cyr. Two pieces of intelligence, moreover, reached Napoleon during his halt at Witepsk, which led to serious debates in his council,—these were the peace of Bucharest (July 14), which released the Russian army on the Danube, and the alliance between Sweden and Russia, which threatened his rear with a descent from the Swedish forces. Several of the marshals openly opposed a further advance into Russia; but their arguments were overruled by Napoleon, who concluded his reply in these words,—"We must be in Moscow in a month, or we shall never be there. *Peace awaits us under its walls.*" He deemed that the fall of the capital would compel the submission of the government.

661. The first blow in the renewal of hostilities was struck by the Russians (whose united armies now amounted to 120,000 men), by a movement (Aug. 7) against the French left. The advanced guard of Murat was worsted in an encounter with Platoff and

his Cossacks; and Napoleon, roused by this check, instantly collected his corps in all directions, and, crossing the Dnieper (Aug. 13 and 14) with 200,000 men, entered Old Russia at Liady. The division of General Neweroffskoi, consisting of 7000 raw troops, which alone had been left on that side of the river, retired across the plain; and though enveloped by 18,000 horse, and charged *more than forty times*, kept its ranks unbroken the whole day, till it joined the corps of Raeffskoi, and found shelter within the walls of Smolensko. The ancient ramparts of this venerable city, which occupies both banks of the Dnieper, were still strong enough to withstand a sudden attack; and Ney had already (16th) been repulsed with loss in an attempt to storm the citadel, when the columns of Barclay and Bagrathion appeared hastening to the rescue. A general battle was now expected on both sides; but Barclay, conscious that a defeat in this situation would expose him to be cut off from Moscow and the interior, directed Bagrathion with the main body to retire, on the morning of the 17th, by the Moscow road, while he himself, with 30,000 men, defended the town, the bridges of which furnished the only passage over the river. During the whole day, column after column of the French, led by Ney and Davoust, advanced through a storm of shot to the assault; the Poles, spurred on by their national animosity, strove to wrest from the Russians the key of their country; but all was in vain against the stubborn valour of the defenders, and at 9 P. M. the assailants drew off, after having lost 15,000 men. But the wooden houses of the city had been set on fire by the howitzers, and by midnight the whole of Smolensko was one vast scene of conflagration! in the midst of which the Russians withdrew, carrying with them all their wounded, and most of the inhabitants, and leaving only the naked walls as a trophy to the conqueror.

662. Barclay had at first retreated on the St Petersburg road, and during the circuit which he was thus compelled to make to rejoin Bagrathion, he was exposed to the danger of a flank attack from Napoleon. A partial action only, however, ensued at Valoutina (Aug. 9), with the rear-guard under Touczkoff,

which continued with desperate slaughter till nightfall—the Russians, who were at most only 25,000, continuing to hold their ground against Ney with 35,000 French. Eight thousand men, including the gallant General Gudin, fell on the side of the French, and 6000 on that of their opponents—an almost unexampled carnage; but the heroism of the Russian rearguard saved their army, which effected its perilous movement in safety, and was once more united to the force under Bagrathion.

663. The object of the Russian generals, in retiring from the frontier, had been to reduce the superiority of the enemy's force by the fatigues and diseases incident to a protracted advance, while their own losses were more than supplied by the levies of the interior. These objects had been fully attained. The march through Lithuania had consumed *one-fourth* of the native French and *one-half* of the allies, who had miserably fallen victims to intemperance and fatigue, or to the ravages of fever and dysentery. Wilna and Witepsk were turned into vast charnel-houses; and the spacious convents of Smolensko, converted into hospitals, could not contain the multitudes of wounded. Napoleon, however, anxious to efface these sinister auguries by the lustre of a victory, still continued to advance; and Barclay, who had now been joined by Milaradovitch with 16,000 men, was surveying the ground near Gjatsk with a view to choosing a field of battle, when he was superseded in the command-in-chief by Kutusoff, who had just concluded the Turkish war, and whose unbounded popularity with the soldiers, as a native Russian, caused his appointment to be hailed by the army as an omen of future success.

664. On the flanks of the Grand Army, meanwhile, Tormasoff had been defeated in Volhynia by Schwartzenberg, on the same day (Aug. 12) on which Oudinot had been driven back by Wittgenstein from the Svoiana to Polotsk. In an attack on the French lines of the latter town (Aug. 17) the Russian general was less successful; but Oudinot, being disabled by a wound, was succeeded by St Cyr, who was made a marshal of the empire. The corps of Victor was established as a general reserve on the great road

to Smolensko; and Augereau's army, above 50,000 strong, was summoned from the Oder to the Niemen to keep up the communications; while, to provide a reserve in France itself, an *anticipative* conscription for 1813 was ordered, to the number of 120,000! Having completed these dispositions, Napoleon left Smolensko, with his guards (Aug. 22), and again marched on the traces of the enemy.

665. The Russian army was still retiring in admirable order, without leaving a gun or a prisoner to the invaders, over the uniform and extensive plain between Smolensko and Moscow, while Murat, with 20,000 horse, toiled after them in vain. It now became evident, however, that a general battle was at hand, and Napoleon halted for three days to recall the stragglers to their standards. On the 5th of September they again advanced, and at length descried the whole Russian army drawn up in position at Borodino—their right covered by the stream of the Kolotza, while intrenchments and heavy batteries were erected along their whole line; and the weakest part, between the centre and left, was defended by a great redoubt commanding the whole plain in the front, and by another at some distance further in advance. Against this last the first attack of the French was directed; it was three times taken and retaken, and at last remained with the assailants.* Both armies bivouacked on the ground during the night; and in the course of the evening, intelligence reached the French headquarters of the defeat of Salamanca.

666. At five the next morning, the sun rose in splendour. "It is the sun of Austerlitz!" exclaimed Napoleon; and immediately issued a proclamation to his troops, concluding in the spirit-stirring words,—"Let your countrymen say of you all, 'He was in that great battle under the walls of Moscow!'" The exulting shouts of the French were replied to by the prayers of the Russians, who knelt as an image, believed to possess miraculous

* The next day, when the Emperor passed the 61st regiment, he asked where the third battalion was? "In the redoubt, sire," was the answer. All had fallen in the assault!

properties, was carried through their ranks, and received the blessings of their priests; and thus both hosts prepared for battle. The numbers were nearly equal—132,000 on either side; but the French were vastly superior in cavalry, of which they had 30,000, and in the quality of part of their troops. Many of the Russian regiments were newly raised, and had never seen service; but their artillery, 640 pieces, exceeded that of the French, who had 590.

667. At six o'clock on the morning of the 7th the battle began. The French columns advanced in echelon, under cover of their artillery, with the right under Davoust in front; and notwithstanding the fall of several generals, which caused them for a moment to waver, the redoubts on the Russian left were carried. Bagrathion, however, instantly bringing up the second line, retook them at the point of the bayonet, and the combat continued to rage with the utmost fury; while Ney and Eugene, coming into action in the centre, forced their way into the intrenchments by the gorge of the redoubts, in spite of the tempest of grape poured upon them; and maintained themselves till expelled by the arrival of a fresh corps under Bagawouth from the right. The heights of Semenowskoie, near the centre, were now the grand object of attack; and Ney and Davoust, supported by the Young Guard, and covered by the fire of 400 guns, advanced against the Russians, who encountered them with equal bravery in the plain. The struggle was terrible, and lasted more than an hour; but Bagrathion was at length mortally wounded, and the Russians, compelled to give way, fell back in perfect order, and, forming squares in a strong position in the rear, held their ground for the rest of the day against the impetuous charges of the French cavalry, and the fire of the artillery, ranged on the heights from which the Russians had been driven.

668. Eugene, meanwhile, having carried the village of Borodino, had for two hours maintained an arduous conflict with the Russian centre under the fire of the great redoubt, while Ouvaroff attacked his flank with a large body of Cossacks; but as soon

as Napoleon heard that the Russian intrenchments on the left were carried, he directed a grand effort to regain his advantages in this quarter. Eugene advanced again with his infantry to the attack of the great redoubt, while the cuirassiers, headed by Colonel Caulaincourt (who fell gloriously in the moment of triumph), dashed at full gallop through the Russian line, entered the redoubt by the gorge, and sabred the defenders. Kutusoff, however, nothing daunted, ordered a forward movement to recover his original position; and though this was frustrated by the tremendous fire of the French artillery, the French were equally unsuccessful in their efforts to dislodge the Russians from the second line of heights; and after a cannonade which lasted till night, the French lay on their old ground, while the Russians strengthened themselves in their new position.

669. Such was the terrible battle of Borodino, the most murderous and obstinately disputed ever fought between disciplined armies. The losses and the trophies of victory were nearly equally divided. The French took thirteen and lost ten pieces of cannon; on the Russian side, 15,000 were killed, 30,000 wounded, and 2000 taken prisoners; the French lost 12,000 killed and 38,000 wounded: and on each side between thirty and forty generals were killed or wounded—Touczkoff and Bagrathion on the Russian side, Montbrun and Colonel Caulaincourt on the French, were among the former.

670. The French army, sensible of the magnitude of their loss, passed a melancholy night after the battle. The enormous accumulation of the wounded exceeded all the efforts of the surgeons, and even the heroic Ney recommended a retreat. On the following day, the Emperor, as usual, visited the field; but the soldiers were too much depressed to receive him with their wonted enthusiasm, and their shouts of triumph were feebly heard amidst the cries of the wounded. Still the reinforcements which had joined Napoleon rendered it incumbent on the Russians to retire; but the retreat was orderly and without loss, and on the 13th they took up a position in front of Moscow. A council of war was there held on the expediency of risking another battle.

which was strongly advocated by Benningsen and Doctoroff. Had the Russian generals been aware that Napoleon, from the deficiency of supplies, and especially of ammunition, was absolutely destitute of the means of fighting another great battle, this course would have been adopted; but Kutusoff and Barclay, impressed with the necessity of keeping the army entire, supported a retreat, urging that the abandonment of Moscow "would lead the enemy into a snare, where his destruction would be inevitable." These prophetic words determined the assembly. On the morning of the 14th, the army defiled in silent grief through the streets of the sacred city; and scarcely had they retired, when the French advance, from an eminence on the road, descried the long-wished-for minarets and oriental cupolas of 200 churches and 1000 palaces, which glittered in the sun, everywhere mingling and contrasting with the foliage of groves and gardens. The cry of "Moscow! Moscow!" ran from rank to rank; the soldiers rushed tumultuously forward, and Napoleon, hastening in the midst of them, gazed on the splendid scene. His first words were, "Behold that famous city!" the next, "It was time!"

671. Murat advanced to the gates with the cavalry, and concluded a truce with Milaradovitch, who commanded the rearguard, for the evacuation of the city. But when the French entered, Moscow was found to be deserted. Its 300,000 inhabitants had left it with the troops; and the Emperor at last entered the grotesque towers and venerable walls of the Kremlin, the ancient palace and citadel of the Czars of Muscovy, amid no other concourse than his own soldiers. By degrees a few slaves emerged from the recesses of the palaces, but they could only tell that all but themselves had fled from the devoted city.

672. The extent, however, of the sacrifice which the Russians had resolved on was not yet developed. The governor, Count Rostopchin, and the nobles, in a public assembly, had determined to destroy the city which they could no longer defend; the authorities carried off with them the fire-engines, and everything which could arrest a conflagration; and the persons

selected for the duty of firing the buildings only awaited the departure of their countrymen. A fire speedily broke out in the great market-place, and though it was got under, a fresh one appeared at midnight on the 15th, in the northern and western parts of the city, which was spread in all directions by the violence and frequent changes of the wind. The soldiers were incapable of arresting its progress, and by the 18th and 19th the whole city was one ocean of flame. Volumes of fire of various colours, from the vast stores of combustibles in the shops, ascended to the heavens; while the troops, tormented by hunger and thirst, and released from all discipline by the surrounding horrors, rushed in search of wine and booty into the burning edifices, under the ruins of which many perished miserably. Nine-tenths of the city were destroyed, and the remainder, abandoned to pillage, and deserted by the inhabitants, offered no resources to the army. The Emperor had been compelled to leave the Kremlin on the 16th, and with difficulty made his way through the rushing flames to the country palace of Petrowsky, whence he cast a melancholy look on the burning city, and exclaimed, after a long silence, "This event is the presage of a long train of disasters."

673. While these terrible scenes were passing in the metropolis, the Russian army retired on the road to Kolomna, and, regaining by a circular march the road to Kaluga, took post at Taroutino, on the main route between Kaluga and Moscow, thus at once drawing near their reinforcements, and threatening the enemy's communications. The ample supply of provisions from the magazines of Kaluga, and the multitude of recruits daily arriving from the south, restored the spirit of the soldiers; and the event soon showed of what consequence the admirable selection of this station was to the future success of the campaign.

IV. *Retreat from Moscow.*

674. The destruction of the ancient capital spread dismay through Russia; but the heroism evinced by the Emperor on this

occasion was worthy of ancient Rome. In his address to the nation announcing the event, he repeated the prophetic words used by Kutusoff—"The enemy has entered Moscow as into a tomb; our forces increase and surround him; and soon he will have no escape from famine except by cutting his way through our armies. May we, by the help of God, triumph over our enemies, and thus become His instruments for the salvation of mankind!" The preparations of the Russian government corresponded to the magnitude of these anticipations. The army of Moldavia under Tchichagoff, 50,000 strong, was directed to march from the Danube, and establish itself on the Beresina; the corps of Wittgenstein, raised to an equal number, was to act against St Cyr at Polotsk, and to endeavour to open a communication with Tchichagoff, so as to cut off the retreat of the French into Lithuania; while Kutusoff, with the grand army, opposed them in the interior. Thus, while Napoleon, amid the ruins of Moscow, was expecting the submission of Russia, the empire was extending its mighty arms to envelop the aggressor, and intercept his return to Western Europe.

675. The French Emperor, however, had not been unmindful of this line of communication. Victor lay at Smolensko with 30,000 men, and 52,000 under Augereau held the line through Prussia and the grand-duchy of Warsaw; while Wittgenstein was watched by St Cyr, with the Bavarians and the corps of Oudinot. Meanwhile Napoleon had again fixed his residence (Sept. 20) in the Kremlin, which had escaped the flames, and awaited day after day, and week after week, the submission of the cabinet of St Petersburg to the proposals which he had addressed to them. The discipline and efficiency of his troops were all this time declining amidst the license which followed the pillage of Moscow; the want of the necessaries of life had rendered the most precious articles of no real value; and miserable horse-flesh was eaten out of golden dishes by men arrayed in the richest furs and silks of the East. The Russian camp at Taroutino, on the contrary, abundantly supplied with provisions, daily witnessed the arrival of crowds of ardent recruits; the Cossacks of

the Don took arms in a body, and did eminent service in the partisan warfare against the foraging parties, which the wants of the French compelled them to detach in all directions. During the first three weeks of October, more than 4000 men were made prisoners in this way; and Murat announced the alarming fact, that *one-half* the remaining cavalry had perished in these inglorious encounters. A general feeling of disquietude pervaded the army; but Napoleon, though well aware of the critical state of affairs, shrunk from commencing a retreat, which he saw would at once dispel the illusion of his invincibility. "My first retrograde step," said he, "will appear a flight: Europe will re-echo with the news. In politics, you must never retrace your steps, or show yourself conscious of an error. I know well that Moscow, as a military position, is worth nothing, but as a political point its preservation is of inestimable value."

676. Kutusoff in the mean time had received Lauriston, an aide-de-camp of Napoleon, at his headquarters; but though his real object was only to gain time, even this show of negotiation was highly displeasing to Alexander, who instantly (Oct. 9) commanded the conference to be broken off. On the 13th, the capture of Madrid by the British was celebrated in the Russian lines by discharges of artillery; and on the 18th, Kutusoff recommenced hostilities by an unexpected attack on the French advanced guard of 30,000 men, under Murat and Poniatowski, which lay negligently at Winkowo. Taken by surprise, and assailed by superior numbers, the French were speedily thrown into disorder, and fell back with the loss of 1500 prisoners, 38 guns, and all their baggage and camp equipage, the condition of which amply proved the straits to which they were reduced; in the kitchen of Murat were found roasted cats and boiled horse-flesh!

677. On the receipt of this disastrous intelligence, Napoleon instantly determined on evacuating Moscow, for which preparation had already been made by sending off towards Mojaisk the wounded, the trophies of the Kremlin, &c. At daybreak on the 19th he left the Kremlin; and the city was finally abandoned on

the 22d by the rearguard under Mortier, after an attempt (only partially successful), by Napoleon's express order, to blow up that venerable edifice. The force which left Moscow consisted of 105,000 men, with 600 guns, and 2000 vehicles laden with the costly spoils which they vainly hoped to preserve. But the cavalry was fearfully diminished; numerous corps of dismounted horsemen had been formed, and the surviving horses were scarcely in condition to bear their riders, or to drag the long trains of artillery. Confusion soon appeared in the line of march; quantities of rich booty were abandoned at every step; and the whole rather resembled the migration of the roving and predatory nations of antiquity, than the march of an army of disciplined troops.

678. Napoleon at first advanced on the old road to Kaluga, as if to attack the Russian position at Taroutino; but turning suddenly to the right, he gained, by cross-paths, the new route, which led to Kaluga through Malo-Yaroslavetz. Kutusoff, however, discovering this detour, made a cross-march in his turn; and his van, under Doctoroff, sustained, during the 24th, a sanguinary conflict with Eugene, who at last obtained possession, at the expense of 5000 of his best troops, of the smoking ruins of Malo-Yaroslavetz; while Kutusoff, coming up with his whole army, occupied a nearly impregnable position on the heights behind the town, with 100,000 men, and 700 pieces of cannon. On reconnoitring the ground the next day (in doing which he was nearly captured by an irruption of the Cossacks), Napoleon was forced to concur in the opinion of his officers, who had previously pronounced it unassailable; and no alternative remained but to abandon the march on Kaluga, and fall back on the wasted line of the Smolensko road. Murat, with his usual fiery valour, was still anxious to attempt forcing a passage; but he was overruled by Davoust and Bessières, in whose opinion the Emperor reluctantly acquiesced; and on 26th October, for the first time in his life, the victor in a hundred battles retired in the open field before his enemies.

679. By a singular coincidence, at the moment when the fatal

retreat commenced, Kutusoff, as if struck with sudden awe, abandoned his position, and fell back towards Kaluga. Thus the two armies were mutually retreating from each other; but Kutusoff was soon apprised of the movements of the enemy, and instantly detaching Platoff to press the rear with his Cossacks, directed Milaradovitch, with 25,000 light troops, to move by a road parallel to and near the wasted route adopted by the French army; while he himself led the main body towards Wiazma. Soon after repassing (Oct. 29) the fatal field of Borodino, still heaped with 30,000 skeletons and other vestiges of the battle, the French received a mournful addition to their numbers in a multitude of wounded left there on the advance, and on the 2d of November they reached Wiazma. Had Kutusoff got there before them, while Milaradovitch attacked their rear, he would probably have destroyed great part of their army; as it was, a severe action ensued (Nov. 3), in which the rearguard, under Davoust and the Viceroy, was driven in confusion through the town, with the loss of 6000 men, while that of the Russians fell short of 2000; and those shattered corps were in consequence withdrawn from the rear, the protection of which was entrusted to Marshal Ney.

680. Hitherto the weather, though cold and frosty at night, had been bright and clear during the day; but on the 6th the Russian winter fairly set in, with even more than its wonted severity. The air was darkened by thick and continued showers of snow, accompanied by piercing cold and a violent wind: hundreds of the soldiers fell and perished in the snow-drifts, or in the hollows concealed by the treacherous surface; others sank on the road, exhausted by fatigue and cold; and the sites of the bivouac fires at night were marked, on the morrow, by circles of dead bodies, frozen round the extinguished piles. The fingers of the men frequently dropped off while holding their muskets; and multitudes, leaving their ranks in search of subsistence, which the line of march did not afford, were slaughtered or made prisoners by the peasants and the Cossacks. In a week from the commencement of the frost, 30,000 horses had perished, so that cannon and baggage were abandoned at every step: the carcasses were

devoured by the famished soldiery, and in many cases even the repugnance to human flesh was overcome by the pangs of hunger! On the great body of the troops these continued horrors produced the usual results of recklessness, insubordination, and despair; the Guard alone, in the midst of the general disorganisation, preserved, with unshaken fortitude, its ranks and its discipline.

681. Through all these sufferings the army arrived at Dorogobouge, where the Viceroy was detached towards the north to support St Cyr, who was hard pressed by Wittgenstein. But his march was a succession of disasters. Before reaching the Wop, he had left behind 3000 men and 64 cannon; and as no bridge could be constructed, the remainder of the guns and baggage were necessarily abandoned, while the troops forded the half-frozen stream up to their waists. The bivouac of the following night completed the ruin of the corps—multitudes perished from the freezing of their wet garments; and the Viceroy, after routing, by a desperate effort, at Doukovchina the Cossacks who attempted to bar his way, made his way back to Smolensko (Nov. 13) with the remains of his troops. The other corps had already (Nov. 9 to 13) arrived there, losing great numbers of prisoners to the Russians, who continued their movement on a parallel line; and the magazines in the city afforded temporary relief to their perishing battalions. But it soon became evident that a further retreat would be necessary. Independent of the inadequacy of the stores at Smolensko to support the army for any length of time, the mind of the Emperor was seriously disquieted, not less by the intelligence which here reached him of Malet's conspiracy at Paris, than by the news received from both flanks. Wittgenstein, now reinforced by the army from Finland, had attacked the intrenched camp of St Cyr at Polotsk (Oct. 18), and driven the French over the Dwina, with the loss of 6000 men. Witepsk, with its magazines, was in consequence captured (Nov. 7); and an attack on Wittgenstein at Smoliantzy (Nov. 14), by Victor and Oudinot, led to no decisive result. The progress of Tchichagoff was still more threatening. Having marched from

Bucharest (July 31), he effected his junction with Tormasoff behind the Styr (Sept. 14); and, leaving Sacken with 27,000 men to observe Schwartzenberg, moved rapidly on Minsk. This town, containing the immense magazines collected during the summer, was defended by 6000 Poles: but it fell into the hands of the Russians on the 16th of November; and Tchichagoff, still advancing, stormed, on the 21st, the fortified bridge of Borissow on the Beresina, the only remaining line of communication for the Grand Army.

682. Meanwhile, on the 14th, the relics of the Grand Army had set out from Smolensko for the Niemen. The whole force still amounted to nearly 70,000 men, but not more than 40,000 of these were effective; of 40,000 cavalry which had crossed the Niemen, only 800 remained; and 350 guns had been lost or abandoned between Moscow and Smolensko. The Russians, however, had suffered from the cold even more than the French —50,000 men only, except the Cossacks, remaining fit for duty; and with these, Kutusoff was posted at Krasnoi, to oppose the passage of the enemy. The Guard, which marched with the Emperor in the first column, was suffered to pass (15th) almost unmolested—the name of Napoleon had not lost its magical influence on the mind of the Russian general; but Eugene, who followed, found his way barred by Milaradovitch, and after losing 4000 men in a gallant attempt to force the Russian batteries, only succeeded in rejoining the Emperor by making a circuit, after nightfall, with the Italian Guard and the best of the other troops. All the Russian forces were now (17th) united to overwhelm the third column under Davoust; but Napoleon, determined not to leave his brave lieutenant to perish, instantly halted and accepted the combat, exclaiming, "I have played emperor long enough; I must now be a general again." The battle was severely contested; and had Tormasoff, as originally intended, come up on the road between Krasnoi and Liady, the fragments of the French army would have been surrounded, and probably compelled to surrender. But the awe with which Kutusoff regarded the presence of Napoleon saved them; and the Emperor,

after holding his ground all day, was suffered to retire to Liady. The corps of Davoust was, however, almost totally destroyed; and 6000 prisoners, with 45 guns, fell into the hands of the Russians.

683. The rearguard under Ney, meanwhile, which had remained till the 17th at Smolensko, on arriving on the banks of the Losmina (18th) found the heights on their front and flank covered with troops and artillery, and were summoned to surrender. "A marshal of France never surrenders," was the dauntless reply of Ney, who instantly advanced with the utmost heroism against the batteries; but, after losing half his men, he was driven completely off the field, and only saved 3000 men out of 12,000 by crossing the Dnieper during the night on a thin covering of ice. This shattered remnant, destitute of horses or artillery, was still incessantly pursued by the Cossacks for twenty leagues through the forests; but the indomitable valour of Ney made his way through all obstacles; and he at last, with 1500 men, rejoined the Emperor, who, hailing him with the utmost joy as "the bravest of the brave," exclaimed, "I have 300,000,000 of francs at the Tuileries: I would gladly have given them all to save Marshal Ney!"

684. The miserable skeleton of the Grand Army was now assembled at Orcha, but scarcely 12,000 remained fit for duty. Since they left Smolensko, not less than 26,000 had been made prisoners, 10,000 killed or drowned, and 228 guns taken or abandoned, with a loss to the Russians of only 2000 men! The magazines and parks of artillery at Orcha, however, in some measure remedied their disorders; and the junction of Victor and Dombrowski brought an accession of 50,000 men, with guns and equipments complete. Tchichagoff, in the mean time, was repulsed on the Beresina by Oudinot (Nov. 23); but as he destroyed the bridge of Borissow before he retreated, a passage was now to be sought at another point. By a feint towards the Lower Beresina, as if meditating a junction with Schwartzenberg, Napoleon succeeded in distracting the attention of the enemy, and in throwing two bridges over the river at Studzianka, near Borissow, on the night

of the 25th ; and the passage of the army continued during the whole of the 26th and 27th ; but it was not yet nearly completed when the Russians again began to gather round them from all quarters. General Partonneaux, with Victor's rear-guard of 7000 men, was cut off on the night of the 27th by Wittgenstein, at Staroi-Borissow, and forced to capitulate ; and on the morning of the 28th a general attack commenced. The French van under Oudinot, which had passed the river, gallantly repelled all the attacks of Tchaplitz and Tchichagoff, who had been joined by Kutusoff's advanced guard under Yermoloff ; and the Guard, with the corps of Davoust, defiled in safety over the wooden causeways crossing the marshes, by firing which the Russians might have effectually cut off their retreat. But Victor, who had only 8000 men to protect the passage of the remaining guns and baggage, was obliged to give way before Wittgenstein, whose artillery was then brought so far forward as to bear upon the bridges and the multitude of stragglers and camp followers crowded near them. The whole mass instantly rushed in dreadful confusion towards the bridges, crushing each other in the desperation of their terror ; the artillery bridge broke, and all upon it perished in the half-frozen stream ; and the dreadful scene continued till night, when Victor, who had hitherto nobly kept his ground, withdrew his troops across the bridge, and set it on fire. All who remained on the other side were abandoned to their fate ; and when the ice melted in spring, 12,000 corpses, at the lowest statement, were found in the bed of the river. 12,000 more were slain, and 16,000 made prisoners ; and the relics of the army, a confused mass of 50,000 men, without order or discipline, marched in detached groups along the road to Wilna.

685. The return of the frost with increased severity on the 30th completed the disarray ; and it was with difficulty that Ney kept together 3000 men, to protect the rear from the constant attacks of Platoff and Tchaplitz. A guard of officers, called the Sacred Squadron, had been formed for the person of the Emperor ; but their horses soon perished, and Napoleon marched with the

rest on foot through the snow. On the 5th December he arrived at Smorgoni, and there, collecting his marshals around him, he dictated the famous Twenty-ninth Bulletin, which fully developed the horrors of the retreat; and intrusting the command to Murat, set out in a sledge, with Caulaincourt and Lobau, for Paris. On the 10th he arrived at Warsaw, and after an interview with the Abbé de Pradt, his ambassador to the Diet, in which he endeavoured to make light of his losses and hardships, resumed his journey. With his departure the disorganisation of the army was completed. The cold, as they approached Wilna, was from 26° to 30° below zero; everything was forgotten but the instinct of self-preservation; and though they were joined by numerous detachments on the road, these reinforcements disappeared in a few days before the severity of the frost and the incessant attacks of the Russians. Scarce 40,000, out of double that number, reached Wilna; but hardly had they time to refresh themselves from its magazines, than the Russians poured into the town; 14,000, incapable of marching further, were here taken, with all the remaining baggage and equipages. On the 13th December they at last passed the Niemen at Kowno, about 20,000 in number, two-thirds of whom had never seen the Kremlin—the sole remains of 500,000 combatants who had entered Russia since June. The heroic Ney, with 300 of the Guard, who alone preserved the semblance of order, covered the rear while the troops defiled over the bridge, and was himself the last of the Grand Army who left the Russian territory.

686. The corps of Macdonald still remained near Riga, and those of Schwartzenberg and Reynier in the south. But the latter, on learning the fate of the Grand Army, gradually fell back, and finally evacuated Russia on the 7th January 1813; while Macdonald, finding that Wittgenstein was moving on Gumbinnen to cut him off from the Vistula, commenced his retreat on the 18th December, and reached Konigsberg on the 3d January, without any serious loss in action; though the Prussian general York, finding himself separated from the French marshal by a Russian corps under General Diebitch, signed a

convention (Dec. 30), by which his troops, to the number of 18,000, became neutral—the first symptom of defection from the forced alliance with France. Thus was the Russian soil finally cleared of invaders; but the pursuit was kept up through Poland; Konigsberg, with 10,000 wounded, was taken, and it was only within the walls of Dantzic that the wretched remnant at last found rest. Here 35,000 men, of seventeen nations, were congregated; and the wearied Russians, only 30,000 of whom remained fit for duty, halted at Kalisch at the end of January. On the 22d December, the Emperor Alexander arrived at Wilna, where his first care was to relieve the multitudes of French sick and wounded who filled to overflowing all the prisons and hospitals; and hence, on the last day of the year, he addressed to his army a noble proclamation, in which, without underrating their glorious exploits, he ascribed their success mainly to the protection of Heaven, which he had invoked at the outset of the contest.

687. On the most moderate calculations, the losses of the French during the campaign were as follows:—Killed in battle, 125,000; 48 generals, 3000 officers, and 190,000 soldiers prisoners; died of cold, famine, and fatigue, 132,000; 75 eagles and standards, and 929 cannon abandoned or taken. The numbers who escaped were about 80,000, including 25,000 Austrians, and 18,000 Prussian auxiliaries. So complete an overthrow never befell so vast an armament; nor can it justly be attributed, as the French have often attempted to do, wholly or even chiefly to the severity of the climate. The real causes of the disaster appear to have been,—1st, Napoleon's imprudence in risking his army so far from its magazines and depots. 2d, His advance to Moscow after his cavalry had been ruined at Borodino. 3d, The immense superiority of the Russians in light horse, arising from the approximation of the seat of war to the Cossack and nomade tribes on the eastern frontier; which prevented the French from foraging, and threatened their vast army with destruction from its own numbers. But it would have been in vain that all these advantages lay within the reach of Russia, had not the constancy

and firmness of her people enabled her to grasp them. Justice has not hitherto been done to the heroism of all classes—of the generals, who, with their army yet reeking from Borodino, formed the project of enveloping the invader in the capital which he had conquered; of the citizens who fired their palaces and houses lest they should shelter the invader; of the sovereign, who, undismayed by the fires of Moscow, announced to his people, at the moment of their greatest agony, his determination never to submit, and foretold the approaching deliverance of their country and the world.

V. *Preparations of Napoleon for the Final Struggle.*

688. Outstripping even his couriers in speed, Napoleon traversed Poland and Germany in fourteen days, and arrived at the Tuileries at 11 P.M. on the 18th December, before the imperial government was aware that he had quitted the army. The Empress had just retired to rest, when the lady-in-waiting was surprised by the entrance of two men in travelling-cloaks into the antechamber, and Maria-Louisa, who had sprung out of bed on hearing her cry of astonishment, found herself in the arms of her husband. The news spread like wildfire; and the publication of the Twenty-ninth Bulletin (which, though it left the army before the Emperor, did not arrive till the day after), spread universal consternation. It was at first thought that the old system of concealing the greater part of the losses had been pursued on this, as on previous occasions, and that the Emperor was in truth the sole survivor of his followers; but Napoleon freely entered into the details of the disasters, and his undisguised frankness and intrepid countenance had a surprising effect in restoring public confidence. But the event which fixed the attention of the Emperor, and the intelligence of which had reached him shortly before he left the army in Russia, was the conspiracy of Malet.

689. General Malet, a man whose restless and enterprising character had occasioned his being detained for four years in custody at

Paris, had prepared a forged decree of the senate, announcing the death of Napoleon in battle, the abolition of the imperial rule, the formation of a provisional government, and his own appointment as governor of Paris. Provided with this document, he easily escaped (Oct. 22) from the loose surveillance under which he was detained; and presented himself, dressed in full uniform, at the barracks of a regiment of the urban guard of Paris. The colonel, thunderstruck by the news of the fall of the Emperor, and won by his own promotion in the forged decree to the rank of general, fell into the snare; the soldiers obeyed; and Malet, leading them to the prison of la Force, liberated Generals Lahorie and Guidal, two sturdy republicans confined there, and associated them with himself in the command. The Hotel de Ville, the barriers of the city, and the bank, were seized; Saviery and Pasquier, the minister and prefect of police, were arrested in their beds; and General Hullin, the governor of Paris, attempting resistance, was severely wounded by Malet with a pistol-shot. Success appeared about to crown the audacious enterprise, when an accident disconcerted the whole. Pasques, the inspector-general of police, coming to the adjutant-general's house to make some casual inquiries, found Malet there; and his exclamation of "This is my prisoner! How did he escape?" led to an instant discovery of the deceit which had been practised. Malet was instantly seized and disarmed; the soldiers, as soon as they were assured that the Emperor was not dead, returned with perfect docility to their duty, and by nine o'clock all was over. Malet, with Lahorie, Guidal, and eleven others, was sentenced to death; and all were shot the next day on the plain of Grenelle—an unnecessary piece of cruelty to such a number, and one which Napoleon would certainly not have permitted.

690. This extraordinary conspiracy, from the quickness with which it was frustrated, excited ridicule rather than fear in the salons of Paris; the ladies were especially diverted by the mishap of their old tormentor the minister of police; but those better acquainted with the real hazard, clearly saw how narrow

an escape the government had had. In a few moments, the post-office, the telegraph, the national guard, and all the machinery of government, would have been at the command of Malet; he would have learnt from the despatches which came in, the true state of affairs in Russia; "and nothing," says Savary, "could have prevented him from making the Emperor prisoner if he had returned alone, or from marching to meet him if he had come at the head of his troops." In the far-seeing mind of Napoleon, however, one predominant idea was present,—that in this crisis the succession of his son had never been mentioned, and that the imperial crown, in truth, rested on himself alone. It was this reflection which brought him from the army to Paris, and it found vent in impassioned and mournful language in his address to the council of state on the subject. But notwithstanding the melancholy conviction thus acquired of the insecurity of his dynasty, he neglected nothing which might, for the present at least, guard against the danger. By a decree of the senate (Feb. 5, 1813) he defined, in the most minute manner, the powers and appointment of the regency in the event of his demise—forgetting that the real and only security for hereditary succession is to be found in the reverence with which it is regarded by the people, and that this can neither be acquired in a single lifetime, nor be grafted on revolutionary changes.

691. In the mean time, immense levies were set on foot to repair the losses of the preceding campaign—a great conscription of 350,000 men was unanimously voted (Jan. 9) by the senate. The enthusiasm and warlike spirit of the nation exceeded even this immense demand; and Paris, Turin, Lyons, and other cities, raised and equipped regiments of volunteers at their own expense. But notwithstanding this devotion, so completely had the youth which attained the military age in 1813 been exhausted by previous demands, that this levy was raised partly by drafts from the national guard and from the classes liable to conscription in the four preceding years, and partly by an anticipation of those who would reach the legal

age in 1814—that is, who were then only from eighteen to nineteen years of age.

692. The disasters of the Moscow campaign made the Emperor feel the necessity of settling his differences with the captive Pope, who had been transferred from Savona to Fontainebleau and severed from the society of all among his attendants who were supposed to be hostile to French interests. The design of Napoleon was to fix the seat of the papacy at Paris, to extinguish its temporal sovereignty, and to make it entirely dependent on the empire for revenue; but, this once effected, he would have done everything to extend the Romish propagandism, and increase the power of the clergy, sensible that in so doing he would acquire an immense addition to his own influence. Filled with these ideas, he exerted himself so successfully, immediately on his return from Russia, that the aged Pope, dazzled and overmastered by his powers of language, at length gave way; and a *concordat* was signed on 25th January, in which the principal points in dispute were settled to the satisfaction of the Emperor. The Pope, however, on being rejoined by his counsellors, from whom he had been separated, was speedily made to perceive that he had been overreached; and on the 24th of March he published a letter, in which he charged Napoleon with having deceived him, and formally retracted his consent to the *concordat*. But Napoleon, not wishing to push matters to extremities, continued to act as if everything was irrevocably concluded, wholly disregarding this retractation of the Pope.

693. But a weightier contest than that with a captive pontiff was approaching; and Napoleon, at the meeting of the legislative body (Feb. 14), met the question with a resolution and candour worthy of the highest admiration. Without attempting to disguise the magnitude of the losses in the Moscow campaign, he presented such a picture of the statistical and financial situation of the empire as appeared to justify the confident tone which he assumed with regard to the future. During the twelve years of his reign, the enormous sum of £40,000,000 had been expended on public improvements, roads, bridges, fortifications,

public buildings, &c., of which not less than £28,000,000 had been laid out in Old France. For several years past, from 15 to 20 ships of the line had been annually launched, in pursuance of the grand design of ultimately combating Britain on her own element; and the naval force of the empire had been thus raised to 104 ships of the line and 50 frigates, manned (as the commercial navy of France was wholly ruined) by means of the *maritime conscription*, which supplied 20,000 recruits annually for the sea service. The estimated revenue of the whole French empire for 1812 was £41,500,000, but at least half the expense of the military establishment (as has been often previously remarked) fell on the countries in the Peninsula, Germany and Italy, where the troops were quartered, and did not appear in this statement. The military strength of the empire (drawn from a population of 42 millions, of whom 28,700,000 belonged to Old France) amounted to 800,000 infantry, 100,000 cavalry, and 100,000 artillerymen and engineers—in all, a million of men in arms: a force, considering its quality, unparalleled in any former age or country, but which was altogether disproportioned to the resources, vast as they were, of the state—being at the rate of one in forty of the population, whereas experience has shown that one in a hundred is the utmost limit to which the warlike efforts of any country can be safely carried. The productiveness of the conscription, moreover, was impaired at this period by an unforeseen circumstance. The levies for the year should have fallen on those born in 1793, but the conscription of 1,200,000 men in that year, and the immense consumption of human life in its bloody campaign, had so diminished during that year the productiveness of the human species in France, that a dreadful chasm was found in the class now called upon for military service; and the conscription was necessarily brought down to boys of seventeen or eighteen, who in a few weeks either sank and died on the field, or encumbered the hospitals. To give consistency, however, as far as possible, to these young troops, the remaining regiments of the Guard were withdrawn from Spain, and the skeletons of

150 battalions formed of veterans, to be filled up by the new levies. A corps of 10,000 horse was also raised from the better classes, under the name of Guards of Honour, who were mounted and equipped at their own expense; 80,000 of the first ban of the national guard, who had already been put on permanent duty in the Rhenish fortresses, were drafted into the line, and replaced in the defence of the frontier by those of the second ban. To meet the expenses of these armaments, for which the exhausted treasury was wholly inadequate, the heritable property of the municipalities, communes, &c. was directed to be sold, the sums received being carried to the public service, and the owners inscribed as creditors for the amount in the public funds; but this extreme measure, from the whirlwind of disaster which involved the French at the end of the year, was only partially carried into effect.

VI. *Resurrection of Germany—Battles of Lützen and Bautzen.*

694. The awful catastrophe which commenced with the flames of Moscow, and closed in the waves of the Beresina, spread a universal thrill through Europe. But above all in Prussia and Northern Germany, groaning under six years of intolerable servitude, and crushed to the earth by acts of ruthless oppression and unsparing cruelty, every noble heart and every intrepid arm had long been enrolled in the secret bonds of the Tugendbund, and a leader and a standard were alone wanted for a general and irresistible outbreak. In the midst of the general agitation, however, Frederick-William and his able minister Hardenberg continued so perfectly tranquil that neither Augereau nor the French ambassador, St Marson, could complain of their conduct; but the stream of events was too violent to be withstood, and Prussia, in spite of the caution of its court, was impelled into the current by one of those circumstances which defeat all the calculations of human wisdom.

695. We have already noticed the convention entered into by General York, during the retreat of Macdonald from Riga, for

the neutrality of the Prussian corps under his command—a step which amounted almost to defection from the French, and which caused extreme embarrassment to the king. Frederick-William remained, however, faithful to his honour and the French alliance, and not only superseded York in his command, but made proposals for drawing still closer ties with Napoleon by the marriage of his son with an imperial princess. Napoleon, however, seems to have acted on the conviction that the King's protestations were entirely hypocritical, and that York's conduct was in fact in obedience to his secret instructions; while that general, evading the order to resign his command, still lay inactive with his troops within the Russian lines.

696. The rapid advance of the Russians, who were everywhere received in Prussia as deliverers, had by this time convinced the French generals of the hopelessness of maintaining themselves, with their exhausted and demoralised troops, on the line of the Vistula. The advanced guard of Wittgenstein forced the passage of the river (Jan. 16) at Marienwerder, and the French hastily throwing garrisons into Thorn, Modlin, and Zamosc, fell back in all directions; while Murat, thinking that the time was come when every one should look to himself, suddenly threw up the command (Jan. 17), and set off for Naples. Eugene, who succeeded to this difficult post, did his utmost to arrest the evil, and fixed his headquarters at Posen: but he speedily found himself obliged to fall back on the Oder, which he reached on February 18th; and though there joined by Grenier, with 15,000 fresh troops from Italy, he was ultimately compelled to evacuate Berlin (March 2) and retire across the Elbe, where he established himself near Wittenberg, and collecting to his standard all the Saxons and Bavarians within reach, at length made a stand. Wittgenstein, meanwhile, who had been nominated commander-in-chief of the Russian forces on the death (March 6) of the gallant Kutusoff, pressed on the traces of the retreating enemy; and on the 11th of March his headquarters were established in Berlin, amidst the enthusiastic shouts of the inhabitants.

697. The liberation of the capital had been preceded by that of the King, who on the night of the 23d January had suddenly quitted Potsdam, where he was liable to be seized at any time by the French generals, and arrived on the 25th at Breslau, whence he issued (Feb. 3) an appeal to his people, calling to arms all of whatever rank or degree, from the age of seventeen to twenty-four, in defence of their country—a call which was at once responded to with almost incredible ardour and unanimity. The volunteers flocked in in such numbers that the public functionaries, far from being able to supply them with arms, could scarcely enrol their names fast enough; while the system already mentioned, of limiting the period of service, had enabled the Prussian cabinet since the treaty of Tilsit, though nominally maintaining only 42,000 troops, to keep in reserve a vast number of men disciplined as soldiers, and ready to swell the ranks when called upon. But though these noble efforts were made by the Prussian people in the full belief that their government was on the point of throwing off the French yoke, the King was in fact still undecided to what side to incline; and there can be little doubt that if Napoleon, even at the last moment, had consented to afford him some pecuniary aid, and to relax the system of oppression under which Prussia had so long groaned, the cabinet of Berlin might have been secured to the French alliance. But Napoleon, still mistrusting the King's sincerity, continued inexorable; and at length the Prussian ministers succeeded in obtaining their master's consent to the treaty of Kalisch (March 1), by which an alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded with Russia, and which thus became the foundation-stone of the league which accomplished the overthrow of Napoleon.

698. In the middle of March the Emperor Alexander joined Frederick-William at Breslau, and proclamations were forthwith issued, declaring the dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine, and inviting the German princes to join the great enterprise for the deliverance of their country. The King of Saxony, however, whose dominions lay contiguous to the scene of action,

resisted all solicitations to abandon his tried benefactor and powerful ally; and the Russians accordingly continued their advance on Dresden, which the King was obliged to quit. Important negotiations were at the same time set on foot with Austria, which, midway between Russia and France, might be considered to hold the balance at this crisis. Metternich, however, was alarmed lest the Russian influence should be unduly extended during the first transports of German deliverance, and accordingly made separate overtures in the first place to Britain, with a view to a general pacification; while Stakelberg appeared at Vienna as the agent of Russia; and 70,000 men were transferred from the militia to the regular army, in order to give weight to the proposed mediation of Austria. After the news of the treaty of Kalisch, the language held by the Aulic Council became more resolute and independent; and at length a note presented by Schwartzenberg (April 21) at Paris, ostensibly on the subject of a convention between the Russian and Austrian troops in Gallicia, contained the ominous avowal that the Emperor of Austria was prepared to "cast an imposing force into the balance of the power which he may regard, without respect to the immense complications of the moment, as his natural ally!"

699. While Austria was thus, by assuming the specious guise of a mediator, gradually extricating herself from the restraints of the French connection, Sweden had openly acceded, by a treaty concluded at Oerebro (March 3), to the Grand Alliance, on the understanding that Norway was to be the reward of her adhesion—all efforts having failed to detach Denmark from the cause of Napoleon; and the Crown Prince engaged to join the Russians in North Germany with 30,000 men. The ardour of the Prussian people, meanwhile, continued unabated: all classes poured their gold and silver ornaments into the treasury, receiving in return iron ones of the same fashion, as memorials;* while the landwehr or militia, and landsturm or *levée en masse*.

* The origin of the *Berlin iron* ornaments.

were called out by royal decrees of 14th and 19th March; and 120,000 men thus placed at the disposal of the government, were usefully employed to relieve the regular troops in the blockade of the fortresses still held by the French on the Vistula and Oder, in which not fewer than 75,000 troops were shut up. The garrison of Dantzic alone consisted of 35,000, the wreck of 100 regiments of many different nations, but in such a state of moral and physical debility, from sickness and exhaustion, as to be wholly incapable of undertaking any military operations outside the walls.

700. The French corps which lay along the Elbe, from Dresden to Hamburg, were distributed thus:—Davoust, with the 11th corps, held Dessau and Torgau; Victor, with the 2d corps, lay between the Elbe and Saale; Grenier was at Halle, while Reynier occupied Dresden; and the extreme left, under Vandamme, held Hamburg and Bremen. The effective force of the Allies, ready for immediate action, might be reckoned at 120,000 men, including 50,000 Prussians: 30,000 of these, however, were required to aid in the blockade of the fortresses on the Elbe; but the Prussian ranks were daily receiving reinforcements from the enthusiastic population, and a great Russian reserve of 70,000 men was forming under Sacken in Poland. The first blow was struck by the partisan corps of Tettenborn, who, rapidly moving on Hamburg, entered that city (March 18) with his Cossacks, amidst shouts of boundless acclamation from the whole population,—the French garrison under Morand having previously retired. Encouraged by this news, the inhabitants of Lüneburg rose, and expelled the French authorities; but the town was recaptured the next day (April 2) by Morand, and twenty-seven of the leaders of the revolt were already drawn out in the great square to be shot, when the gates were suddenly forced by Chernicheff and Benkendorff, the prisoners delivered, and Morand himself killed in the assault. This romantic incident kindled a general insurrection between the Elbe and Weser; all the Hanse towns took up arms and drove out the French; and the King of Great Britain was once more joyfully proclaimed in those portions

of Hanover which the enemy had evacuated. The Elbe was crowded with British ships, bringing stores, arms, and ammunition, to an enormous amount, for the patriots; while Wittgenstein, breaking up from Berlin, entered Dresden (March 26) with drums beating and colours flying, and welcomed by the cheers of the citizens, who, though their sovereign remained faithful to Napoleon, were almost unanimously ranged on the side of their fatherland. A combat at Mockern (April 4) in front of Magdeburg terminated to the disadvantage of the French; but Eugene, though the line of the Elbe was broken through at both ends—at Dresden and Hamburg—still held fast in the centre, resting on the strong fortress of Magdeburg, and awaited the arrival of the Emperor.

701. Before setting out for the army (April 15), Napoleon conferred on Maria-Louisa the dignity of regent during his absence, and made a last effort, which was again evaded by Schwartzenberg, to engage Austria heartily in his cause. On the 16th he reached Mayence, where he remained eight days, superintending the repairs of the fortifications, and inspecting the newly-raised troops who were crossing the Rhine. But these young conscripts, though strong in numbers and courage, were wofully deficient in the qualities requisite to form soldiers; and it was too evident that, though their ardour might render them victorious in combat, their youthful frames would soon sink under the effects of dripping bivouacs, and the horrors of military hospitals. The newly-raised cavalry and artillery, from the scarcity of horses and the want of skill in the riders, were in still worse condition. Still the army, which Napoleon joined at Erfurth on the 25th, was extremely formidable in point of number. Its total amount, including the garrisons shut up on the Oder and Vistula, and the troops yet on their way to the scene of action, was not less than 400,000 men; and of these 140,000 were under his immediate command ready for action, besides 40,000 under Eugene near Magdeburg. Having at length completed his arrangements, the Emperor left Erfurth on the 28th, and directed the march of his columns to meet those of the Viceroy, who had

crossed the Saale for the same purpose; and the junction was effected the next day near Merseburg.

702. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia had meanwhile continued to reside at Dresden, where the Cossacks and other nomade tribes in the Russian army excited in no small degree the astonishment of the citizens. On the tidings of Napoleon's approach, instant measures were taken to concentrate their forces; and though not more than 80,000 men could be collected on the Elbe—a force vastly inferior to the host of Napoleon—these troops were mostly veterans, far superior to the conscripts to whom they were opposed; their great superiority in cavalry, moreover—of which they had 25,000, while that of the French was only 5000—precluded the possibility of total defeat, and it was resolved, therefore, to risk a battle in front of Leipsic. The first encounter took place on the heights of Poserna (May 1), in which Marshal Bessières, one of Napoleon's oldest and most esteemed companions in arms, was killed by a cannon-shot; and Napoleon's huge array, encumbered with a vast train of carriages, continued to advance on the great road from Lützen to Leipsic; while Lauriston, with the advanced guard of Eugene's army, moved from Merseburg in the same direction.

703. Though the Allied sovereigns were not insensible to the danger of engaging Napoleon among the thickly-studded villages of Saxony, where their superiority in cavalry would be unavailing, they were also well aware of the unfavourable effect which a retreat would produce at the wavering courts of Vienna and Dresden, and these considerations determined them to engage. At one P.M. accordingly (May 2), the attack was commenced by an attempt to turn the French right at the villages of Great and Little Gorschen, led by the Prussians under Ziethen. The division of Souham, after an obstinate defence, was broken and driven out on the plain; and Wittgenstein, flushed with his success, brought up his second line to support the attack, both on the right and centre of the enemy. Ney had in the mean time brought up fresh troops to aid Souham, and had recovered

nearly all the lost ground; but the charge of the Russian reserves was irresistible, and the whole French centre and right were once more repulsed to some distance. But Napoleon, hastening in person to the scene of danger, re-formed the broken ranks; and the youthful valour of the conscripts who fought for the first time under the eye of the Emperor, held the triumphant Allies in check till the last reserves, with the Imperial Guards, were brought up. The advance of this terrible column, preceded by the rapid fire of 60 pieces of cannon, was decisive: the Allies, in spite of their efforts, were gradually forced back; Scharnhorst and several other generals were killed; and though they retained till nightfall great part of the ground they had won, it was evident that they were overmatched; and at daybreak they commenced their retreat, which Napoleon's want of cavalry did not allow him to molest. The loss of the Allies was 15,000, of the French 13,000 men; and when Napoleon rode over the field the day after the battle, the slender figures and youthful features of the French conscripts, and the rough mien and peasant garments of the Prussian *landwehr*, among the slain on both sides, presented a melancholy and singular spectacle, showing how inveterate the contest had now become, and how war had strained the military strength of both countries.

704. The Allied armies retreated in two columns on the road to Silesia, the Russians by Chemnitz and Freyburg, pursued by Bertrand and Oudinot; while Eugene, Marmont, and the Guard followed the Prussians on the main road to Dresden, and Ney moved on Torgau and Wittenberg to menace Berlin. On the 8th of May, Napoleon entered Dresden, and took immediate measures for the passage of the Elbe, the opposite bank of which was still held by the enemy. By the morning of the 11th the two arches of the bridge, which had been cut by the retiring Russians, were restored; the long array of the French defiled over the river; and the King of Saxony, returning to his capital on the following day, was welcomed with extraordinary pomp by his victorious ally. The relations of Napoleon with Austria, however, were daily becoming less satisfactory; and

Bubna, who had arrived at Dresden from Vienna, while Stadion repaired to the Allied headquarters at Bautzen, to offer the mediation of the Austrian cabinet, signified that the restoration of the Illyrian provinces, and the dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine, were the conditions on which Austria was prepared to become favourable to France. Napoleon, however, evaded these propositions; and an effort to open a separate negotiation with Russia having proved unsuccessful, he quitted Dresden on the 18th, and set out to join his advanced guard in Silesia.

705. During the ten days' halt of Napoleon at Dresden, the Allies had been busily engaged in strengthening their new position at Bautzen—the same on which Frederick the Great, after his disaster at Hochkirch, had kept at bay the victorious army of Count Daun, and which consisted of a series of heights behind the Spree, intersected by ravines, streamlets, and small lakes. Their strength had been raised by the arrival of reinforcements, and the release of Barclay de Tolly's corps by the surrender of Thorn (April 17), to near 90,000 strong: but Napoleon's army had been far more than proportionately augmented by the arrival of the Saxons and Würtembergers, with various French and Italian corps; and his aggregate force was now not less than 150,000 men, including 16,000 excellent cavalry. During the preliminary movements for the concentration of the two armies, a division of Bertrand's corps was surprised and utterly routed (May 19) by Barclay de Tolly, with the loss of 2000 men and 11 guns; while York was routed near Weissig, with nearly equal loss, by Lauriston.

706. On the morning of the 20th, Napoleon made his dispositions for a general attack. The Allied army, from the nature of the ground, was a good deal scattered, and the Russian extreme right, under Barclay de Tolly, was in a manner detached from the rest of the line. On this point, therefore, Napoleon accumulated his forces, so as to place at Ney's disposal nearly 60,000 men, with which to press round the flank of the enemy; while the other corps were to pass the Spree by raft bridges, and

assault the hostile position in front. Thus the Emperor calculated, that while the Allies were equally matched along their whole front, an overwhelming force of 60,000 men would appear in their rear—an able conception, which his great superiority of numbers enabled him successfully to execute. At eleven o'clock the passage of the Spree commenced, and was completed by 5 P.M. without much opposition, as the enemy's main force lay distant from the stream. Oudinot, with the French right, pressed gallantly up the hills on the Bohemian frontier to engage St Priest and Diebitch, and gained some advantages; but night soon interrupted the combat, while the Russians still held possession of the crests of the eminences. Kleist and Milaradovitch, in the mean time, had to sustain on the heights behind Bautzen, to which they had retired, the onset of nearly 50,000 men under Marmont and Macdonald, supported by a powerful artillery, and by Latour Maubourg's formidable cuirassiers. For some hours they undauntedly maintained their ground against greatly superior numbers; but the village of Nieder Gurkau being at length lost, the whole Allied centre slowly retired across the plateau towards the intrenched camp in the rear; while the French, as night came on, bivouacked in squares on the ground they had so hardly won.

707. The result of this day's engagement was highly satisfactory to Napoleon, as the enemy's centre was forced to give ground, while Ney with his irresistible masses was gathering on their right; and by 5 A.M. on the 21st the battle was resumed. The Emperor Alexander, however (who commanded the united army in person), had during the night sent such strong reinforcements to his left, that Oudinot, though supported by Macdonald, was fairly driven out of the hills, and with difficulty held his ground in the plain; but this check was of the less consequence, as Ney, on the extreme left, had early in the morning commenced his attack on Barclay de Tolly. The iron veterans of the Moscow campaign, aided by the strength of their position, long held out against the vastly superior numbers of the French marshal; but their flank was at length completely

turned by Reynier and Victor; and Barclay was compelled to fall back, while Souham established himself at Preititz, between Blucher and Barclay, and directly in the rear of the former. The village of Preititz, however, was retaken by Kleist, and the fire of Blucher's artillery from the heights was so terrible that the advance of Ney was checked, and the allied army probably saved from total ruin, as the French were thus prevented from seizing the main road through Hochkirch, by which their retreat lay. For no sooner had Napoleon ascertained the progress of Ney, than a general combined attack was once more made on the centre and left, by all the troops previously engaged, supported by the deep array of the Imperial Guard; and the Allies were forced to give way on all points, abandoning the intrenched camp, but repulsing, by means of their numerous cavalry, all the efforts of the French cuirassiers to convert their retreat into a flight. The loss of the French during the two days was fully 20,000, that of the Allies only 15,000, and no guns, and but 1500 prisoners were taken by the French; while Napoleon exclaimed, with undisguised vexation, "What! neither guns nor men taken after all this carnage! They will not leave me a nail! When will all this be done?"

708. By daybreak on the 22d the French were in motion, and soon came up with the enemy, who stood firm on the heights behind Reichenbach, where during the whole day they kept at bay their assailants, retiring in the evening in admirable order. Napoleon pressed the pursuit with impatient fury, when a cannon-shot, glancing from a tree near him, mortally wounded Duroc, the oldest and dearest, perhaps the only friend of the Emperor. He died in a few hours, and Napoleon's grief was inconsolable. "Everything to-morrow!" was his answer to all the reports brought to him; while the Old Guard, standing in silent groups at some distance, viewed with respectful sympathy the sorrow of their chief. The Allies, meanwhile, continued their retreat, pursued in three columns by the French; and some sharp but partial encounters occurred, in one of which (May 26), near Hainau, a French detachment was cut to pieces by a brilliant

charge of the Prussian dragoons; while Sebastiani, on the following day, redeemed this check by the capture of a large park of Russian artillery. The French garrison of Glogau, which had been blockaded for three months, was relieved on the 29th May; while the Allies retired without further molestation to Schweidnitz, in the neighbourhood of which an intrenched camp had been constructed, and where it was intended to make a stand.

709. The battles of Lützen and Bautzen had indeed shown, by their comparative want of results, that the days of Austerlitz and Jena were passed, when one great victory decided the fate of a campaign and a monarchy. Still the star of Napoleon appeared to be once more in the ascendant; the Allied armies were recoiling, and abandoning province after province; and already had been fulfilled one-half of his prediction to the Abbé de Pradt at Warsaw—"Success will make the Russians bold; I am going to raise 300,000 men, I shall fight two battles between the Elbe and the Oder, and in six months I shall be on the Niemen." Still there were many circumstances, in both his military and political position, calculated to awaken serious apprehensions. His great inferiority in cavalry, and particularly in light troops, prevented his following up his successes with his usual rapidity; while a formidable partisan warfare was being organised in his rear, and spreading far into Western Germany, which (though Hamburg had been retaken by Vandamme, May 19) kept him in constant alarm for his communications and detached parties, which were intercepted and cut off in all directions. But above all he dreaded the armed mediation of Austria, 100,000 of whose troops were accumulated on the Bohemian frontier, so that Stadion, her ambassador, was enabled to hold almost a tone of command to the belligerents. The Allied forces, on the other hand, were now reduced to 60,000 men; and though 50,000 Russians, and at least as many Prussians, were either on their march or in course of equipment, some time must elapse before these reinforcements could be available. Both sides, therefore, were not disinclined for an armistice; and after considerable difficulty, from Napoleon's

attempting to insist on the Oder as the line of demarcation, a suspension of arms for six weeks, or till the 28th July, was signed on June 4th at Pleswitz—the French holding a line from Liegnitz to Lahn, while the Allies lay about Landshut, Striegau, and Canth; and Breslau (which the French had occupied, May 30), with the intermediate country, was declared neutral.

VII. *From the Armistice of Pleswitz to the Renewal of Hostilities.*

710. Great were the efforts made by the British cabinet to turn to account the unhoped-for flood of good fortune which set in during the first months of 1813; and never did great Britain stand higher than when she thus found the Continental states, after so long a contest, ranging themselves under her standard in order to throw off a tyranny which previously she alone had uniformly and successfully opposed. The secession of Prussia from the French alliance at once re-established amicable relations between Berlin and London; vast quantities of arms and stores were forthwith sent to the Elbe; and Sir Charles Stewart, now Marquis of Londonderry, was sent as ambassador to Berlin. On the 28th of April, he concluded a convention at Dresden, by which a subsidy of £2,000,000 was granted to the Prince-Royal of Sweden, and a like sum to Russia and Prussia conjointly; and on June 14th, after the armistice had relieved the sovereigns from the immediate pressure of hostilities, an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between the three powers at Reichenbach, by which it was stipulated that Prussia, in consideration of a subsidy of £666,666 for the six remaining months of the year, should keep an army of 80,000 men in the field, while Russia was to receive double the sum, and keep on foot twice the force. To obviate the excessive scarcity of specie in Germany, it was further agreed that Britain should guarantee an issue of Prussian paper to the value of £5,000,000, which, thus secured, immediately passed at par with specie throughout Northern Europe—a memorable instance of the effect of national credit,

and of the inexhaustible resources of Great Britain. A treaty, as has already been noticed, had been concluded with Sweden (March 3); but Denmark still steadily adhered to Napoleon, with whom she concluded an alliance offensive and defensive at Dresden (July 10).

711. Austria, however, with her vast armies, accumulated on the central salient bastion of Bohemia, in reality held the balance between the hostile parties; and Metternich, whose influence already predominated in the cabinet, clearly perceived the extraordinary advantages which fortune had now thrown in his way. Too well aware of the insatiable ambition of Napoleon to place any reliance on his promises of moderation, he had already entered into conditional engagements with the Allies, when the issue of the battles of Lützen and Bautzen induced him to pause; as he was most anxious, if possible, to gain the objects aimed at by Austria without drawing the sword. The negotiations, as above mentioned, accordingly commenced, but for the first three weeks little progress was made; and Metternich at length repaired to Dresden in person, and there held (June 28) a remarkable conference with Napoleon. "I see through you, Metternich," said the Emperor; "your cabinet wishes to profit by my embarrassments, and even to augment them in order to recover part of your losses. . . . . Well, what do you want? let us treat. Will you take Illyria to remain neutral?" Metternich replied that it was no longer possible to remain neutral; and the conversation was continued in an inner cabinet. At last the voice of Napoleon was heard exclaiming aloud, "What! not only Illyria, but half Italy, the abandonment of Poland, Holland, Spain, and Switzerland, the dissolution of the confederation of the Rhine, and the return of the Pope to Rome! Peace, then, is only a pretext—you want to dismember the French empire! And this when I still hold the half of Europe! when my standards still wave at the mouth of the Vistula and on the Oder?—and it is my father-in-law who proposes this! Ah, Metternich, how much has England given you to make war upon me?"

712. At length, however, Napoleon became more tractable.

and a convention was finally signed (June 30) for a congress at Prague, under the mediation of Austria, the acceptance of which, by precluding the French Emperor from his favourite plan of separately gaining over Russia, was a great point gained. But on the same day the news reached Dresden of the battle of Vitoria, by which the fabric of French power in Spain had been laid in ruins; and from this moment the views of Austria were determined. No thought remained in her councils of allying herself to a sinking empire and a falling cause; and the negotiations at Prague were henceforth only a cover, on either side, for hostile preparations. Dresden continued to be the headquarters of Napoleon, who was occupied in carrying out with unceasing activity his grand design of making that city the centre and pivot of a defensive line on the Elbe, whence, as from an inner circle, he might be prepared to foil every onset from the vast exterior line held by the enemy. Strong works, the value of which was ere long felt, were constructed round Dresden itself; the fortifications of Hamburg, at the mouth of the river, were repaired and strengthened; and the fortresses of Königstein, Dresden, Torgau, Wittenberg, Magdeburg, and Hamburg, formed a redoubtable line of defence along the Elbe; while Merseburg, Erfurth, and Wurtzburg, composed a chain of fortified posts to the Rhine. The determination, however, thus manifested to make the Elbe the base of a desperate defensive struggle, gave rise to many sinister presentiments among both the soldiers and generals, who argued that Austria, by opening Bohemia to the Allies, would enable them to take the whole line in reverse: but these murmurs, though not unheard, were disregarded by Napoleon. The forces at his disposal were now indeed immense. The conscripts and reserves had been all brought up, and the army amounted to nearly 400,000 men, with 1250 guns; 350,000 of these were effective, and present with the eagles. The cavalry, however, was still deficient, the reserve under Murat being only 30,000 strong, while 15,000 light horse were attached to the different corps. This vast force was exclusive of the garrison of Dantzic, 35,000 men under Rapp, and the other garrisons on the

Elbe and Oder, in all 80,000 men; but they were out of the sphere of operations, and availed only to withdraw from the field part of the force of the enemy.

713. Nor had the Allies made less diligent use of the armistice in reinforcing their armies, and laying down a general plan for the campaign. According to this scheme of operations, which was fixed at Trachenberg on the 12th July, the Prince-Royal of Sweden, after leaving a corps to observe the French in Hamburg, was to assume the offensive with 90,000 men, and cross the Elbe between Torgau and Magdeburg; while the main army was to pass the river nearer Dresden to unite with his force, and 50,000 men were to be left in Silesia, to hold the enemy in check in that quarter. The determination of the cabinet of Vienna was by this time definitively taken to join the Allies, in the event of Napoleon refusing the concessions demanded at the conference of Dresden; and on the 27th July, all hope of accommodation having vanished, the Emperor Francis at last affixed his signature to the secret article which had been reserved for his sanction by Count Stadion at Reichenbach, and thus incorporated Austria with the Grand Alliance.

714. Bernadotte, meanwhile, though he had hitherto faithfully fulfilled his engagements, was an object of considerable anxiety to the Allies. He had brought into the field 24,000 Swedish foot, and 4000 cavalry—a very large force for a population not exceeding two millions and a half—but it appeared dubious how he might act when brought into conflict with his countrymen and his old commander; while his openly expressed aversion to the Austrian alliance, and his pretensions to the command-in-chief, were not got over without difficulty. His army was composed, besides the Swedes, of Prussian landwehr, the Russian corps of Winzingerode and Woronzoff, and the Hanoverian levies under Walmoden—a heterogeneous mixture, but which did good service in the campaign. The army of Silesia, during the armistice, had been raised to not less than 160,000 men; but one half of this vast force, a few days before the commencement of hostilities, moved into Bohemia to co-operate with the Aus-

trians, leaving the remainder to maintain the war in Silesia under the command of the gallant veteran Blucher, who still, at the age of seventy, retained all the ardour and impetuosity of youth. His deficiencies in military science and tactics (to which he made little pretension) were amply supplied by the consummate talents of the chief of his staff, General Gneisenau; and it is remarkable that, in combating the modern Hannibal, the Marcellus of the Allies should be found under the grey locks of the Prussian veteran, and the Fabius in the more youthful breast of his gifted lieutenant.

715. The grand Austrian army under Prince Schwartzenberg, cantoned near Prague, amounted to 120,000 men, including 20,000 cavalry, all in the highest state of efficiency. After the junction with the Russians and Prussians, above 220,000 combatants, with 700 guns, were assembled in the salient angle of Bohemia, ready to threaten the rear and communications of the French Emperor; while 80,000 more pressed on him from Silesia, and 90,000 under Bernadotte from the north. The aggregate force of each army, therefore, was nearly equal, or about 400,000 men—and Napoleon's possession of the Elbe and its fortresses appeared to incline the balance in his favour; but while the military force of France was drained almost to the last man, and scarce troops enough were left in Paris to mount the guards, immense reserves were in course of organisation in Poland and Hungary for the Allies; and the surrender of the blockaded fortresses on the Vistula and Oder must ere long set free the corps detained before them. In Italy, moreover, Hiller was preparing with 50,000 troops and 200 guns to attack the Viceroy, who had assembled 60,000 men on the Adige and Tagliamento; and if, in addition to these, we take into consideration the contending hosts in the Peninsula, we shall find that in this colossal struggle 900,000 men in arms assailed the French empire, which was still defended by 700,000 who followed the fortunes of Napoleon.

716. The negotiations at Prague, meanwhile, proceeded but slowly. As the chief object of Napoleon was to gain time, disputes were set on foot without ceasing as to the rank of the plenipoten-

tiaries, the forms of conducting the conferences, and similar matters of punctilio; so that, though the armistice had been extended to the 10th August, it expired without anything having been effected. Napoleon, meanwhile, had made a hasty journey (July 26) to meet Maria-Louisa at Mayence: but her attempts to persuade him to make peace were ineffectual; and after his return to Dresden, he received (Aug. 7) the ultimatum of Austria, the main points of which were as follows: "The dissolution of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, and its partition between Russia, Austria, and Prussia; the independence of Hamburg and the Hanse Towns; the restoration of Prussia to its former limits; and the cession of Trieste and Illyria to Austria." After a day spent in deliberation, he returned an answer on the 10th, consenting to give up the duchy of Warsaw, but insisting that Dantzic should be a free city, and that the King of Saxony should be indemnified. He agreed to yield Illyria, but without Trieste, claiming on the other hand the extension of the Confederation of the Rhine to the Oder. These terms were obviously inadmissible,—the termination of the armistice was announced on the 11th, and on the 12th Austria declared war against France. The next day the Bohemian passes were thronged by dense columns of troops; and ere the six days allowed for commencing hostilities had elapsed, 80,000 Russian and Prussian veterans were encamped round Prague. The two monarchs soon after arrived, and were magnificently received by the Emperor Francis; while the English diplomatists, Lords Aberdeen and Cathcart, and Sir Charles Stewart, beheld with joy the formation of a league which promised speedily to effect the deliverance of Europe.

717. Fouché, who had been several years in disgrace, was at this time summoned to Dresden, and appointed governor-general of Illyria in place of Junot, who had shown unequivocal signs of insanity.* It was obvious that this appointment was merely an honourable exile, to remove this dangerous intriguer from

* He soon after committed suicide by throwing himself from a window—an event which deeply affected Napoleon.

the scene of action; but even in passing through Prague he contrived to open a communication with Metternich, who however listened coldly to his advances. Another illustrious chief of the Revolution at the same time reappeared on the scene. This was Moreau, who, since his condemnation in 1804, had lived in retirement in America, but now, at the invitation of Alexander, returned to Europe to aid in the emancipation of France. He was received at Stralsund by Bernadotte, with whom he was occupied for three days in concerting the plan of the ensuing campaign, and thence proceeded to Prague, everywhere hailed with unbounded enthusiasm by the people, who regarded his presence as a sure omen of success. General Jomini, a French officer of high talents, had at the same time passed over to the Allies; but the high distinction with which they were received at the Russian headquarters led to a division which might have proved fatal to the alliance. The Emperor Alexander had aspired to the chief command, to which his colossal power and personal courage and energy, as well as the unexampled sacrifices he had made in maintaining the conflict with France, appeared to entitle him; and his claim was warmly supported by the King of Prussia. But the reluctance of the Austrians to be placed under the orders of a prince whose military councils were guided by Frenchmen, was so strongly manifested, that that generous monarch, with magnanimous self-denial, at length relinquished his pretensions; and from deference to Austria, the post of generalissimo was conferred on Prince Schwartzenberg, who held it down to the capture of Paris.

VIII. *Renewal of Hostilities—Battles of Dresden and Culm; —of the Katzbach, Gross Beeren, and Dennewitz.*

718. According to the terms of the armistice, six days were to elapse from its expiration to the renewal of hostilities; but the Allied generals, taking advantage of some trifling infractions on the part of the French, occupied Breslau on the 14th; and on the 15th Blucher advanced in great force across the neutral

territory; and the French, surprised in their cantonments, fell back behind the Bober. Napoleon instantly, on these tidings, set out from Dresden for the Bohemian frontier, in company with Murat, who had arrived as he was departing, and whose faults and fickleness in the previous campaign he had the magnanimity to forgive. Fifty thousand men, in three columns, crossed the northern angle of Bohemia, directing their march towards Silesia, on which side Napoleon persisted, in spite both of the warnings of St Cyr (whom he had left to cover Dresden, with 22,000 men), and of the vast concentration of troops near Prague, in believing that the first blow would be struck. The army in Silesia under Macdonald and Ney, meanwhile, had everywhere fallen back from the Bober, before the formidable masses under Blucher. But the arrival of Napoleon, with the guards and cuirassiers, at once changed the state of affairs; and Blucher was in turn driven over the Katzbach, after several severe but partial encounters on the 20th and 21st. It was soon obvious, however, that this advance and retreat of Blucher had been only a lure for the Emperor, in pursuance of the plan laid down by Moreau, Jomini, and Bernadotte; and which was, on this occasion, within a hair's-breadth of completing his ruin. On the 21st, when Napoleon, with the flower of his troops, was far advanced in Silesia, the grand army of the Allies, 200,000 strong, broke up from Prague, and advanced through the Saxon passes upon Dresden. St Cyr, utterly unable to stem the torrent, withdrew within the redoubts of Dresden; and though the Allies lost some time by a circuit towards Freyberg, in the hope of communicating with Bernadotte, their leading columns appeared before the Saxon capital on the evening of the 23d. By the morning of the 25th, 120,000 men, with 500 pieces of cannon, were assembled round the city, which must inevitably have fallen had it been immediately assaulted; but though Moreau and the Emperor Alexander warmly recommended this course, Schwartzenberg insisted on waiting the arrival of the remaining corps.

719. No sooner was the Emperor informed of the movements of the Allies, than he once more resigned to Macdonald the command

of the force opposed to Blucher, and retraced his steps the same day (23d), with the cavalry and guards to Gorlitz. Hence it was his intention to move on the rear of the Allies, and cut them off from Bohemia; but the intelligence which reached him of the imminent danger of Dresden altered his views. After sending orders to Vandamme to advance from Pirna, and occupy the defiles near Peterswalde, so as to bar the retreat of the Allies by that route, he hastened onwards, till, on the 26th, his breathless columns reached the banks of the Elbe, and poured over the bridges into the town, having marched forty leagues in four days. It was not till 4 P.M. that the patience of Schwartzenberg, who still waited for Klenau's corps, was exhausted. The signal of attack was at length given, and six columns, each preceded by 50 guns, descended from the heights to the assault of the city. Notwithstanding the desperate resistance of the French, the redoubts and suburbs were carried, and the assailants, with loud cries of "To Paris! to Paris!" were thundering at the gates, when the arrival of the Young Guard, at half-past 6, restored the battle. The gates were thrown open, and the guards, hot from their march, furiously sallying forth, rapidly drove back the enemy; till the Allied generals, at length perceiving that Napoleon in person was present, drew off their troops for the night, and waited on the heights the battle of the following day.

720. By daybreak on the 27th, Napoleon had 130,000 men in position in front of Dresden, including upwards of 20,000 excellent cavalry; the city, moreover, the strength of which had been proved the day before, secured his centre; while the Allies, 160,000 strong, lay between the French and the road to the Rhine, so as to intercept their retreat in case of defeat. But the Allied left, wholly composed of raw Austrian troops, was separated by a precipitous defile from the main body, while a vacant space was left for Klenau, when he should arrive; and of this glaring error Napoleon quickly availed himself. The action commenced amidst a thick mist and incessant rain, and while the attention of the enemy was engaged by the cannonade poured in all along the line, Murat, with Latour Maubourg's cuirassiers,

succeeded in completely turning the flank of the Austrian left, and suddenly burst with 12,000 horse on their rear. The success of this onset was decisive—three-fourths of the whole corps were slain or taken; and no sooner was Napoleon apprised of the triumph of his lieutenant, than he pressed with redoubled vigour on the Russians under Wittgenstein, on the Allied right, and after a hard struggle drove them back on their reserves. At this moment Moreau, while in conversation with the Emperor Alexander, was struck by a cannon-shot, which shattered both his legs; he was carried to the rear, and underwent amputation with unshaken firmness; but mortification ensued, and he died five days after (Sept. 1) at Laun. His body was embalmed and subsequently buried in the Catholic church at St Petersburg, by order of Alexander, who announced the event in a touching letter to his widow, and presented her with a gift of 500,000 roubles (£20,000) in addition to a pension of 30,000.

721. The fall of this great general, combined with their deficiency of ammunition (as the magazines had not been able to keep up with the army), determined the Allied generals to retreat, though the centre had yet hardly been engaged, and the Emperor Alexander was earnest for continuing the action. The victory, therefore, remained with Napoleon; nor were its fruits less than the activity and skill displayed in achieving it. Thirteen thousand prisoners, almost all Austrians, 26 guns, 18 standards, and a large quantity of stores, were taken; and the total loss of the Allies during the two days amounted to 25,000; while that of the French was not half that number. But the disasters of the retreat were still greater than those of the battle. As Vandamme was master of the road to Pirna, and Murat had seized that by Freyberg, the Allies were compelled to retire by country roads among the mountains, rendered almost impassable by the heavy rains: confusion speedily ensued; the Russian and German columns, from mistakes in delivering orders in the two languages, lost their routes, and became intermingled; and cannon, baggage, and prisoners, fell at every step into the hands of the pursuing French. Violent dissensions, the natural consequence of ill success, broke

out at their headquarters, the Russians and Austrians mutually accusing each other of having lost the battle; while the Prussians lamented a retrograde movement which would apparently lay Berlin open to the enemy. Had Napoleon made overtures for peace at this moment, they would probably have been listened to; but events were in progress on the exterior circle of the warfare, which ere long put an end to this untoward state of affairs.

722. On the same day with the battle of Dresden, Vandamme, in pursuance of his instructions, had crossed the Elbe at Königstein, with 30,000 men, and attacked Ostermann; who, having only 17,000 men under his command, was forced to fall back on Töplitz, whence the *corps diplomatique* fled in great alarm on the approach of the French. A great stake now depended on the success or failure of Vandamme; for if he succeeded in seizing Töplitz, where all the roads through the Erzgebirge mountains from Saxony to Bohemia terminate, the ruin of the Allied army, pressed in the rear at the same time by Marmont and Murat, was almost inevitable; while defeat to the French, separated as they were from their own main body, must be utter destruction. Vandamme, however, stimulated by the message of the Emperor, that now was the time to win his marshal's baton, and believing that the Young Guard was advancing to his support, descended on the morning of the 29th from the heights of Peterswalde, and assaulted the position of Ostermann, between Culm and Töplitz. But the Russians, who had been told by their generals that the safety of their Emperor depended on them, stood their ground the whole day with desperate firmness. Several other Russian and Austrian corps came up during the night; and when the battle was renewed on the 30th, Vandamme, finding himself greatly outnumbered on all points, prepared to retreat. But at this moment a corps of 18,000 Prussians under Kleist appeared at the top of the pass; and the French, seeing themselves surrounded, rushed in panic confusion up the side of the defile to escape. The Prussians, equally astonished, and imagining that they were themselves cut off, poured downwards with

the same fury; and both corps, to the number of at least 30,000 men, met struggling for life and death in the narrow gorge; while the Russians, thundering in the rear of the French, completed the scene of horror. Corbineau, with the cavalry, cut his way through and escaped; but Vandamme, with 7000 men, 60 guns, and two eagles, were taken; and the total loss of the French during the two days was not less than 18,000 men.

723. This dreadful disaster was no doubt in some measure owing to the neglect of Napoleon to send forward the Young Guard to the support of Vandamme—an omission which his panegyrists excuse by a fit of illness on the 28th, which obliged him to return from Pirna to Dresden. But events not less momentous were, at the same time, in progress elsewhere. Macdonald had been left in Silesia, with strict orders not to hazard a battle; but instead of obeying these judicious instructions, he marched without precaution on the 26th towards the enemy, whom he conceived to be still in his former position. Blucher, however, on learning the departure of the Emperor, was again advancing, when his columns unexpectedly encountered the enemy near the Katzbach. The French left, surprised while in marching order, under cover of a thick mist, by the Russian cavalry of Wassilchikoff, was soon broken and driven over a precipice into the swollen stream of the Neisse, where vast numbers were drowned; 1500 prisoners and 26 guns were taken; and Souham, who hastened to their aid, only came up in time to share in their overthrow. The centre and right had bravely maintained their ground through the day; but during the night the rain fell in such torrents that both the Katzbach and Neisse were rendered unfordable; and the French, when at length compelled to retreat, only effected the passage by abandoning most of their artillery. An entire division of 5000 men under Puthod was cut off, and either slain, drowned, or taken; and such was the panic during the further retreat to the bridge of Buntzlau, over the Bober (the only one which had not been swept away), that when Macdonald rallied his shattered army behind the Queiss, he could only collect 55,000 men out of 80,000

of whom Napoleon had left him in command. Eighteen thousand prisoners, besides 7000 killed and wounded, 10 guns, and vast military stores, were the trophies of the great victory of the Katzbach, which first gave immortality to the name of Blucher.

724. Another important blow had been struck also to the north of the Elbe towards Berlin, in the direction of which Oudinot had been sent with a force amounting to about 80,000 men. He succeeded in penetrating to within twelve miles of the Prussian capital without much opposition; but on the 23d of August he found himself in the presence of Bernadotte's army, the numbers of which had been much underrated, and which lay in the villages of Gross Beeren and Blankenfelde. Tauenzein, on the left of the Allies, repulsed the attack of Bertrand; but Gross Beeren, in the centre, was carried by the Saxons under Reynier. The Prussians under Bulow, however, again advancing, supported by the Swedish artillery and a cloud of Russian horse, drove them back with great loss; and though Oudinot came up in time to arrest the disorder, he felt that his blow against Berlin had failed, and retreated the next day, leaving 1500 prisoners and 13 cannon to the victors. The moral influence of the battle, however, was far greater than its positive results; the deliverance of Berlin from its imminent peril excited the Prussian enthusiasm to the highest pitch; and many of the Saxon prisoners, who had formerly been commanded by Bernadotte, again took service with their old chief. The Prince-Royal, slowly moving forward, took Luckau with its garrison of 1000 men; while Gerard, who had issued from Magdeburg to co-operate with Oudinot, was defeated by Chernicheff, with the loss of six guns and 1400 prisoners.

725. Napoleon was at Dresden when these disastrous tidings from Bohemia, Silesia, and Prussia, arrived with stunning rapidity after each other, and at once blasted the triumph of Dresden. It was not easy to say whither he should first turn, but he at last determined to march to the aid of Macdonald; and, setting out with his guards on the 3d of September, he came the next day in contact with the advanced guard of Blucher. But the

marshal, faithful to the plans laid down at Trachenberg, forthwith retired, repassing both the Queiss and the Neisse; and Napoleon, after leaving Marmont in such a position as to support Macdonald, if needful, returned to Dresden. But another terrible disaster had occurred during his absence.

726. The incapacity of Oudinot for separate command was now so obvious that the command-in-chief of his army had been given to Ney; and Bernadotte, well knowing that he had now a different antagonist to deal with, quickly concentrated his force, the advanced guard of which, under Tauenzein, encountered the French on their march, on the morning of the 6th, at Dennewitz. The Prussians were at first driven back, but the arrival of Bulow restored the battle; and though Ney, coming up with the Saxons, again repelled Tauenzein and Bulow, the appearance of Borstel on their flank compelled the French (who were fatigued by their previous march) to retreat, which they did in good order. Hitherto the conflict had been maintained on the side of the Allies by the Prussians alone, but at this critical moment the whole Russian and Swedish force appeared on the field; and the repeated charges of their numerous cavalry, in spite of all the efforts of Ney, converted the retreat into a total rout. It was not till the 8th that the marshal succeeded in re-forming his broken columns under cover of the cannon of Torgau, having lost 43 guns and 13,000 men, of whom half were prisoners. The disgrace of the defeat was more deeply felt, from its having been principally achieved by the Prussian landwehr, whom the French had hitherto affected to despise; but Bernadotte showed no disposition to improve his victory, remaining inactive at Juterbock, only a few miles from the field of battle.

727. The repeated defeats thus experienced, wherever the Emperor was not present in person with his formidable guards and cuirassiers, demonstrated to every one, and at length to Napoleon himself, that neither his own troops, nor those of his opponents, were any longer what they had been at the beginning of the revolutionary wars; and the confidence which he had hitherto shown in his soldiers and his fortune perceptibly diminished.

Meanwhile Benningsen, with the Russian reserve, 60,000 strong, was rapidly advancing from Poland; and no sooner was Schwartzenberg aware that Napoleon had set out against Blucher than he again advanced towards Dresden, with the Russians in the van, again retreating on the rapid return of Napoleon (Sept. 7) to the Bohemian frontier. From the Geyersberg, the highest point between Bohemia and Saxony, the French Emperor surveyed the hosts of the Russians and Prussians manœuvring in the plain below; but he returned to Dresden without attacking them, thus losing his only opportunity through the campaign, of dealing with them when separated from the Austrians. Again the offensive movement was resumed on his departure; and a desultory warfare ensued along the frontier, till the Emperor again (Sept. 21) crossed the Elbe to repel Blucher, who had now driven Macdonald from Bautzen, and was extending himself along the Spree.

728. These endless marches and countermarches, all leading to nothing, produced a most unfavourable effect on the spirits of the troops, whose ranks were so rapidly thinned by fatigue, sickness, and the sword, that the generals could no longer conceal from themselves their inability to undertake the offensive with any prospect of success. A serious partisan warfare, at the same time, had sprung up in their rear towards Leipsic and Westphalia; the enemy's light horse and Cossacks overspread the whole country, and Chernicheff even (Sept. 30) entered Cassel (whence Jerome took flight at his approach), but was unable to maintain his conquest more than a few days. Wittenberg had been invested (Sept. 24) by Bulow, and Walmoden had gained important successes near Hamburg. The troops around Dresden were suffering, from the total exhaustion of the country, the worst extremities of famine and disease; and such was the diminution of their numbers, from these causes even more than from capture or the sword, that of 360,000 present with the eagles when the armistice expired, not more than 200,000 remained at the end of six weeks. The Allies meanwhile, with their wants purveyed for by the wealth of Britain in the

immense circle of Germany in their rear, were far better off; and the arrival of Benningsen's army at Töplitz (Oct. 1) having once more raised the united forces in Bohemia to full 150,000 men, it was determined to resume the invasion of Saxony; while Blucher's army on the other side, united with that of Bernadotte, would form a mass of equal amount, capable either of arresting the advance of Napoleon on Berlin, or of co-operating in the general attack.

729. On the 3d of October, therefore, both Bernadotte and Blucher crossed the Elbe, the former below Wittenberg, the latter, after routing the corps of Bertrand, at the mouth of the Schwartze-Elster, above that city; while the grand army at the same time defiled by its left into Saxony, by Sebastianberg and Chemnitz. While these vast forces were thus preparing to crush the French army, Napoleon, for the first time in his life, remained without any fixed plan, watching the course of events. At length (Oct. 7) he quitted Dresden (where St Cyr was left with 30,000 men) and marched north with 120,000 men, with the view of joining Ney at Torgau, and resuming his favourite project of an attack on Berlin; while Murat was detached with 50,000 men towards Freyberg, to check the advance from Bohemia. So rapidly did he move, that it was only by forced marches that Blucher escaped being crushed in his cross route from the Elbe to join Bernadotte; the siege of Wittenberg was raised; and Napoleon, seeing the road to Berlin open, looked forward to the extrication of his besieged garrisons on the Oder, and the establishment of his winter-quarters in the hitherto untouched fields of Northern Germany. To this project he would probably have adhered in spite of the threatening progress of the Allied grand army, and the unanimous opposition of his own marshals, who were panic-struck at the idea of plunging with 250,000 men into Prussia, when 400,000 were preparing to interpose between them and the Rhine; but news arrived on the 12th, which effectually put an end to the project. The cabinet of Bavaria, notwithstanding its strong partiality for Napoleon, and gratitude for the benefits received from him, had at length been compelled by the

menaces of Austria, and the strongly expressed inclinations of its own subjects, to join the Grand Alliance by a treaty signed on the 8th; the defection of Würtemberg, Baden, &c., was daily expected; and Napoleon, at length yielding to the torrent, reluctantly gave orders to face about, abandoning the garrisons on the Elbe, and to march on Leipsic. With joyful steps the soldiers obeyed the order which led them at length towards the Rhine and their beloved France; and on the 15th the Emperor arrived at Leipsic, where Murat, having been joined by Marmont, and by Augereau, with 15,000 new troops from France, awaited him with 80,000 men.

IX. *Battles of Leipsic and Hanau.*

730. The old city of Leipsic, which is of no great extent, is surrounded by an irregular rampart of masonry, forming nearly a square; beyond which extend the suburbs, separated from the city by broad boulevards planted with trees and enclosed by walls on the south and east, but open on the north. To the westward, the deep sluggish streams of the Pleisse and Elster enclose between them swampy meadows, nearly two miles broad, wholly impassable for carriages, and crossed only by the road to Lützen and Mayence, which enters the city by a bridge. There were no other bridges over the Elster but one or two of wood, for foot-passengers, and the stone bridge over which the great road passes. To the east, the country consists of a beautiful plain, offering an ample field of battle; while on the south-east lie the hills of Wachau, then occupied in force by Murat's army; and on the north-east, towards Mockern, the windings of the Partha, and the swells and villages adjoining its banks, present a variety of obstacles to retard the advance of an enemy.

731. The French positions on the night of the 15th were as follows: Bertrand's corps held Lindenau, so as to cover the causeway over the marshes; Poniatowski's Poles, with the corps of Augereau, Victor, Lauriston, and Macdonald, and Sebastiani's and Latour Maubourg's horse, were drawn up in line to the

east of the marshes, extending as far as Liebertwolkwitz, while the guard under Napoleon himself was in reserve at Probstheyda —in all 110,000 men, of whom 18,000 were cavalry. To the north-west, opposed to Blucher and Bernadotte, and so distant as to be a separate army, were the corps of Marmont and Ney, mustering 45,000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry; so that the whole array destined to take part in the battle amounted to 140,000 infantry, and 35,000 cavalry, with 720 guns,—a prodigious force, but much inferior to that of the Allies. The Grand Army under Schwartzenberg, opposed to Napoleon on the south of Leipsic, already numbered 143,000 combatants, including 25,000 horse, and with 620 pieces of cannon; and the arrival of Benningsen, and Colloredo's reserve, would the next day swell this vast amount by the addition of 38,000 more, with 130 guns. To the north the disproportion was still greater—for though only 56,000 men were yet in position, Bernadotte might be expected to bring up 47,000 more on the following day: so that the Allies could count, for the final shock, on not less than 230,000 men, with 1300 pieces of artillery; and the formidable military confederacy, of which Napoleon had so long formed the head, was at last fairly overmatched by the vast host which his tyranny had roused to assert the independence of mankind.

732. At midnight on the 15th, two rockets sent up from Schwartzenberg's headquarters on the south, and responded to by three from Blucher on the north, announced that all was ready for the attack; and at nine on the morning of the 16th, on the signal of three guns from the centre of Schwartzenberg's army, the fire began along the whole line. The earth trembled under the discharge, on the two sides, of above 1000 guns; while through the midst of the iron tempest the Allied columns advanced to the attack. Kleist, on the left, drove back Poniatowski and carried the village of Mark-Kleeberg; but in the centre all the efforts of the Allies, who returned six times to the attack of Wachau and Liebertwolkwitz, were repulsed by the invincible resolution of Lauriston and Macdonald; and Napoleon, encouraged by this success, brought up his guards and cuirassiers for a grand attack.

Prince Eugene of Würtemberg, who commanded in the Allied centre, was forced to give way before the shock; and the hill and sheep-folds of Auenhayn were carried with the bayonet, in spite of the desperate resistance of Raeffskoi's grenadiers; while Kellermann, thundering with 6000 horse against the retiring columns, overwhelmed the Russian cavalry opposed to him, and was only at length arrested in his career by a brilliant charge of the Austrian cuirassiers. On the east of Wachau, meanwhile, 4000 cuirassiers of the guard, led by Marmont and Latour Maubourg, charged with such effect that 26 guns were taken, and the Emperor and the King of Prussia narrowly escaped being made prisoners. But, while disordered by success, these gallant horsemen were taken in flank, pierced through, and routed, by the furious onset of the Cossacks of the guard; the guns were retaken; and Raeffskoi, again advancing, retook Auenhayn, and restored the battle in that part of the field.

733. The Austrian reserves (which Schwartzenberg, by an inexplicable error, had posted in the marshes between the Pleisse and Elster) were at length brought up at 3 P.M., and charged with such vigour on the right flank of Napoleon's centre, that it appeared on the point of giving way. Sensible, however, that if he gained no decisive success this day it would be hopeless on the morrow, when Benningsen, Colloredo, and Bernadotte had arrived with 100,000 fresh troops, Napoleon re-formed his reserves, with Victor and Lauriston's corps, between five and six in the evening, and directed them in a deep column against the hostile centre: but their advance was checked by the tremendous fire of the Russian artillery, and the battle was reduced to a furious cannonade, which continued till nightfall. In the other parts of the field, Giulay had at first driven Bertrand from Lindenau, through which lay the only line of retreat to the Rhine; but it was ultimately retaken, and retained by the French. On the side of Mockern, Ney, who had weakened himself by detaching two divisions to the support of the Emperor, while one of his own corps had not yet come up, had to sustain with 28,000 men the attack of twice the number under Blucher; and though the

French fought during the whole day with the most heroic courage and devotion, they were overpowered by numbers, and driven behind the Partha with the loss of 20 guns, 4000 killed and wounded, and 2000 prisoners.

734. Though the results of the battle on the 16th, except on the side of Mockern, had been pretty nearly balanced, Napoleon was well aware that, in his situation, an indecisive action was equivalent to a defeat; and during the night he sent proposals for an armistice to the Austrian headquarters, offering to evacuate Germany and retire behind the Rhine. The bearer of the message was the Austrian general Meerfeldt, who had been taken prisoner the day before, and who, by a singular coincidence, had been the bearer to Napoleon of the proposals for the armistices of Leoben and Austerlitz; but no answer was returned to the overture. The battle, however, was not renewed on the 17th, as Ney had now been reinforced on the north, while Bernadotte, with his usual want of zeal, was still a day's march in the rear of Blucher. Napoleon, meanwhile, had contracted his line of defence, abandoning Wachau, and Liebertwolkwitz, and concentrating his army, now reduced to 160,000 men, almost under the walls of Leipsic, where he awaited the attack of the Allies, who had now in the field 280,000 men, with 1384 guns—a force in intrinsic strength and equipment exceeding anything which the world had ever seen. The French position, however, had one frightful defect—that it had only a single issue in its rear for so vast a multitude—thus resembling the Russian position at Friedland, of which Napoleon had taken such fatal advantage.

735. At length, at 9 A.M. on the 18th October, the gigantic battle commenced. The Allied left, under the Prince of Hesse-Homberg, Bianchi, and Colloredo, came first into action, and drove back Poniatowski on the side of Connewitz. But the most desperate conflict was round Probstheyda, which formed the salient angle of the French centre: three times the French were dislodged, and three times the Allies were driven back, with dreadful slaughter, to their former ground. On the right, Ziethen's Prussians, supported by 6000 Cossacks under Platoff, had

nearly succeeded in turning the flank of the French; but they were at length compelled to give way before the vehement fire of the hostile batteries; and Schwartzenberg, finding the resistance so obstinate, and having received information of decisive success on the north side, confined his attack during the remainder of the day chiefly to the artillery, 800 pieces of which sent from their vantage-ground incessant destruction through the crowded masses of the French. Ney and Marmont, meanwhile, with only 50,000 men, had to abide the onset of near 90,000 under Blucher and Bernadotte, whose junction had by this time been effected; and their difficulties were increased by the defection of 8000 Saxons and Würtembergers, who went over to the enemy at the outset of the battle. In spite of the desperate heroism with which they fought, the French were at length overpowered by numbers, and driven close to the walls of Leipsic; and the villages of Schönfeld and Sellershausen, after five unsuccessful assaults, were carried at nightfall by the Russians. Darkness at length closed over the scene of slaughter; and Napoleon, after a mournful council held by a bivouac-fire on the field, was compelled to admit the inevitable necessity of a retreat.

736. During the whole fight, the town continued a scene of confusion and horror, from the multitude of wounded brought in, and the incessant rolling of caissons and carriages on every road leading to Lindenau. By daybreak on the 19th, the whole French army was in full retreat; while the Allied commanders were preparing a general attack on Leipsic. Napoleon, after bidding adieu to his faithful ally the King of Saxony, had already made his way, not without danger and difficulty, out of the city; and the barriers, after a desperate resistance from Poniatowski, Lauriston, and Macdonald, having at last been forced on all sides, the Allies poured in like a furious torrent. At this dreadful moment the bridge of Lindenau was blown up, by the mistake of the corporal in charge of the train; and the only passage over the Elster thus cut off. The dismay and confusion which ensued were frightful. Macdonald plunged into the river, and succeeded in reaching the opposite bank; but the gallant

Poniatowski perished in the waters, and Lauriston, with Regnier and twenty other generals, and 15,000 soldiers, were made prisoners. Including 23,000 sick and wounded, the total French loss during the three days was not less than 60,000 men; that of the Allies was 42,000.

737. At two o'clock the firing ceased, and soon after the Emperors of Russia and Austria, with the King of Prussia, surrounded by their generals and brilliant staffs, entered by the southern barriers; while the Crown-Prince of Sweden came in by the eastern, and all met in the great square, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the people. A very considerable dislocation of their immense forces immediately took place; the great body, worn out with its toils, still remained about Leipsic; but Bernadotte and Benningsen were directed against Hamburg, while Klenau was detached to aid in the blockade of St Cyr at Dresden. Blucher, with Langeron and Sacken, moved in pursuit of the French army, which, disorganised and dejected, was wending its way towards the Rhine. At the passage of the Unstrutt at Freyberg, 1000 prisoners and 18 guns were captured by the Prussian hussars; but on the 23d the French reached Erfurth, the citadels and magazines of which afforded them at once security and relief from their privations. Here Napoleon halted two days, employed in reorganising his army, the thirteen corps of which were now formed into six, commanded by Victor, Ney, Bertrand, Augereau, Marmont, and Macdonald, and amounting in all to less than 90,000 men; while twice that number were left blockaded in the fortresses on the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula. On the 25th, after parting for the last time with Murat, who here quitted him and returned to Naples, he resumed his march, retreating with such rapidity through the Thuringian forest, that the Cossacks alone of the pursuing army could keep up with the retiring columns—while the men dropped, exhausted by fatigue and hunger, or deserted their ranks by hundreds; so that when the fugitive host approached the Maine, not more than 50,000 remained effective round their colours—10,000 had fallen or been made prisoners, and at least 30,000 were straggling

in the rear. But here fresh dangers awaited them. After the treaty of the 8th October, by which Bavaria had acceded to the grand alliance, an Austro-Bavarian force under Marshal Wrede had moved in the direction of Frankfort, and was posted, to the number of 45,000 men, in the oak forest near Hanau across the great road to Mayence, and blocking up entirely the French line of retreat.

738. The battle commenced at 11 A.M. on the 30th; but the French van, under Victor and Macdonald, after fighting its way through the forest, was arrested, when attempting to issue from its skirts, by the concentric fire of 70 pieces of cannon, and for four hours the combat continued, till the arrival of the guards and main body changed the aspect of affairs. Under cover of the terrible fire of Drouot's artillery, Sebastiani and Nansouty charged with the cavalry of the guard, and overthrew everything opposed to them, and Wrede at length drew off his shattered army behind the Kinzig. Hanau was bombarded and taken, and Mortier and Marmont, with the rear divisions, cut their way through on the following day, with considerable loss to their opponents. The total losses of the Allies amounted to 10,000 men, of whom 4000 were prisoners; and the victory threw a parting ray of glory over the long career of the revolutionary arms in Germany. On the 2d of November the French reached Mayence, and Napoleon, after remaining there six days to collect the remains of his army, set out for Paris, where he arrived on the 9th; and thus the French eagles bade a final adieu to the German plains.

739. In the mean time, the Allied troops, following closely on the footsteps of the retreating French, poured in prodigious strength down the valley of the Maine. On the 5th of November the Emperor Alexander entered Frankfort in triumph, at the head of 20,000 horse; and on the 9th the fortified post of Hochheim, in advance of the tête-du-pont of Mayence at Cassel, was stormed by Giulay. From the heights beyond the town the victorious armies of Germany beheld the winding stream of the Rhine; a shout of enthusiasm ran from rank to rank as they saw the mighty river of the Fatherland, which their arms had liberated;

those in the rear hurried to the front, and soon a hundred thousand voices joined in the cheers which told the world that the war of independence was ended and Germany delivered.

740. Nothing now remained but to reap the fruits of this mighty victory; yet so vast was the ruin that even this was a task of time and difficulty. The rickety kingdom of Westphalia fell at once, never more to rise; the revolutionary dynasty in Berg followed its fate; and the authority of the King of Britain was re-established by acclamation in Hanover, at the first appearance of Bernadotte and Benningsen. The reduction of Davoust, who had been left in Hamburg with 25,000 French and 10,000 Danes, was an undertaking of more difficulty; and against him Walmoden and Bernadotte moved with 40,000 men. The French marshal had taken up a position on the Stecknitz; but, fearful of being cut off from Hamburg, he retired behind the Bille on the advance of the Allies, separating himself from the Danes, who were compelled to capitulate. The operations of the Crown-Prince against Denmark, the ancient rival of Sweden, were now pushed with a vigour and activity strongly contrasting with his lukewarmness in the general campaign; and the court of Copenhagen, seeing its dominions on the point of being overrun, signed an armistice on the 15th December, on which was soon after based a permanent treaty, the particulars of which will be given hereafter.

741. When Napoleon (Oct. 7) marched northwards from Dresden, he had left St Cyr in that city with 30,000 men, opposed only by a newly-raised Russian corps under Tolstoi, which St Cyr, by a sudden attack, routed with the loss of 3000 men and 10 guns. But no sooner was the battle of Leipsic decided, than Dresden was again blockaded by 50,000 men under Klenau and Tolstoi; and St Cyr, who was encumbered with a vast number of sick and wounded, and was almost without provisions, was obliged, after a fruitless sortie on the 6th November, to surrender on the 11th, on condition of being sent with his troops to France. The capitulation, however, was disallowed by Schwartzenberg, and the whole were made prisoners of war—a proceeding which

the French, not without some justice, declaim against as a gross breach of faith—and thus no less than 32 generals, 1795 officers, and 33,000 rank and file, with 240 pieces of cannon, fell into the power of the Allies. The fall of Dresden was soon followed by that of the other fortresses on the Vistula and the Oder. Stettin, with 8000 men and 350 guns, surrendered on the 21st November; and Torgau, which contained the military hospitals and reserve parks of artillery left by the grand army on its retreat from the Elbe, yielded at discretion to Tauenzein (Dec. 26), after a siege of two months. But such was the dreadful state of the garrison, from the ravages of typhus fever, that the Allies dared not enter this great pest-house till the 10th January; and the terrible epidemic which issued from its walls made the circuit, during the four following years, of every country in Europe.

742. Dantzic, with its motley garrison of 35,000 men, had been blockaded ever since the Moscow retreat; but the blockading corps, which was not of greater strength, could not confine the French within the walls; and Rapp made several sorties in force during the spring and summer, by which he procured abundance of provisions. It was not till after the termination of the armistice of Pleswitz that the siege was commenced in form; and after sustaining a severe bombardment, Rapp, deprived of all hope by the battle of Leipsic, capitulated (Nov. 29) with his garrison, now reduced by the sword, sickness, and desertion, to 16,000 men. Zamosc, with 3000 men, surrendered on the 22d December, and Modlin, with 1200, on the 25th; and at the close of the year, France retained beyond the Rhine only Hamburg, Magdeburg, and Wittenberg, on the Elbe; Custrin and Glogau on the Oder; and the citadels of Erfurth and Würtzburg, which held out after the capitulation of the towns.

743. The fermentation produced by the deliverance of Germany speedily spread to the Dutch provinces, where the yoke of Napoleon had been felt with peculiar severity, from the maritime habits of the people, and the total stoppage of all their

sources of industry. From the Hanse Towns the flame of independence extended to the old United Provinces; and no sooner did Bulow and Winzingerode approach the frontier, than a universal revolt took place. At Amsterdam, Leyden, Rotterdam, and all the principal towns, the inhabitants rose in insurrection, and, without tumult or bloodshed, deposed the imperial authorities, and everywhere, amid cries of *Orange Boven!* mounted the orange cockade, and reinstated the ancient functionaries. The Prince of Orange landed (Nov. 27) from a British ship-of-war, and repaired to the Hague. The French troops, finding themselves unable to make head against the Russians, who were pouring in, withdrew from the country; and before the close of the year the tricolor floated only on Bergen-op-Zoom and a few of the southern frontier fortresses.

744. Eugene Beauharnais, meanwhile, who had returned to Italy when Napoleon took the command in Germany, had been unceasing in his exertions to restore the Italian army, which had almost wholly perished in Russia, or been marched to the Elbe; and such was his energy that, when Austria declared war in August, he had 52,000 men under arms to oppose Hiller, who crossed the Saave (Aug. 17) with 50,000 men. Croatia and Illyria instantly rose in insurrection, and Fiume was occupied without resistance (Aug. 29) by General Nugent; but it was retaken (Sept. 15) by Eugene, and no engagement of importance took place for some time. The treaty with Bavaria, however, which restored the Tyrol to Austria, gave the Imperialists a great accession of strength: the Viceroy was driven, after several obstinate conflicts (Oct. 7-11), from the intrenched camp of Tarwis, and compelled to abandon the line of the Isonzo; the citadel of Trent surrendered to the Austrians on the 31st; and the Italian army was eventually forced to retreat to the Adige, the Viceroy's headquarters being fixed (Nov. 4) at Verona. The fortresses on the Adriatic, thus abandoned, speedily fell before the Austrians, who were aided by a British squadron and auxiliary force from Sicily. Trieste, being vigorously attacked for a fortnight, surrendered on the 31st October;

Sebenico and Spalatro yielded on the 2d November; and the reduction of Dalmatia was completed by the capture (Dec. 9) of the strong fortress of Zara, after a siege of thirteen days. Palma-Nuova, and Venice itself, were invested; and the whole Continental possessions of the old Republic, as far as the Adige, were occupied by the Austrians.

X. *Campaign of* 1813 *in Spain—Battle of Vitoria.*

745. The catastrophe of the Russian expedition, and the glorious successes of the campaign of Salamanca, had totally extinguished all division of opinion in Britain as to the prosecution of the contest; and the chief complaint now made against the government by the popular leaders was — that they had yielded too much to the advice which they themselves had so long pressed upon them, in not prosecuting the war with sufficient vigour. A motion was even brought forward by the Marquis of Wellesley for a committee of inquiry into the conduct of the war; and though this was negatived by a majority of 115 to 39, it had the effect of inciting the government to redouble its exertions; and as America was now at war with this country, the naval and military establishments were raised beyond even their former prodigious amount.

746. It was now, when Britain had reached the highest point in her national and military power and glory — without having touched the sacred reserve set apart for the redemption of the debt—that duty was sacrificed to supposed expediency, and the fatal precedent introduced of abandoning the protection of the future for the relief of the present. On the 3d March 1813 — a day which deserves to be noted as among the most disastrous which Britain ever knew — this momentous change was introduced by Mr Vansittart, who brought forward a series of resolutions for applying the surplus of the Sinking-fund to the public service, after a certain proportion had been applied to its original purposes, on the double plea of the present exigencies, and the danger which must result to the system of investments from the

too rapid discharge of the national debt! In spite of the opposition of Mr Huskisson and Mr Tierney, the motion was carried without a division.

747. The winter following the campaign of Salamanca was a period of ceaseless exertion on the part of Wellington to restore the discipline and efficiency of his army, which the protracted fatigues of the campaign, and the disasters with which it closed, had tended so greatly to loosen as to call from him the stern but necessary reproof already noticed. Neither rank nor station screened those in fault; and the army, thus thoroughly reorganised, and largely reinforced from Britain, prepared to take the field in greater strength than it had done since the beginning of the war. By the appointment also of Wellington (Sept. 22, 1812) as generalissimo of the Spanish armies, the whole strength of the Peninsula was combined under one direction; but the measure was highly unpopular with the democrats at Cadiz, as well as with all that party, numerous in every country, and especially in Spain, with whom jealousy of foreigners predominates over patriotism. Ballasteros—a brave but haughty and impetuous officer—even incited his troops to resist it, but was arrested and sent prisoner to Ceuta, by an act of unwonted vigour on the part of the regency. The arrival of the British general at Cadiz, however, followed by the news of the catastrophe in Russia, in some degree checked these intrigues, as well as those still carried on with the agents of Joseph; and though all the influence of Wellington failed to curb the torrent of democracy which was sweeping away all the ancient institutions of the country, he succeeded in placing their armies under better direction, and reorganising them in a far more efficient manner than before; and then returned, by way of Lisbon, to his old cantonments on the Coa, which he reached at the end of January 1813.

748. The Portuguese government had also relapsed into its old system of corruption and abuses. The troops, left without pay, were deserting in great numbers; the rich were suffered to evade the taxes, while the peasants were pillaged by the revenue collec-

tors and military; and the democrats availed themselves of the discontent thus produced to accuse Wellington of aspiring to the Spanish crown. But disregarding these malignant accusations, he exerted himself with such ability, and was so well seconded by Marshal Beresford in the military, and by Sir Charles Stuart in the civil service, that a great improvement was soon manifest; and by the beginning of May, nearly 200,000 Allied troops were ready in the Peninsula. Though not more than half this great force were British, Germans, or Portuguese, on whom reliance could really be placed, the Allied army was at last, in point of numbers at least, brought to something like an equality with the imperial legions, which had now been reduced by the drafts into Germany to 230,000 men, of whom not more than 197,000, including 25,000 horse, were present with the eagles. The strength of the Anglo-Portuguese army on the Coa was 75,000, of whom 44,000 were British, with 6000 cavalry and 90 guns; but besides these, there were 16,000 Anglo-Sicilian troops under Sir John Murray at Alicante, who had already undertaken some operations in conjunction with Elio, who commanded 14,000 Spaniards.

749. Suchet had 40,000 excellent troops in Valencia, besides 30,000 in Catalonia; but so large a proportion was required for garrisons, and for keeping up his communications with Aragon, that only 16,000 foot and 2000 horse were available for operations beyond the Xucar, behind which he lay in an intrenched camp. His chief magazines had been transferred from Valencia to Murviedro, which was strongly fortified; and feeling himself thus secure in the rear, he advanced, at the end of March, against Murray, whose force was concentrated near Castalla. The advanced detachments of Spaniards were routed without much difficulty; but in his attack on the main British position, Suchet was repulsed with the loss of 1800 men; and had not Murray neglected to press the pursuit, most of his guns might have been taken at a defile in his rear. After this action, both armies resumed their former posts, as Murray, one of whose divisions had been recalled by Lord William Bentinck to Sicily, did

not consider himself sufficiently strong to commence offensive operations.

750. The insurrection in the northern provinces, supported by the British ships on the coast, had now risen to such a height, and so completely intercepted the French communications, that Joseph only received his despatches of the 4th January on the 18th March, and then by the route of Barcelona and Valencia! This alarming state of affairs attracted the attention of Napoleon, who urged his brother to concentrate his troops on the Ebro for the purpose of putting it down—the command being given to Clausel, as Soult had been called into Germany. Clausel gained some important advantages over the guerillas, particularly over Mina (May 13) in the valley of Ronçal; while Joseph fixed his own headquarters at Valladolid, and sent movable columns in all directions against the insurgents. But greater events were now on the wing; and on the 22d May, Wellington commenced his march.

751. The plan of the British general was to advance in two divisions, with the left constantly in front, threatening the flank of the French; while the centre and right drove them from the Douro, so as to push them back into Biscay, and thus to establish for himself a new basis of operations, resting on the numerous fortified seaports of the northern coast. The Duke del Parque's army, and the Spanish reserves, at the same time moved forward from Andalusia into La Mancha, thereby inducing the belief that a combined attack on Madrid was intended. Thus, when danger really threatened on the side of Salamanca, the means of resistance were distant; and on 3d June the whole British army was concentrated on the north of the Douro, between Toro and the Esla, after a march of 200 miles in ten days. The French now hastily retreated towards the Upper Ebro; while the British, rapidly pursuing, occupied Valladolid on the 4th, and passed the Carrion on the 7th and 8th. The castle of Burgos, the scene of such desperate strife in the last campaign, was blown up on the 14th; while the British left, constantly pressing round the right flank of the French, compelled them to abandon one posi-

tion after another, and to evacuate the whole coast of Biscay, the ports of which were instantly filled with British vessels. The whole French troops and authorities, meanwhile, had evacuated Madrid in panic; and the road from the capital to Bayonne was crowded with innumerable vehicles, bearing away the spoils of the kingdom, amassed by the unceasing rapine of five years. The sweep of the Allies round the French right still continued; and such was the accuracy with which their marches had been calculated, and the precision with which they were accomplished, that the columns (numbering 60,000 British and Portuguese, with 18,000 Spaniards) all arrived at the stations assigned them by Wellington's previous plans, in the neighbourhood of Vitòria, at the very time when the French army of 70,000 men, heavy-laden and dejected, had accumulated its immense files of chariots and baggage-waggons in front of that town.

752. The plain on which the French were drawn up is intersected by two ranges of hills, affording strong positions; but the weakness of their situation consisted in there being only a single line of retreat, by the great road of Bayonne, passable for carriages; and Wellington, having reconnoitred them on the afternoon of the 20th, made his dispositions for an attack the next day. At daybreak all the British columns were in motion: Hill, with the right wing and Murillo's Spaniards, pressed through the pass of Puebla, and after a bloody conflict on the heights above the Zadorra, stormed the village of Subijana; while Wellington himself, with the centre, had surmounted the heights in his front, and descended in great strength into the plain. But the bridges over the small river in the bottom were gallantly contested by the enemy, till the light division and the 15th hussars, guided by a Spanish peasant, surprised the bridge of Tres Puentes; and the whole French centre fell back, but in good order and making a vigorous defence, towards Vitoria. The decisive blow, however, had been struck by Graham on the left, where the villages of Gamarra-Mayor and Ariega commanded the road to Bayonne. The French made a most gallant defence, and held the Allies at bay at the bridges; but some British brigades at

length got possession of the road, and the cry instantly ran through the French army that their retreat was cut off. The battle now became a sort of running fight of cannonade: but the French were unable to hold any position long enough for the carriages in the rear to draw off; and as the shot boomed over the heads of the vast crowd jammed together close to Vitoria, the cries of despair were heard, as at the Beresina, from the agonised multitude. An overturned waggon had blocked up the only remaining road—that to Pampeluna; the British dragoons were thundering in pursuit; and the whole frantic mass at length dispersed, making their way, in wild confusion, over fields and ditches, and leaving all their artillery, carriages, and waggons, a prey to the victors.

753. Never before, in modern times, had such a capture been made by a victorious army. All the archives of the court of Madrid, including a great mass of Napoleon's secret correspondence, 151 guns, with 415 caissons, and countless stores of ammunition, were the military trophies, besides 6000 killed and wounded, and 1000 prisoners. But the amount of private booty, notwithstanding that two immense convoys had been sent off a few days before to France, defied all estimate or calculation. Rich brocades, gold and silver plate, pictures, jewels, female trinkets and articles of luxury, lay scattered about the field in endless profusion; even Joseph's private carriage was taken, and he himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner. Not less than five millions and a half of dollars were taken in the military chest, the whole of which (except about 100,000) were plundered by the soldiers; not fewer than 7500 of whom straggled from their colours, amid the drunkenness and indiscipline resulting from this enormous spoil, for three weeks after the battle. Such was the triumph of Vitoria, which at one blow swept the French like a whirlwind from Spain, and made Joseph's crown drop from his head.

PART IX.

FROM THE INVASION OF FRANCE BY THE ALLIES IN 1814, TO THE FINAL OVERTHROW OF NAPOLEON IN 1815.

I. *Battles of the Pyrenees—Invasion of France by Wellington.*

754. THE battle of Vitoria resounded like a thunderclap through Spain : Madrid was finally evacuated (June 27), and all the French authorities and partisans of Joseph hastened their flight across the Ebro; while Suchet, who still held his strong position on the Xucar, reluctantly evacuated Valencia (which was instantly occupied by Elio), leaving garrisons only in Peniscola and Murviedro. All the *juramentados* (as those were called who had given their adhesion to the French dynasty) were thus left defenceless; and to save them from the indiscriminate vengeance which was likely to be directed against them, Wellington addressed to the Cortes a long and able memoir, in which he enforced the propriety of granting, with few exceptions, a general amnesty.

755. Clausel, who had been stationed at Logrono with 14,000 men, arrived at Vitoria after the battle; and, though nearly surrounded by the British divisions, succeeded in reaching France by the circuitous route of Saragossa and Jaca; after having great part of his artillery and baggage captured by Mina. Graham, with the British left, meanwhile pressed the retreat of Foy from Durango, and drove him, after a severe conflict (June 25) at Tolosa, across the Bidassoa; while Hill, with the centre, pursued the main body of the routed army, which, with only *one gun*, and hardly any ammunition or baggage, retired up the valley of Bastan into France. All that now remained to the French in the north-west of Spain was the strongholds of Santona, San Sebastian, and Pampeluna,—the last of which was already closely blockaded by Hill, while Graham lost no time in investing San Sebastian.

756. The land front of San Sebastian stretches across the

isthmus of a low sandy peninsula, curving round the bay, at the extremity of which, behind the town, stands the castle, on a conical hill, 400 feet high; while on the other side it is bounded by the opening into which falls the stream of the Urumea, which is fordable for two hours before and after low water. The garrison, 3000 strong, was commanded by Emanuel Rey, a brave and resolute officer, who had made every preparation for an obstinate defence. The siege commenced on 29th June; and the convent of St Bartholomew, which had been converted into an outwork, was breached and stormed on 17th July. The British batteries were now placed on the height where the convent stood, and on the sandhills on the right bank of the Urumea; and on the evening of the 24th the assault was ordered. But the attacking column, losing its order in fording the river and crossing the rocks, slippery with sea-weed, came up straggling in small parties to the support of the forlorn hope; and the assailants were at last driven back over the Urumea, with a loss of 520 men. By order of Wellington, who now arrived before the place, the siege was turned into a blockade, as the besiegers' ammunition was nearly exhausted; and before it was renewed, important events had occurred on the frontier.

757. Napoleon, on the first tidings of the battle of Vitoria, sent Soult to take the supreme command in this quarter, under the title of Lieutenant of the Emperor. He arrived at Bayonne on the 13th July, and on mustering the wrecks of the different armies assembled round its walls, found that he had 70,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry, ready for active operations; besides the garrisons of San Sebastian, Pampeluna, and Santona, and Suchet's army of 66,000 men in Catalonia and Valencia. After occupying himself during several days in endeavouring to restore the spirits and organisation of his dejected troops, he moved forwards (July 25), ascending the French side of the Roncesvalles pass with 35,000 men; while Drouet, Count d'Erlon, with 20,000, threatened the British centre by the Puerta de Maya, at the head of the valley of the Bastan; and Villatte remained, with 18,000 men, on the Bidassoa. His object was, first to overwhelm Wellington's right

and relieve Pampeluna; and then, turning to his own right, raise the siege of San Sebastian; and his operations were at first crowned with brilliant success. Byng and Murillo, who held the heights of Altobiscar in the Roncesvalles with scarce 5000 men, were compelled to fall back, after defending their ground the whole day, before the attacks of 18,000 under Clausel; and d'Erlon was equally successful at the Puerta de Maya, where the Allies lost 1500 men (including two-thirds of the 92d regiment), and 4 pieces of cannon; though with almost equal loss to the victors. The delay of d'Erlon and Reille to join Soult, however, gave time for Picton to come up with his division; and the British fell back towards Pampeluna, taking up a position on the rugged cliffs opposite Sorauren, four miles in front of the fortress. Wellington, instantly hastening to the scene of danger, joined Picton and Cole on the evening of the 27th; and the arrival of the 6th division the next morning (of which Soult, from the nature of the ground, remained unaware) brought up the Anglo-Portuguese force to 18,000, besides 10,000 Spaniards: while Soult's army, as d'Erlon had not even yet come up, did not exceed 32,000.

758. At noon on the 28th, the anniversary of Talavera, the French, burning to efface their past defeats, dashed up the steep height, and assaulted the whole front of the British position. On the Allied left, where the 6th division was posted, the assailants, surprised and almost surrounded by the unexpected numbers of their enemies, were repulsed with dreadful slaughter; but on other parts of the line the combat was more equal. Again and again did the French, with extraordinary but unavailing gallantry, force their way up the steep face of the mountain, in spite of the plunging fire poured down upon them; "but when their glittering arms appeared over the brow, the charging cry was heard, the crowded mass was broken to pieces, and a tempest of bullets followed its flight."* Towards evening Soult drew off his forces; and as it was known that Hill would arrive

* Napier.

during the night, a retreat was ordered the next morning, to the infinite disappointment of the garrison of Pampeluna, who already deemed their deliverance at hand. But instead of falling back towards Roncesvalles, Soult now occupied the crest of the ridge west of the Lanz, while he manœuvred with his right towards San Sebastian; and Wellington, having now 50,000 men, determined to drive him from this position. Before daybreak on the 30th, the French right was turned by the 7th division under Lord Dalhousie, followed by Murillo's Spaniards and Campbell's Portuguese; while Picton was equally successful on their left; and their defeat was completed by the capture of the village of Sorauren in their centre, which was gallantly carried by the Portuguese. The Allies lost during the day 1900 men, two-thirds of whom were Portuguese; but the French lost 3000 killed and wounded, and an equal number of prisoners.

759. After this disastrous defeat, Soult hastily retreated up the valleys, pursued by Hill; while Byng, pushing on, occupied the Puerta de Maya; and, Dalhousie having seized the Donna Maria pass, the French were nearly hemmed in the deep and narrow valley of St Estevan, where their surrender must have been inevitable. But this glorious trophy was lost by the misconduct of a few British marauders, whose appearance disclosed to Soult the danger of which he had hitherto been unconscious: and the French, hurrying forward in wild disorder, reached (Aug. 1) the head of the defiles of Yanzi and Echallar. While wedged here, in a narrow road between inaccessible rocks on one side and the river on the other, the head of the light division reached the summit of the cliffs, and began firing down on the throng. A dreadful scene of confusion and slaughter ensued; and the French at last, evacuating the Spanish territory, resumed nearly their former positions, having lost, since they crossed the frontier, fully 15,000 men, 4000 of whom were prisoners. The loss of the Allies, during the various battles of the Pyrenees, was scarce 7000.

760. This formidable irruption (which, if the vigour of the execution had been equal to the skill with which it was conceived, might have led to serious results) having been thus triumphantly

repulsed, the first care of Wellington was to renew the siege of San Sebastian, fresh supplies having at length arrived from Portsmouth. On the 26th of August the fire was reopened from 56 pieces of heavy cannon; and the fire of the place being almost entirely silenced, while two wide breaches were gaping in the ramparts, the storm was ordered for the 31st at noon. In spite of the tempest of grape, canister, and musketry, poured on them —which wellnigh choked the Urumea with killed and wounded —the column streamed up the great breach; but here their way was barred by a new wall, erected in reverse of the ruined rampart, the bottom of which was filled with sword-blades set erect, while a close and deadly fire mowed down all who reached the summit. In vain fresh troops pressed on to the scene of carnage: the bravest who mounted were bayoneted, or thrown down into the gulf; and after two hours of mortal strife, the heroic defenders still held their ground, and not a living man was to be seen on the breach. In this extremity, recourse was had to one of the boldest expedients recorded in military annals. The guns on the sandhills were brought to bear on the curtain above the breach, while the British lay down at the foot of the rampart, with the shot flying only two feet above their heads! A shell at last fell among the train of grénades and other combustibles arranged for defence along the rampart, which instantly blew up with a tremendous explosion, destroying 300 brave Frenchmen; and the British, when the smoke cleared off, seeing a vacant space before them, sprang up with an appalling shout and gained the first traverse. But a desperate conflict—breast against breast, and bayonet against bayonet—still ensued, till the tricolor was torn down by Lieutenant Gethin of the 11th, and the garrison, giving way on all sides, took refuge in the castle.

761. And now commenced a scene which may cause the historian to blush, not only for his country but his species. The long endurance of the assault, and the slaughter of their comrades at the breach, had wrought the soldiers up to perfect madness. Breaking into the burning houses, they rolled spirit-casks into

the streets, and emptied them on the spot, till vast numbers fell motionless, and many lifeless; while the wretched inhabitants, driven from their houses by the flames, which consumed nine-tenths of the town, fell a prey to the brutal passions of the soldiery. In spite of all the efforts of the officers, pillage, rape, and massacre, were carried to a pitch almost unheard of; and the scenes transacted remain on record as an eternal blot on the past and warning for the future. The citadel was still to be reduced; but a fire from 60 heavy guns, besides mortars, having been opened on it, the brave governor was compelled (Sept. 9) to surrender at discretion, with 1756 men—the remains of the garrison. The siege of this third-rate fortress, defended by only 3000 men, had detained the Allies 63 days, and cost them 3800 men, 2500 of whom were killed or wounded in the last assault — a striking proof of the skill and heroism of the governor and garrison, whose defence may be placed among the brightest military achievements of their country.

762. Soult, however, had not been unmindful of his distressed comrades. Before daylight on the 30th August, he crossed the Bidassoa with 18,000 men, supported by Clausel with 20,000, and Foy with 7000 more. On the 31st he attacked the heights of San Marcial, then held by 18,000 Spanish troops; but such was the unwonted steadiness of the Spaniards that he was repulsed with the loss of 3600 men, while the Allies lost 2600, 1600 of whom were Spaniards — a proof that to them the glory of the day was due. The inability of the French to keep the field was now clearly demonstrated, but Wellington resolved to await the fall of Pampeluna before undertaking any offensive operations.

763. In the east of Spain, meanwhile, Sir John Murray had embarked from Alicante (May 31) with 14,000 men and a powerful battering-train, in pursuance of orders from Wellington, and landed near Taragona on the 3d June. The outworks of Fort Olivo, and the castle of San Felipe de Balaguer (which commands the road from Tortosa), were occupied with little resistance; and as the main defences were in a very dilapidated

state, success appeared certain. But the irresolution of Murray, which had already been shown at the battle of Castalla, ruined the enterprise. The approaches were not pushed with the requisite rapidity; and the order for assault, notwithstanding the eagerness of the troops, was countermanded, till, on the news of Suchet's approach with 17,000 men, the British general hastily raised the siege (June 12), and re-embarked his indignant troops for Alicante. He was soon superseded in his command by Lord William Bentinck, and afterwards brought, in England, to a court-martial, which acquitted him of the serious charges brought against him, but censured him for want of judgment. The triumph of Suchet, however, was short, as the news of the battle of Vitoria compelled him to withdraw wholly behind the Ebro, leaving strong garrisons in Tortosa, Peniscola, and Murviedro. Bentinck followed up the retreating columns with a motley array of 30,000 men, only 10,000 of whom were British or Germans, and again besieged Taragona at the end of July. The approach of Suchet with superior forces compelled him to retire; but the French marshal only blew up the defences and withdrew the garrison; and the city, with its ruined battlements, was occupied by the British, who, pushing on into Catalonia, entered Villa Franca on the 7th September. On the night of the 12th, however, their advanced guard was surprised and routed by General Harispe at the pass of Ordal, with the loss of 1000 men and four guns; and the Allies again fell back to the neighbourhood of Taragona.

764. Wellington, meanwhile, having received considerable reinforcements, was taking measures, in pursuance of orders received from home, for an invasion of France. His own judgment would indeed have led him, for several reasons, to delay the attempt: Pampeluna had not yet surrendered; and though the Spanish troops had greatly improved in discipline and efficiency, there was too good reason to fear that they would revenge on the French peasantry the wrongs of their own countrymen, to such an extent as to raise a national resistance. But the British government, looking to the probable effects on the

determinations of the Allied sovereigns on the Elbe, decided otherwise; and Wellington, like a good soldier, prepared to execute his instructions.

765. Soult's position north of the Bidassoa was the base of a triangle of which Bayonne was the apex, and the great roads thence to Irun on the coast, and St Jean Pied-de-Port in the interior, formed the sides. This space was filled with a mass of rugged mountains, on the last ridge of which, overlooking the Bidassoa, the French army was stationed; while all the hill-roads were commanded by works; and the summit of the Grande Rhune mountain, the highest part of the ridge, was crowned by a complete redoubt. The attack of Wellington was delayed, by the tides and the swollen state of the Bidassoa from rain, till the 7th September, when the pontoons were brought down under cover of a dark and stormy night; and at daybreak, 24,000 men were directed against the Lower Bidassoa, and 20,000, chiefly Spaniards, against the Rhune and its ridges. The French were completely taken by surprise, and driven from the first heights without much difficulty; and though some obstinate fighting took place at the Mont Louis XIV. and the Croix des Bouquets, the position was eventually stormed by the 9th regiment; while Giron with the Andalusians was equally successful at La Grande Rhune and a vast projecting rocky ridge called the Boar's Back. The whole of the almost impregnable positions, which the French had been fortifying for a month past, fell into the hands of the Allies; and thus was Britain, the most persevering opponent of the Revolution, rewarded by being the first nation, since the rise of Napoleon, whose victorious standards were planted on the soil of France.

766. The first care of Wellington was to use the most vigorous means to prevent plundering, and to establish a system of regular payment for supplies—measures which had a great effect on the French peasantry, as they strongly contrasted with the enormous requisitions levied on all the arrondissements round Bayonne for the support of Soult's army. Several soldiers, both British and Spanish, detected in plundering, were hanged without mercy;

and the ready money of the British soon made provisions more plentiful in their camp than in that of the enemy. Pampeluna (for the surrender of which Wellington now again waited), after enduring all the extremities of famine, yielded at discretion on the 31st October, with its garrison of 3000 men; but Santona, the only fortress in north-west Spain still held by the French, continued blockaded till the end of the war. An attempt made by Soult for a concerted plan of operations in Aragon with Suchet had failed, as Soult could spare no artillerymen; and those of Suchet, in obedience to the express orders of Napoleon, were absorbed in the Catalonian garrisons; but the month's respite afforded by the prolonged defence of Pampeluna had nevertheless been turned to good account. A triple line of defences, of great strength and solidity, had been constructed on the Nivelle, stretching from the sea and St Jean de Luz to Mount Daren, and defended by 70,000 men—Soult's force having been again raised to this amount by the accession of 16,000 recruits.

767. On reconnoitring this formidable position, Wellington determined to direct his principal attack against the centre, between the Petite Rhune (which was still held as an outwork to the main line) and the bridge of Amotz over the Nivelle. This duty was assigned to the third, fourth, and seventh divisions under Beresford, supported by Giron's Spaniards; while Hill was to assail their left; and Hope, who had succeeded Graham in the command of the left wing, was to make a feint against the hills by St Jean de Luz. The action began at daylight (Nov. 9), by the storming of the Petite Rhune, which was gallantly performed by the 43d and the Portuguese Caçadores; while the redoubts in the centre were assailed by such a storm of cannon-shot, that the defenders evacuated them before the scaling-ladders were applied. Clinton, meanwhile, on the right, with the sixth division, had broken through the works guarded by d'Erlon's men, and completely turned their defences in that quarter. The French right centre under Clausel still stood firm; but, assailed in front by the light division (which had won the Petite Rhune), and threatened in flank by the other corps, it at length gave

way, and though Clausel, hurrying from St Jean de Luz with his reserves, for a moment arrested the progress of defeat, the enthusiasm of the Allies was irresistible. The whole British centre crossed the Nivelle, and drove the enemy from their second line of defences beyond it. Soult rallied his troops on the third line, about eight miles in the rear; but long-continued disasters had so weakened the spirit of his soldiers, that he fell back the next day to his intrenched camp before Bayonne, leaving all the intermediate country, with the port of St Jean de Luz, to the Allies, and having lost 4300 men, including 1400 prisoners, with fifty-one guns and all his field magazines.

768. The disorders of the Spanish and Portuguese troops, however, still continued a subject of serious anxiety to Wellington. Not only did the total destitution in which they were left by their respective governments render pillage almost inevitable, but the deep thirst for vengeance, engendered by the long-continued atrocities of the French in the Peninsula, could scarcely by any practicable means be restrained from glutting itself on the blood and property of the wretched inhabitants. At length, finding their generals tardy in executing his orders on these points, he sent the whole Spanish force (except Murillo's corps, which had conducted itself properly) out of France, thus depriving himself of 25,000 now experienced troops rather than connive at their excesses, a trait which strongly marks the lofty character of the British hero. Nor were his political difficulties less in his transactions with the Spanish government, where the furious hostility of the democrats at last reached such a height that he threw up the command-in-chief of their armies in disgust; but this vigorous step quickly brought them to reason, and he was reinstated on his own terms.

769. Even without the Spaniards, however, Wellington had still 80,000 troops, including 8600 horse, and with 100 guns; and as the space occupied was too contracted for so large a force, he was anxious to extend his cantonments by forcing the passage of the Nive, and driving Soult entirely back under the cannon of Bayonne. His dispositions for the attack were as follows:—

Hope and Alten, with three divisions and Vandeleur's cavalry, in all about 24,000 men, were to drive in the advanced posts in front of the intrenched camp; while Beresford, with the centre, was to cross the Nive by bridges to be thrown over it; and Hill, on the right, was to ford the same river at Cambo, and advance towards Bayonne by the great road from St Pied-de-Port. The attack was made on the morning of the 9th of December; and after some severe fighting the passage was forced, and the French left driven close to Bayonne. But the Allied army was thus cut in two by the stream of the Nive; and Soult, perceiving this, prepared to avail himself of the advantage thus offered, with an energy and decision worthy of Napoleon himself. On the 10th at daybreak he issued forth on the left of the Nive, with nearly 60,000 men in two columns, to assail the British centre and left, which mustered scarce half that number, scattered over a considerable extent of country. The light division, on which the first brunt of Clausel's onset fell, was driven back, but held out with indomitable valour in the church and village of Arcangues; while on the left, which was at first completely taken by surprise, a confused but desperate and bloody conflict was kept up during the whole day. The British at the outset suffered severely, but the successive arrival of the third, sixth, fourth, and seventh divisions restored the day; and both armies rested on their arms on the field of battle during the night, in the course of which two German regiments came over to the Allies. They were received with drums beating and presented arms, and soon after embarked to join their countrymen on the Rhine.

770. Some partial attacks took place on the two following days, till Soult, perceiving that the bulk of the hostile forces were now concentrated on the left bank of the Adour, drew his army again over the bridges of Bayonne on the night of the 12th, and the next day directed 35,000 men in front against Hill's position at St Pierre, while 7000 more menaced his rear. Hill had only 14,000 men and fourteen guns, but they were strongly posted on a wooded and broken ridge, from the old chateau of Villefranque to Vieux Mouguerre on the Adour; and the first onset of the

French under Abbé in the centre was repulsed with loss. But the numbers of the assailants at length prevailed, and the crest of the ridge was won : when Hill, pushing forward two brigades of Portuguese infantry, had already regained his vantage-ground before the arrival of Wellington, who, with the third, fourth, and sixth divisions, had reached the ground by a long circuit. In spite of all the efforts of Soult, the French were now driven back at all points, after one of the most desperate struggles which had taken place during the war, in which the Allies had lost 2500, and the French 3000 men. After this action the French again withdrew into the intrenched camp, while Foy's division guarded on the right bank the passage of the Adour ; and the Allies, established in winter-quarters in the towns on the coast, drew ample supplies from the rich fields of Bearn, and the harbour of St Jean de Luz.

II. *Europe in Arms against France.*

771. The magnitude of the changes produced by the campaign of 1813 was more fully seen when the crash of arms was over, and the mind, relieved from the immediate alternations of hope and fear, had leisure for contemplation. Of 400,000 men recently grouped round the fortresses of the Elbe, scarcely 80,000, mournful and defeated, had regained the left bank of the Rhine ; and hardly as many, out of 200,000 who recently maintained the dominion of the Peninsula, remained to withstand the invaders on the Adour. The vast and splendid fabric of the French empire had vanished like a dream ; and the mighty victor, reft of all his conquests, had only the old monarchy of Louis, now nearly drained of its military defenders, to make head against the accumulated hostility of Europe. But the energy of the Emperor was equal to the emergency. No sooner did he reach St Cloud (Nov. 9) from Mayence, than he laid before the council of state a candid statement of the magnitude of his losses, and the necessity of vigorous measures and vast sacrifices to avert further calamity. He began by drawing thirty millions of francs

(£1,200,000) from the great reserved fund in the vaults of the Tuileries; and he speedily gave signs of what he expected from his subjects, by issuing a decree, of his own sole authority, by which nearly a third was added to the land, window, and door tax, and three-fifths to the excise and salt tax. But however indispensable these illegal stretches of power might be, they were extremely distasteful to the nation, throughout which an intense feeling of discontent and horror, from the apparently endless continuance of the war, and the unceasing demands of the conscription, had gradually grown up. In addition to a levy of 310,000 ordered in October, a new conscription of 300,000 more was voted on the 15th November, to be taken retrospectively from the classes which had undergone the ordeal in past years, from 1803 downwards; and the speech of Napoleon to the council, on this occasion, was marked by manly sincerity. "Why should we fear to speak the truth? Has not Wellington invaded the south? Do not the Russians menace the north? And the nation does not rise *en masse* to chase them away! Every one speaks of peace, when all should resound with the cry of war. Never talk of peace till I have burned Munich!"

772. While France was thus reaping, in the utter prostration of public credit, the entire exhaustion of the blood of the nation, and the prospect of foreign subjugation, the natural consequence of domestic revolution and external aggression, the preparations of Britain were on a still more colossal scale than in the preceding campaign. Ninety-nine ships of the line, and 545 frigates and smaller vessels, were in commission; the number of seamen and marines was 140,000; and the whole land and sea force in arms, including the yeomanry and local militia at home, 40,000 militia in Canada, and the Indian army, amounted to 1,053,000 men! The expenditure of the year 1814, under these circumstances, reached the enormous sum of 117 millions!

773. The Allied sovereigns at Frankfort had meanwhile communicated to Napoleon (Nov. 9) through the Baron St Aignan, one of his ministers who had fallen into their hands, the basis on which they were willing to treat. This was, "that France

should be restricted to its natural limits between the Alps, Pyrenees, and Rhine; that the ancient dynasty should be restored in Spain, and the independence of Germany and Italy secured under native princes." A declaration to the same effect was addressed to the French nation (Dec. 1), and Napoleon at first appeared not unwilling to open negotiations; but his real object was only to gain time, and the Rhine had been crossed by the Allied armies before any effectual steps had been taken. The legislative body met at Paris on the 19th December; and though everything went on smoothly in the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies soon assumed the unwonted aspect of opposition to the court, which was developed in the report on the war, presented by the deputy Lainé on the 28th December. This remarkable document, in which the abandonment of Germany and Holland was openly recommended, the conscription denounced as "a frightful and intolerable scourge," and the national ruin impending over France alluded to in long-unheard accents of freedom, kindled a perfect storm; and Napoleon, after denouncing the chambers as traitors and conspirators, in a violent speech to the public authorities at the Tuileries (Jan. 1, 1814), dissolved the chamber on the following day. The last shadow of popular representation was thus abolished; and on the 4th January the budget was fixed by an imperial decree at £47,000,000; and fresh additions to the taxes, in order to provide this immense sum, were imposed by the sole authority of the Emperor. Commissioners were sent into all the departments, to hasten the levies and superintend the equipment and provisioning of the fortresses; but the rapid advance of the Allies soon rendered all these defensive preparations of no avail.

774. The presence of external danger, however, extorted from Napoleon at this period two important concessions, implying an abandonment of two of the great points of his Continental policy. The first was the treaty of Valençay (Dec. 11), by which Ferdinand VII. was released and restored to the Spanish throne, on condition that the British troops should be withdrawn from the Peninsula, and that Port Mahon and Ceuta

should never be ceded to England. By this manœuvre Napoleon hoped that the sword of Wellington might be broken, and the Jacobins of Cadiz, already exasperated to the utmost against the British, converted perhaps into useful allies; but the Regency and Cortes had the virtue to refuse their ratification; and though Napoleon, in the hope of distracting their councils, sent Ferdinand into Spain, which he entered on the 19th March by way of Catalonia, the Spanish armies continued to serve against France till the conclusion of the war.

775. A similar feeling of necessity induced him, shortly after, to liberate the Pope from his long confinement at Fontainebleau. All efforts to procure from him the formal cession of the States of the Church, even in part, had proved wholly ineffectual; but the state of affairs rendered Napoleon anxious to disembarrass himself of his presence. On the 22d January the venerable captive accordingly left Fontainebleau; but he was detained, on various pretexts, in the South of France, and not finally delivered till after the fall of Napoleon. Important negotiations had at the same time been going on with Murat. That brave but irresolute prince, foreseeing the downfall of the Emperor, had attempted to procure from Napoleon, as the price of his fidelity, the union under his own sceptre of all Italy south of the Po; but, failing in this, he prepared to abandon the cause of his benefactor. On the 11th January 1814 he concluded a treaty with the Allies, by which he was guaranteed possession of Naples; and forthwith advancing on Rome with 20,000 men, occupied the second city in his brother-in-law's empire (Jan. 19); having previously published a flaming proclamation, in which the perfidy and violence of the imperial government were denounced in terms which came strangely from a chief of the Revolution!

776. The Danes had been meanwhile compelled, as has been already noticed, to yield to the arms of Bernadotte; and a treaty was imposed on the cabinet of Copenhagen (Jan. 14, 1814), by which Norway was ceded to Sweden, in exchange for Pomerania and Rugen—a painful sacrifice, and equally distasteful to the

King of Denmark and the Norwegian people. A new league had been formed immediately after the battle of Leipsic, for the organisation of the forces of the late Confederation of the Rhine against the common enemy, and had been acceded to by all the leading princes except the King of Saxony, who had been sent as a prisoner of war to Berlin; and two supplementary treaties, drawn up by the Baron Von Stein, were signed at Frankfort (Nov. 18 and 24). By the first, the pecuniary contribution of each of the princes of the late Confederation to the expenses of the war was fixed at one year's revenue of his territory; while by the second the military contingents were taken at double those furnished to Napoleon. The Austrians under Schwartzenberg, meanwhile, had entered the Swiss territory (December 21), in spite of a declaration of neutrality from the Helvetic republic,—a measure against which Napoleon, forgetting his own numberless infractions of the rights of independent states, vehemently protested, as he had hoped to be secured on this, the most vulnerable side of France,—and a change in the Swiss councils immediately followed. The constitution imposed by Napoleon's act of mediation was annulled; and though the nation in general was rather passive in submission than active in aid to the Allied arms, its adhesion completed the GRAND ALLIANCE, in which, from Gibraltar to Archangel, and from the Scheldt to the Bosphorus, all Europe was now arrayed against the unaided resources of France, which only eighteen months before had led all the western states of the Continent in a crusade against the independence of Russia.

777. The forces thus collected for the invasion of France and Italy were distributed as follows:—The Grand Army, under Schwartzenberg, which was destined to act on the side of Switzerland and Franche-Comté, numbered not less than 260,000 men, at least 200,000 of whom were effective—including, besides the Austrian troops, the Russian and Prussian guards, the veterans of Wittgenstein, and the Bavarians and other German confederates under Wrede. The army of Silesia, as it was still called, under Blucher, consisted of the two Prussian corps of York

and Kleist, the two Russian of Langeron and Sacken, and two corps of German confederates—in all 137,000 men—and threatened the north-east frontier of France, between Mayence and Coblentz. The third army, under the Crown-Prince of Sweden, mustered in all 174,000 combatants lying on the Lower Rhine, between Cologne and Dusseldorf; but the variety of nations of which it was composed, and the peculiar political position of its commander, rendered it doubtful whether it would render any very efficient service. If we reckon, besides these, the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian reserves, the troops employed before Hamburg, and in blockading the other fortresses on the Elbe and Oder, with Bellegarde's army of 80,000 men in Northern Italy, and 140,000 British, Spaniards, and Portuguese under Wellington, we shall have a total of 1,028,000 men prepared to act against the French empire—a stupendous force! such as never had been directed against any power in the annals of human warfare; and to oppose which the means at the disposal of Napoleon were very inadequate. The physical strength and moral constancy of his empire were alike exhausted; and though the conscriptions exhibited *on paper* a most formidable array of combatants, not more than 200,000 (exclusive of the garrisons of the fortresses, and the army of Eugene in Italy) could by any possibility be brought forward in the field; so that, after deducting the troops of Soult and Suchet, the Emperor had not more than 110,000 to resist the invasion of the Allies on the Rhine.

778. Still the Allied sovereigns, notwithstanding their vast superiority of force, at first hesitated at the idea of crossing the Rhine. The catastrophes of two years, however great, could not at once obliterate the recollection of twenty years of triumphs, and the physical weakness to which France was reduced was in a great measure unknown to them; opinions were also much divided as to the line of operations to be undertaken, and it was only by the personal influence and vigour in council of Alexander that all these difficulties were at last overcome. The plan of operations finally adopted was a repetition, on a still greater scale, of that of the preceding campaign—Switzerland

affording the salient angle which Bohemia had formerly been. The Grand Army was to cross Switzerland, and enter France in five great columns by Bâle and the Jura; while Blucher, after blockading Mayence, was to push straight forward across Champagne on Paris; and the army of Bernadotte was to complete the conquest of Holland, and press Napoleon on the north-east frontier. Such were the final arrangements, and on the last day of the year 1813 the Allies PASSED THE RHINE.

III. *Campaign of* 1814 :—*Battles of la Rothière, Champaubert, and Montereau—Armistice of Lusigny.*

779. At midnight, on the 31st December 1813, the united and victorious army of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, crossed the Rhine. The passage was effected from opposite Manheim, by a party of Sacken's corps, who crossed in boats and rafts, and having succeeded in carrying a redoubt which commanded the river, were established on French ground by the following morning. Blucher in person, with Langeron and York, crossed at Caub, and St Priest at Coblentz, with little opposition; and Schwartzenberg, with 200,000 men, had already (Dec. 21) entered Switzerland and the Jura. Geneva was occupied on the 30th by Bubna, who, by seizing the passes of the Simplon and St Bernard, cut off the communication between France and Italy; while the centre, under Hesse-Homburg and Colloredo, pressed on by the high-road from Bâle through Vesoul to Langres, which they entered on the 16th January; Victor and Mortier, whose force was wholly inadequate to make head against the invaders, having previously abandoned it. Blucher, meanwhile, having driven Marmont before him over the Sarre, and through the passes of the Vosges, entered Nancy on the 9th January, and occupied Brienne on the 25th. Bernadotte himself was still in Holstein, but three corps of his army, under Winzingerode, Bulow, and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, were advancing through Flanders; Liege was taken by the Cossacks on the 18th Janu-

ary; and Macdonald, by order of Napoleon, fell back towards Laon and Chalons, leaving Antwerp to its own resources. Thus in less than a month the Allies had occupied one-third of France; but the wide dispersion of their armies on a line 500 miles long, and the disunited views of their cabinets, still gave Napoleon hopes that, even with forces not more than a third of those opposed to him, he might strike on the plains of Champagne strokes equal to those redoubtable blows which laid the foundation of his fame in Italy.

780. During the first three weeks of January 1814, Napoleon was indefatigable in his efforts to provide means for arresting this flood of invasion; but notwithstanding all the exertions made to organise the conscripts, not more than 100,000 effective men could at last be mustered in the field. The national guard of Paris, which had been suppressed since the affair of Malet, was also restored; but the selection of both officers and privates showed that it was the pikes of the faubourgs, in case of a republican rising, rather than the bayonets of the enemy, that they were intended to combat. The regency was conferred on the Empress conjointly with Joseph; and on the 23d the officers of the national guard were summoned to the Tuileries, when the Emperor, taking the King of Rome, then a lovely infant three years old, in his arms, solemnly intrusted to their guardianship, during his own absence with the army, "that which I hold dearest in the world, *my wife and my son.*" Great was the enthusiasm excited by this touching address; and on the morning of the 25th, after giving his final instructions to Joseph and the council, Napoleon embraced the Empress and his son for the last time, and set out for the army. He never saw them again.

781. The same afternoon he arrived at the headquarters of the army at Chalons-sur-Marne, where, by the concentration of the retiring columns, about 70,000 men, including 15,000 excellent cavalry, were collected; and after twelve hours of rest and preparation, he resolved at once to assume the offensive against Blucher, who lay, with only 26,000 men, at Brienne, separated from Sacken

and York. The capture of an officer with despatches revealed to the Prussian general his danger, and he took instant measures for concentrating his troops. But before the orders could be received, the French, forcing their way through the forests on the 28th, fell the next day on Alsusieff and Pahlen before Brienne; and though these brave officers held the great road long enough for Sacken to pass to join Blucher, they were at length driven into the town, which was bombarded and stormed, after a desperate conflict, by the French. Blucher was nearly taken prisoner in the castle; and Napoleon himself had a still more narrow escape from the lance of a Cossack who crossed his path in the mêlée, and was shot by Gourgaud almost at his feet! Blucher now drew off towards Bar-sur-Aube; and on the 31st effected his junction with the Grand Army on the heights of Trannes, where 100,000 men were now collected; and Napoleon prepared to retreat. But the Allies in turn became the assailants (Feb. 1); and while the Prince of Würtemberg, with the Russian right, drove the enemy from the village of la Giberie, Sacken, with the centre, advanced against la Rothière, which was carried after a severe struggle in the midst of a snow-storm; and though Napoleon, bringing up in person two fresh divisions at 6 P.M., for a moment recovered it, it was again taken by the Russian grenadiers; and Giulay having at midnight expelled the French right from Dionville, Napoleon drew off with the loss of 6000 men and 73 guns, having lost, besides, the prestige of the first victory.

782. The condition of the French was now sufficiently disastrous, and they defiled the next day in great confusion over the bridge of Lesmont, gallantly covered by Marmont with 12,000 men against the attacks of Wrede and the Bavarians, and thence retreated to Troyes. After a halt of three days, Napoleon again fell back to Nogent-sur-Seine while the Allies occupied Troyes on the 7th: but this continued retreat, as well as the disastrous intelligence received from all quarters, had a most dispiriting effect on the army. The imprudence of the Allies, however, in again separating their armies, as well as his knowledge of the

reluctance of the Austrian cabinet to push matters to extremity with him, revived the hopes of Napoleon; and he determined on a stroke against Blucher, who had pushed his van, under Sacken, as far as La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, in the hope of seizing the great park of Napoleon's army, which was with Macdonald. On the 9th, accordingly, he broke up with 45,000 men from Nogent, and, crossing the country by dreadful roads, suddenly attacked and overwhelmed the corps of Alsusieff on the morning of the 10th, at Champaubert, with the loss of 3000 men and 12 guns, the general himself being made prisoner,—thus cutting the army of Blucher in two, and interposing himself between its severed wings. The advance, under Sacken, attempting to retreat from La Ferté to rejoin the Marshal at Vertus, found its way barred at Montmirail by the French, who had now been reinforced by the Guard and cuirassiers; and after a stern conflict, lasting through the whole of the 11th, was driven over the Marne at Chateau-Thierry, with the loss of 17 guns and 6000 men. Blucher had by this time collected his troops, and, advancing with 20,000 men to Etoges, had driven Marmont, after considerable fighting, through Vauchamps, when the arrival of the Emperor (Feb. 14) changed the aspect of affairs. The Russians retreated in admirable order along the narrow causeway to Champaubert, in spite of all the efforts of the French cuirassiers to break their squares: but Grouchy, by taking a circuit, got into the rear at Etoges, with 3000 horse; and though the Allies, fighting with the courage of despair, at last forced their way through the surrounding masses, and reached Chalons on the evening of the 15th, they lost 7000 men, 15 guns, and 8 standards, and were weakened in all by full 20,000 men, since Napoleon's fatal irruption six days before. The spirit of the French was revived by these triumphs in proportion to its late depression; and that general confidence was again felt which contributes, more than numbers, to military success.

783. Leaving his other troops about Montmirail and Chateau-Thierry to watch Blucher's routed army, Napoleon now crossed with the Guards and cuirassiers, by Meaux and the forest of

Brie into the valley of the Seine, to support Victor and Oudinot. During his absence on the Marne, however, occurrences, ultimately leading to results of the highest importance, had taken place at Troyes. Though the lapse of twenty-one years from the death of Louis XVI., with the pressing interest of the glories and catastrophes which had since occurred, had almost obliterated the memory of the Bourbons in France, a certain organisation in favour of the exiled family had throughout existed — principally in la Vendée, Brittany and the south, but not without leaders and adherents in the capital. The Bourbon princes, after being driven successively from almost every part of the Continent, by the progress of the French arms, had at length found shelter in Great Britain, where Louis XVIII. was received (Aug. 1807), but without any formal recognition of his title as king, and eventually fixed his residence at Hartwell, where he remained till the Restoration; while his brother, the Count d'Artois, occupied the ancient palace of Holyrood. The time, however, had at length arrived when the passage of the Rhine by the Allies, and the establishment of Wellington in the south, rendered it impossible for these princes, however unwarlike their dispositions might be, to remain longer in privacy. At the moment when the Allies crossed the Rhine, a proclamation appeared from Louis XVIII. to the senate, calling on them to co-operate with him in overturning the tyranny of Napoleon; and early in February the Count d'Artois, quitting Holyrood, repaired by Rotterdam and Bâle to Schwartzenberg's headquarters; while the Duke d'Angoulême embarked for Spain to join Wellington, and the Duke de Berri went to Jersey, to be at hand in case of a royalist insurrection in la Vendée. It was at this moment, on their entry into Troyes, that the Allied monarchs were brought first into contact with the French royalists. The Marquis de Widranges and M. Goualt, wearing white cockades, which were prohibited under pain of death, sought an interview with Alexander, and solicited his countenance to their enterprise for the re-establishment of the Bourbons. But the fortune of arms was still too doubtful, and the diplomatists in the cabinet too much

divided, for the Allied sovereigns to compromise themselves; and the deputies, though courteously received by Alexander failed to obtain from him any favourable response.

784. The operations of the Grand Army, meanwhile, had been conducted with little vigour by Schwartzenberg, whose cabinet was desirous to avoid precipitating matters against Napoleon, at least till the throne was secured to his descendants. On the 11th, however, the columns were again put in motion; Nogent was stormed on the 12th; and the whole plain between the Seine and Loire was inundated by the Cossacks and light troops, who occupied Fontainebleau on the 15th. The Austrians entered Montereau, and the peasants of the great plain of la Brie, flying into Paris, alarmed the capital; when Napoleon, with his Guards and cuirassiers, appeared to the aid of Victor and Oudinot (Feb. 16); and large reinforcements having arrived from the Spanish frontier, he prepared to resume the offensive the next day, with 55,000 men. The advanced guard of Wittgenstein, under Pahlen, was almost annihilated on its retreat from Mormant to Nangis; two Russian regiments were completely destroyed; and of the whole corps of 5000 men, scarce 2000 escaped. While this was going on on the left, the Bavarians in the centre were driven with great loss from Villeneuve-le-Comte to Montereau, at the confluence of the Seine and Yonne, where, supported by the Würtembergers and the Austrian corps of Bianchi, they stood firm—Victor's corps, which led the pursuit, being so exhausted by fatigue as to be unable to seize the position. Such, however, was the Emperor's wrath at the attack not having been made, that he directed Gerard to supersede Victor in his command; and the next morning (18th) advanced in great force against the heights of Surville, which commanded the town and Bridges of Montereau. It was not till late in the day, and after a severe conflict, that these important heights were carried by the French; and 60 pieces of the artillery of the Guard, from this vantage-ground, opened a close discharge on the dense masses crowding down the slope and over the bridges. In the excitement of the moment the Emperor himself was seen in the midst of the fire,

pointing the guns with his own hand; and in spite of the heroic efforts of the prince of Würtemberg, the Allies were driven from the town with the loss of 6 guns and 5000 men, and with difficulty succeeded in breaking the bridge of the Yonne to stop the pursuit. Such was the battle of Montereau, the last, and not the least brilliant, of the victories of Napoleon.

785. Great was the moral effect produced by these repeated successes of the Emperor, not only on his own, but on the Allied armies; the generals of which, seriously fearing that the star of Napoleon was again in the ascendant, drew back their troops on all points to a position in front of Troyes. All this time a negotiation for peace had been going on at Chatillon; and on the night of the 17th, a flag of truce had arrived at Napoleon's headquarters, stating that the terms proposed by Caulaincourt had been accepted, and that the preliminaries were on the point of being signed. Napoleon, however, who had always determined to make the negotiation entirely dependent on the progress of military events, had written to Caulaincourt, after his first success at Champaubert, to *sign nothing;* and the continued tide of good fortune confirmed him in these ideas. Augereau, meanwhile, at Lyons, being reinforced by several thousands of new levies, and by two veteran divisions from Suchet's army, had resumed the offensive, driven back Bubna to the neighbourhood of Geneva, and reopened the communication with Italy. Napoleon hoped that this auxiliary force, by acting on the rear of the Grand Army, might render their stay in France impracticable; and already exclaimed, in anticipated triumph, "I am nearer to Munich than they are to Paris!"

786. But in the mean time the advanced divisions of Bernadotte's army, under Bulow and Winzingerode, having converted the siege of Antwerp into a blockade, had entered France, occupied Avesnes (Feb. 10) and Rheims (Feb. 11) without opposition, and carried Soissons by storm (13th)—the brave commandant, General Rusca, having fallen in the moment of the assault. This last conquest was not retained, as Chernicheff's corps, which had made the capture, was sent to Chalons to reinforce

Blucher, who, having by indefatigable activity assembled 45,000 foot and 14,000 horse, joined the Grand Army on the 21st at Mery. Though 140,000 men were now assembled between Troyes and Arcis-sur-Aube, Schwartzenberg declined the battle which Napoleon, flushed with his recent successes, offered on the 22d; and again fell back through Troyes, which was reoccupied by Napoleon on the 24th. The execution as a traitor of M. Goualt, who here fell into the power of the Emperor, stained, if it did not disgrace, the lustre of his arms; but the irresolution of the Allied councils was now at its height. An attempt by Napoleon to open a separate negotiation with the Emperor of Austria had been not unfavourably received; and in spite of the urgency of Alexander that they should halt and fight a great battle, Prince Wenzel Lichtenstein was sent on the 24th to the French headquarters to propose an armistice, which was acceded to, and Lusigny fixed upon as the place of conference.

IV. *Congress of Chatillon—Battles of Craone and Laon.*

787. Napoleon had now performed the most extraordinary and brilliant military achievements in his long and eventful career. Recovering his army, after an apparently decisive defeat, from the lowest point of depression, he had at first surprised the Prussian marshal, and crushed his scattered corps in succession; and then stopped the advance of the Grand Army, and thrown back their victorious standards across the Seine,—and these marvellous results were gained by a force never exceeding 70,000 men, against a veteran host more than double the number. Irresolution and circumspection had succeeded to boldness and decision in the Allied councils; the success of the invasion of France, and with it the holding together of the Grand Alliance, hung by a thread; and it was to the combined firmness of Alexander and Lord Castlereagh that the triumph of the Allies is, beyond all question, to be ascribed.

788. On the 25th of February, in a council of the sovereigns and principal military commanders held at Bar-sur-Aube, Alex-

ander, supporting as he had always done the policy of vigorous operations, announced that, as the armistice extended only to the Grand Army, he would at once authorise Blucher to resume the offensive, if he could be reinforced by the corps of Bulow, Winzingerode, and Woronzoff. But this appeared impossible without the consent of Bernadotte, which, from his evident backwardness in co-operating in the invasion of France, he would not be likely to give; when Lord Castlereagh, having ascertained that the transference was necessary for the success of the proposed operations, at once declared that Britain, as the universal paymaster, had a right to expect that her Allies would not be deterred by difficulties of etiquette; and that he would himself take the responsibility of withholding the monthly subsidies from the Crown-Prince, if he opposed the arrangement. This manly course prevailed, and orders were given the same day that the Grand Army should retreat to Langres, to join its reserves; while the army of Silesia, joined by the three corps, should immediately advance on Paris.

789. It has already been mentioned that in answer to the proposals sent from Frankfort through M. de St Aignan, Napoleon had declared his readiness to treat; and the congress had been opened at Chatillon on the 4th February. The plenipotentiaries of Britain in this memorable assembly were at first Lords Aberdeen and Cathcart, and Sir Charles Stewart; Count Razumoffski appeared for Russia; Count Stadion for Austria; Baron Humboldt for Prussia; and Caulaincourt for France. The vast importance of the negotiation, however, ere long rendered it necessary for the British minister for foreign affairs to repair in person to the scene; and none could have been found better fitted than Lord Castlereagh, by his high-bred manners, clearness of intellect, and indomitable moral courage, to take the lead at such a juncture. The avowed object of Britain was, as it had been from the first, simply *to provide security for the future*, by the reduction of France to its ancient limits — the formation of a federative union in Germany — the independence of Holland, Switzerland, and the lesser states of Italy—and the restoration

of Spain and Portugal under their ancient sovereigns. Two points, however, were purposely left undecided in the instructions of the British cabinet,—these were, the restoration of the Bourbons, and the future destiny of Poland. With regard to the first (though the wishes of both Britain and Russia were known to tend in that direction), it was determined to leave the French people unconstrained; and it was foreseen that the avowed pretensions of Russia to the latter would occasion much difficulty, as they soon after did at the congress of Vienna. Napoleon's instructions to Caulaincourt, on the other hand, were at first to insist on the boundary of the Rhine and the Alps; and though after the battle of la Rothière, he sent him full powers to agree to any terms which would save Paris from being taken, he no sooner saw fortune returning to his arms than he revoked this concession, in spite of the entreaties of Maret and Berthier, and sent orders to Caulaincourt, as mentioned above, *to sign nothing*—at the same time countermanding an order which he had sent to Eugene, to evacuate Italy, and hasten with all his troops to the scene of action. But the change in the diplomatic language of Caulaincourt had fully opened the eyes of the Allies to the hopelessness of any accommodation on reasonable terms; and by the influence of Lord Castlereagh and Alexander, a fresh treaty was signed at Chaumont on the 1st March, which was one of the most remarkable diplomatic acts of modern times, and presented an impassable barrier to the ambition and efforts of France.

790. By this it was stipulated, that if Napoleon should refuse the terms offered to him, the four powers should each maintain against him an army of 150,000 men—Great Britain paying, in addition, an annual subsidy of £5,000,000, besides £20 for each foot and £30 for each horse soldier short in her contingent—and that no peace should be made but by common consent. This treaty instantly dissolved the congress of Chatillon; for though it continued to sit for three weeks longer, the determination of Napoleon to hold out for the frontier of the Rhine put an end to all hopes of peace.

791. Military operations had meantime been resumed between Napoleon and Blucher, who had advanced (Feb. 27) almost to Meaux, in the direction of Paris. Sacken had even attacked that town, and the sound of his cannon was distinctly heard in Paris; when Blucher, hearing that Napoleon was moving on his rear by Sezanne, drew off his troops towards Soissons, to meet Winzingerode and Woronzoff. The Grand Army was now pursued by only 17,000 men under Oudinot; and on the morning of the 27th the corps of Wrede and Wittgenstein, mustering fully double that number, faced about and offered battle to the French marshal at Bar-sur-Aube. Notwithstanding this disparity of numbers, the Allies were thrown into disorder by the furious charges of Kellermann's dragoons, which had just arrived from Spain; but, Schwartzenberg coming up in person with fresh troops, the French were compelled to retire with the loss of 3000 men—but the Allies lost 2000, and the gallant Wittgenstein was severely, and Schwartzenberg himself slightly, wounded in the action.

792. Oudinot now fell back, and effected his junction with Macdonald; and the two marshals, with nearly 35,000 men, 9000 of whom were cavalry, took up a position on the Barse, near la Guillotière, where they were assailed (March 3) by the Allied army of 60,000 men, and driven from their ground and out of Troyes, after a most gallant resistance, with the loss of 2000 men. Notwithstanding this success, and the inadequacy of the force opposed to him to impede his progress, the Austrian generalissimo remained almost inactive till the 13th, while the French marshals retired behind the Seine—a tardiness to be explained only by the hope of the Austrian cabinet that Napoleon might yet listen to terms which would leave his dynasty on the throne. Blucher, meanwhile, having delayed the progress of Napoleon by breaking down all the bridges on the Marne, was retreating to the Aisne, to join Winzingerode and Bulow. But the only bridge over the river, now swollen by a thaw, was at Soissons, which was now again held by a French garrison; and the marshal's situation was becoming one of considerable danger, when the capitulation of Soissons—the governor of

which, General Moreau, suffered himself to be intimidated into surrendering to Winzingerode under circumstances savouring of treachery — relieved him from his difficulties. The junction was effected on the 4th March; and Blucher, who had now again 100,000 men, including 24,000 cavalry, under his command, resolved to give battle.

793. Irritated at the escape of Blucher's army, Napoleon now issued proclamations (March 5), calling on the people to rise *en masse*, and fall on the flanks and rear of the invading armies — thus himself sanctioning the same expedient for adopting which he had, in the outset of his career, shot the magistrates of Pavia in cold blood, and subsequently approved the bloody deeds of Soult, Augereau, and Bessières, in Spain! Determined, however, to strike a blow at Blucher, notwithstanding his accession of numbers, he crossed the Aisne (March 5) at Berry-au-Bac; and having failed in an attempt to retake Soissons by storm, advanced with 40,000 men against the position of the Prussian marshal on the plateau of Craone. Not more than 27,000 men were here on the field, the corps being scattered to protect the various points of communication; and while Victor, with the infantry of the Guard, led the main attack along the neck of the plateau, Ney and Nansouty, with the cavalry, were respectively directed to mount the steeps on the right and left flanks. The attack on the centre, after a fearful carnage on both sides, was repulsed by the immovable firmness of Woronzoff's men; but Ney succeeded in crowning the heights on the Russian left, and the attack being renewed with fresh ardour in the front, Sacken sent Woronzoff orders to retreat. In vain the French cavalry repeatedly charged the retiring squares: the artillery, placed in a double row on the declivity at the end of the narrow ridge, poured such an unceasing storm of shot that even the Old Guard were unable to pass the dreadful strait; and Woronzoff, drawing off his wounded and carriages in safety, fell back towards Laon. A more bloody and obstinate conflict, if we except Albuera and Culm, did not take place during the whole Revolutionary war: trophies of victory, as guns or prisoners, there were none taken

on either side; and the loss on both sides was almost unprecedented in proportion to the numbers engaged—that of the Allies being 6000, while the French won the field of battle at the cost of 8000 men.

794. The unsatisfactory result of the battle threw a deep gloom over the spirits of Napoleon, which was augmented by the intelligence received the same day from Chatillon, of the firm determination of the Allies not to concede the boundary of the Rhine. He still refused, however, to yield to the terms offered him, and advanced with his whole force, amounting to 52,000 men, inclusive of 14,000 horse, against Blucher, who, having collected all his corps, and withdrawn the garrison from Soissons, had 104,000 men, of whom 24,000 were cavalry, in array on the slopes and among the villages of the steep conical hill on which stands the town of Laon. A false attack by Ney, however, on the front of the Allied position, was all that took place on the 9th, as Napoleon was awaiting the arrival of Marmont, who did not come up from Berry-au-Bac till late in the afternoon. But in the dead of the following night Marmont's troops were surprised in their bivouac by the Prussian corps of Ziethen and Prince William of Prussia, and utterly routed with the loss of 40 guns and 2500 prisoners; but Napoleon, though he now saw that the attack on Laon must be hopeless, persevered in it during great part of the 10th, in order to give Marmont time to rally—drawing off in the afternoon towards Soissons, after having lost 6000 men and 46 guns in the various combats round Laon.

795. For nine days after the battle, the exhaustion of his troops, and the want of provisions, kept Blucher completely inactive in his impregnable position; but General St Priest—who had been left at Chalons with a reserve corps of 15,000 men—had in the mean time struck an important blow by the capture of Rheims, which was carried by a *coup-de-main* on the 12th March. Napoleon no sooner heard of this blow—which would at once re-establish Blucher's communications with the Grand Army—than he marched from Soissons (13th) with such rapidity that he reached Rheims the same evening, and instantly assaulted and

retook the town—St Priest himself being killed by a cannon-shot in the mêlée. In this brilliant affair the loss of the Allies was 1000 killed and wounded, and 2500 prisoners; but it is still more memorable as being the last town Napoleon ever took. Here also, on the 15th, he held his last review, presenting in the tattered garments and haggard air of the men, and the general confusion of arms, battalions, and uniforms, even in the best appointed corps, a woeful contrast to the splendid military spectacles which in past days had so often dazzled his sight with the pomp of apparently irresistible power, and telling but too plainly that the last days of the Empire had arrived.

V. *Battles of Orthes and Toulouse—Close of the War in the South of France—Dissolution of the Congress of Chatillon.*

796. Though Napoleon afforded a few days' repose at Rheims to his wearied troops, he gave none to his own indefatigable mind: here his final resolution to reject the terms offered by the Allies was taken; and the varied concerns of his still vast empire once more passed before his view. In the Low Countries, after the expulsion of the French from Holland in the preceding December, the tricolor waved only on Bergen-op-Zoom, Bois-le-Duc, and one or two minor fortresses; and the strength of the French was concentrated in Antwerp, till General Maison, arriving with a few fresh troops to take the chief command, attempted to resume the offensive. He was engaged, however (Jan. 13), at Merxem, near Antwerp, and driven back into the town, by Bulow, aided by 6000 British under Graham, who had been withdrawn from Spain after the passage of the Bidassoa; Bois-le-Duc was taken by escalade on the 25th; and the siege of Antwerp was commenced on the 1st February. The command there was now, however, taken by the veteran republican Carnot, who, forgetting his political hostility to Napoleon in the danger of his country, came forward to offer his arm in its defence—an offer which was accepted as frankly as it was made. By his admirable precautions, the effects of the bombardment against the ships in the

docks were rendered nugatory; and Bulow being called off to join in the invasion of France, Graham was obliged to retire from before the place. An attempt to carry Bergen-op-Zoom—a place of extraordinary strength, but inadequately garrisoned—by a *coup-de-main*, was repulsed (March 8) with the loss of 900 killed and wounded, and 1800 prisoners—a bloody check, which paralysed the operations of the British. The forces of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who now took the command in the Low Countries, were, however, soon raised, by a reinforcement of 15,000 Saxons, to 37,000 men; and Maison, unable to keep the field against this superiority of numbers, retired under the cannon of Maubeuge and Lille, where his vigour and activity, supplying his numerical deficiencies, kept his opponents well employed.

797. It has already been mentioned that Augereau, whose forces had been raised in the middle of February to 21,000 men, had resumed the offensive against Bubna, who was thrown back, after some severe fighting, to the heights in front of Geneva; but notwithstanding this success, Napoleon, who had intended the marshal to threaten the flanks and rear of the Grand Army while he assailed it in front, was highly dissatisfied at the direction of his movements. Augereau continued, however, almost inactive, till the march of the Austrian reserves under Bianchi and Hesse-Homburg towards the Saone, early in March, compelled him to fall back again towards Lyons. A severe action was fought (March 20) on the heights of Limonet; and though the advantage was nearly balanced, Augereau, despairing of being able to defend Lyons, evacuated it at midnight. It was entered by the Austrians on the following day; and Augereau, deeming the cause of Napoleon all but hopeless, wrote to Eugene, imploring him to hasten with his yet unbroken army across the Alps; while he stationed his troops in échelon down the Rhone, in order to be in a situation, if necessary, to join Soult, before Hesse-Homburg could stretch across the south of France to join Wellington on the Garonne, where events were now in progress tending directly to the dethronement of Napoleon.

798. The concluding and bloody operations of Wellington and Soult on the Nive, already described, were succeeded by a considerable rest to both armies. A plan was even proposed by the British government, in consequence of the enormous expense at which, from the difficulty of finding specie, the contest in the south of France was carried on, for transporting Wellington and his army by sea to the Netherlands; but was abandoned on the representation of the British general—that 100,000 troops, of far superior quality to any the Allies had yet had to deal with, would thus be put at Napoleon's disposal, and could be brought up to the Seine or Rhone long before the British, after their shipment and landing, could be brought into action. But the difficulties of Soult were far greater, and arose from causes less easily remedied, than the embarrassments which the scarcity of specie caused his antagonist. While the royalist committees were already active in his rear, the whole landed proprietors were openly opposed to the war, to which they saw no end; while the forced requisitions necessary for the support of the troops so exasperated the peasantry, that numbers of them passed with their property into the British lines, to obtain an enemy's protection from the rapine of their own government! The withdrawal, moreover, of two of his divisions to the Seine had reduced his effective strength, exclusive of the garrison of Bayonne and some other forts, to not more than 40,000 men; while the Anglo-Portuguese force on 13th February, when the advance was commenced, amounted to 70,000, of whom 10,000 were horse; and the Spaniards, whom the rejection of the treaty of Valençay by the Cortes left still at his disposal, were 30,000 more—in all, 100,000, with 140 guns.

799. But Soult, notwithstanding his inferiority in the field, had the advantage of having his right protected by the fortress of Bayonne, at the confluence of the Nive and Adour, which could only be besieged by crossing the latter river—an enterprise by no means easy in the face of 40,000 men posted under its guns, besides a powerful flotilla of gun-boats. Wellington therefore determined to force the passage of the river below Bayonne,

having collected at the mouth 40 large sailing-boats; while, to mask this design, Hill was directed with 20,000 men against Harispe, who held the French left with only 5000. The French general was of course forced to fall back; St Jean Pied-de-Port was invested by Mina; and on the 17th the French were driven over the Gave de Mauleon and the Gave d'Oleron rivers; till Soult, misled by these movements, concentrated his forces on the left, to defend the passage of the Gave d'Oleron. On the night of the 22d, meanwhile, Hope withdrew the first division, with the guns and the rocket-brigade, to the sandhills near the mouth of the river; and though a stormy wind and violent surf had prevented the arrival of the boats, the first detachments were gallantly pushed across on rafts and pontoons, in the teeth of the fire of the French vessels. The flotilla having at length come up, and effected the passage of the bar with some loss, the bridge was constructed, the remainder of the troops and artillery passed over, and, after some sharp fighting, the investment of Bayonne was completed (Feb. 26).

800. While the British left was thus engaged before Bayonne, the centre and right, under Wellington, had effected the passage of the Gave d'Oleron on the 24th; while Soult, leaving Bayonne to its own resources, drew back his whole force to the heights of Orthes, behind the Gave de Pau, and on this formidable position awaited the approach of Wellington, who advanced with 37,000 men in three columns, all Anglo-Portuguese veterans, including 4000 cavalry and 48 guns. At daybreak on the 27th the action was commenced by Beresford with the left, who turned the enemy's right, and gained the road to Dax beyond it; while Picton, moving along the great road from Peyrehorade, was to attack the centre, and Hill to force the passage of the river at Orthes on the left. Beresford, however, was checked on the ridge, beyond the village of St Boes, by the heavy concentric fire of Reille's artillery, and at last driven back in disorder; while Soult, seeing an attack by Picton at the same time repulsed, exclaimed in exultation, "At last I have him!" But Wellington immediately directed the advance of the third and

sixth divisions up the hill against the right of the French centre; while Barnard's brigade, gallantly led by Colborne with the 52d, rushed through the swamp and up the hill, so as to separate Taupin's division, disordered by its success against Beresford, from Foy and the centre. These simultaneous attacks were decisive. Reille's victorious wing, now assailed on both flanks, was driven headlong from the heights, while the fall of Foy, severely wounded, threw his men into disorder; and Hill having at the same time forded the Gave, and cut off the retreat by the great road to Pau, Soult ordered a general retreat. The French retired in good order, making a stand at every favourable position, till, on perceiving Hill preparing to anticipate them at the bridge of the Luy de Bearn, and being charged at the same time by Sir Stapleton Cotton and Lord Edward Somerset's dragoons, great part of their troops fell into irretrievable confusion, and many prisoners were taken before they could effect their escape across the river. The total loss was little less than 4000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners; but so many of the conscripts deserted after the battle that, a month afterwards, 3000 were still missing; and the marshal retreated towards Tarbes with his dejected army, in order to secure a junction, if necessary, with Suchet in Catalonia. The magazines at Mont Marsan were abandoned, and those at Aire were captured (March 1), after a severe action, by the corps of Hill.

801. It has already been mentioned that the Duke d'Angoulême had set out from England for Wellington's headquarters, where he arrived on 25th February; but Wellington, though treating him with the most marked attention, insisted on his remaining incognito till the intentions of the Allied sovereigns were distinctly pronounced, and would not allow him to leave St Jean de Luz to accompany the army. The royalist committees, however, continued unremitting in their exertions throughout the western provinces; and the battle of Orthes having left them at liberty to express their inclinations, they were not long in availing themselves of the opportunity. The first open declaration came from Bordeaux, which throughout the Revolution had

been distinguished by its royalist or moderate feelings; and M. Lynch, the mayor of the city, entering warmly into the views of the royalists, the Marquis de Larochejacquelein was despatched to Wellington's headquarters to request assistance. Two divisions, about 12,000 men, were accordingly sent under Beresford; but Wellington distinctly warned the royalists that, "though the British wished well to Louis XVIII., they were negotiating with Napoleon; and, if peace followed, it would be out of his power to protect them." Beresford, however, entered Bordeaux on the 12th (the imperial garrison having previously withdrawn), in the midst of the cheers of the people, who everywhere mounted the white cockade; and the Duke d'Angoulême, arriving soon after, was received with unbounded enthusiasm, and remained in peaceable possession of the town.

802. Soult and Wellington during this period remained inactive, each thinking his antagonist the stronger — for the detachment of 12,000 men to Bayonne, and as many to Bordeaux, had brought the two armies nearly to an equality, about 28,000 men each. The astounding intelligence, however, of the proclamation of Louis XVIII. at Bordeaux, induced Soult to issue a counter manifesto to that of the Duke d'Angoulême, inveighing in no measured terms against the British policy in this measure; and, anxious to take advantage of the excitement thus produced among at least the veterans of his army, he determined to resume the offensive. On the 12th of March he accordingly moved forward: but Wellington having ordered up the Spanish divisions of Freyre and Giron from their own frontier, which raised his force to 36,000 men, he again rapidly fell back towards Toulouse, which he reached on the 25th of March, after a sharp conflict on the 20th before Tarbes—Wellington coming up in his front on the 27th.

803. The strength of Toulouse, where Soult's army was now concentrated—surrounded as the city was with massy walls, and almost entirely encircled by the great canal of Languedoc and the Garonne, while the fortified suburb of St Cyprien lay on the left bank of the latter, connected with the city by a long

and easily defensible bridge—was such that Wellington shrunk from attacking it in front. Hill succeeded in crossing the river (April 1) above the city, but the roads were found to be impassable, and it was determined to make the attempt below. Beresford with 18,000 men were passed over on 4th April, but a sudden rising of the river rendered it necessary to take up the pontoons; and they remained, during three days of terrible suspense, exposed to the attack of the whole French army. Soult, however, remained immovable in his position, which he had fortified with great care during the interval thus afforded. On the 8th the bridge was again laid down, and the remainder of the army passed, Hill being left on the left bank to menace St Cyprian. Soult, meanwhile, whose troops were refreshed and invigorated by seventeen days of entire rest, awaited the approach of the enemy, with his main body posted on the north-east of the city, on an elevated platform called the Calvinet, on the summit of Mont Rave, about two miles long, and strengthened with fieldworks; while the canal with its fortified bridge formed a second line of defence, and the walls of the city a third. The Allied army amounted to 52,000, including 7000 horse, with 64 guns—but 12,000 of these were Spaniards, who could be but imperfectly relied on. The French were about 40,000, with 80 heavy guns and the advantage of a strong central position, which could only be attacked by the Allies on detached points of the circumference.

804. The battle began at 7 A.M. on the 10th of April. Picton and Alten, on the right of the main battle on the right bank of the Garonne, were directed against the hill of Pujade, on the northern extremity of the French line: while Clinton and Cole, with the 4th and 5th divisions, crossed the Ers by the bridge of Croix d'Auraote, and advanced against the French right, skirting the level ground at the foot of Mont Rave under a tremendous flank fire from the summit. In the right centre, meanwhile, Freyre's Spaniards, about 9000 strong, advanced in good order to assault the redoubts on the Calvinet; but the grape from the heavy guns on the ridge, sweeping down a level slope, produced such a

frightful carnage, that, in spite of the gallantry of their officers, they were driven back with a loss of 1500 men. Picton, with the third division, was not more successful against the redoubt of the bridge of Jumeau; and Soult, thus victorious on two points, prepared to pour down, with 15,000 infantry and 1200 horse, on the British left under Beresford, who had been unable to drag his artillery through the marshy grounds on the banks of the Ers. The British, however, halting and deploying into line, received and repelled the shock; and following up their advantage, with the 42d and 79th Highlanders in front, carried in the confusion the redoubts of Sypière. The French defences were now threatened in flank, and Soult instantly threw back his defeated right wing at an angle, thus presenting a fresh front; but the battle was not renewed till about 3 P.M., when Beresford's guns having at last been got up, the attack was resumed on the redoubts in the centre of the Calvinet. So vehement was the rush of the Highland brigade, that the French at first abandoned the menaced redoubt, but instantly rallied and retook it: and a desperate conflict ensued, till the French were at length obliged to give way, and driven down the hill towards Toulouse. The British guns now commanded the suburb of St Etienne, as far as the old walls of the city; and Soult, withdrawing his troops from the remaining works on the Calvinet, ranged them behind the canal, which formed the second line of defence. On the 11th, both armies remained on the same ground: but Soult, finding the English general taking measures to cut off his retreat to Carcassonne, decamped during the night, leaving 1600 wounded, including the gallant Harispe and two other generals, to the humanity of the British.

805. Soult had become aware, four days before the battle, of the capture of Paris by the Allies: but this, in accordance with the honourable fidelity of his character, had determined him, if possible, to preserve the capital of the south for the Emperor; and though the victory in the bloody battle of Toulouse unquestionably was with the British, it is hard to say to which of the two gallant armies the prize of valour and devotion is to be

awarded. The loss of the Allies, as might be expected in the attack of such intrenchments, was more severe than that of the French, amounting to 4500 men, 2000 of whom were Spaniards —while the French lost 3000 men in the field, besides those taken prisoners in Toulouse. Wellington entered the city in triumph at noon on the 12th, and met with the most brilliant reception from the inhabitants, most of whom had mounted the white cockade; while the arrival of news from Paris, the same afternoon, of the proclamation of Louis XVIII., put an end to all restraint, and the British general and his officers, amid thunders of applause, assumed the royalist colours. A convention for the conclusion of hostilities, and the evacuation of the fortresses still held by the French in Spain, was concluded on the 18th between Soult and Wellington; but before it was arranged, a desperate sally had been made by the garrison of Bayonne on the night of 14th April, in which, though the French were repulsed with the loss of 910 men, the British lost 830, including the gallant General Hay, who fell early in the fight, and Sir John Hope taken prisoner. Hostilities, however, now everywhere ceased: the British infantry embarked at Bordeaux —some to America, some for Great Britain, loaded with honours, immortal in fame. Wellington proceeded to Paris, to take part in the momentous negotiations there going forward; and the cavalry, in number about 7000, marched in triumph across France, and embarked for their own country from Calais.

806. We must now revert to the termination of the conferences at Chatillon, which in order of time had preceded the battle of Toulouse. In the last section we have detailed the terms offered by the Allied sovereigns to Napoleon, amounting in fact to the abandonment of all the conquests made by France since 1792; in return for which Britain was to restore all the French colonies, except the islands of Saintes and Tobago in the West, and Mauritius and Bourbon in the East Indies; Malta was also to remain to Great Britain. These terms were refused by Napoleon, and Caulaincourt, by his order, presented (March 10) what he called a counter project, in which, after an able

argument against the policy of the Allies, he offered to acknowledge the independence of Spain, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, on condition that France should be left in possession of Antwerp, Flanders, and the boundary of the Rhine; that the kingdom of Italy, with the Adige for a boundary towards Austria, and the Ionian Isles annexed, should be settled on Eugene and his descendants; that Saxony should be preserved entire, that his sister Eliza should retain Lucca and Piombino, and Berthier Neufchatel. To these extravagant demands the Allied plenipotentiaries of course refused to accede, and on the 18th March the congress was dissolved.

VI. *Loss of Italy—Last struggle of Napoleon—Fall of Paris.*

807. Before we proceed to give an account of the final catastrophe, we must revert to the progress of events in Italy since the end of the preceding year. It has already been mentioned that, at the end of December 1813, Eugene had withdrawn to the Adige with 36,000 men, before Bellegarde and 50,000 Austrians; and he was already taking measures for a further retreat, when the proclamation of Murat, and his hostile advance, rendered such a movement inevitable. He had accordingly fallen back to the Mincio, when, finding himself threatened on the flank by a British expedition from Sicily under Lord William Bentinck, he determined on again advancing against Bellegarde, so as to rid himself of one enemy before he encountered another. The two armies, however, thus mutually acting on the offensive, passed each other, and an irregular action at last ensued on the Mincio (Feb. 8), in which the advantage was rather with the French, who made 1500 prisoners, and drove Bellegarde shortly after over the Mincio, about 3000 being killed and wounded on each side. But, in other quarters, affairs were going rapidly to wreck. Verona surrendered to the Austrians on the 14th, and Ancona to Murat on the 16th; and the desertion of the Italians, unequal to the fatigues of a winter campaign, was so great that the Viceroy was compelled to fall back to the Po.

Fouché, meanwhile, as governor of Rome, had concluded a convention (Feb. 20) with the Neapolitan generals for the evacuation of Pisa, Leghorn, Florence, and other garrisons of the French empire in Italy. A proclamation, however, by the hereditary prince of Sicily, who had accompanied Bentinck from Sicily, gave Murat such umbrage that he separated his troops from the British, and commenced operations, with little success, against Eugene on the Po, in which the remainder of March passed away.

808. Bentinck, having at length received reinforcements from Catalonia, moved forward with 12,000 men, and occupied Spezia on the 29th of March, and, driving the French (April 8) from their position at Sestri, forced his way through the mountains, and appeared on the 16th in front of Genoa. On the 17th the forts and positions before the city were stormed; and the garrison, seeing preparations made for a bombardment, capitulated on the 18th, on condition of being allowed to march out with the honours of war. Murat had by this time recommenced vigorous operations, and after driving the French (April 13) from the Taro, had forced the passage of the Stura; but the news of Napoleon's fall put an end to hostilities. By a convention with the Austrians, Venice, Palma-Nuova, and the other fortresses still held by the French, were surrendered; the whole of Lombardy was occupied by the Germans; and in the first week of May the French troops finally repassed the Alps.

809. In Spain, since the retreat of the Allies under Lord William Bentinck to Tarragona, in September 1813, both sides had remained inactive, Suchet having 65,000 excellent troops under his orders, 30,000 of whom were available for field operations—a force with which the British division under Clinton (who had succeeded Bentinck), and the ill-disciplined Spanish levies under Sarsfield, Elio, and Copons, were by no means adequate to cope, even after Napoleon (Jan. 16) had recalled 10,000 men into France. The fortresses of Lerida, Mequinenza, and Mouzon, were, however, regained by the Spaniards, through an unworthy stratagem devised by a Spaniard of Flemish descent, named Van Halen; who having served on Suchet's staff, and learned

the cipher and private marks used in his despatches, forged orders to the governors for their surrender. The arrival of Ferdinand (March 20) virtually put an end to the contest; but as the Cortes had not ratified the treaty of Valençay, the blockade of Barcelona and the other fortresses still held by the French (Figueras, Tortosa, Morellas, Peniscola, Murviedro, and Denia, on the east coast, and Santona in Biscay) continued till the 20th of April, when the news of the pacification of Paris arrived; and the garrisons, hoisting the white flag, gave up these strongholds to the Spanish troops.

810. The fall of the German fortresses still held by the French had taken place about the same time. Wittenberg was carried by assault on the 15th of January; the citadel of Wurzburg, long closely blockaded, yielded on the 21st of March; as did Glogau, with a garrison still numbering 3300 men, on the 10th of April; and Custrin, with 3000, on the 30th of March. The citadel of Erfurth held out till May; and Magdeburg, the garrison of which had been swelled by stragglers to 18,000 men, was not evacuated till the 19th. Benningsen, after several efforts to reduce Hamburg by active operations, which were foiled by the vigour and tenacity of Davoust, had converted the siege into a blockade; and the inhabitants, already oppressed to an unparalleled degree by the merciless exactions of the marshal, were threatened with the horrors of famine and pestilence, when the fall of Napoleon put an end to their sufferings; and the garrison, still 13,000 strong, with 3000 sick and wounded, returned to France in May. Wesel, with its garrison of 10,000 men, long blockaded by Borstel's Prussians, was evacuated on the 10th of May.

811. Amid this general wreck of his empire, which thus passed under Napoleon's view at Rheims, it was on Paris, the seat and centre of his power, that his attention was principally fixed; and the accounts from that quarter were sufficiently alarming. Macdonald and Oudinot, since their defeat at Bar-sur-Aube, were hardly a match for a single corps of Schwartzenberg's army, which had reoccupied Troyes on the 12th of March, and

forced the passage of the Seine at Nogent on the 14th. The road to Paris, in fact, lay open to the Allies, while the royalist committees in the capital, stimulated by the occupation of Bordeaux and the proclamation of Louis XVIII., were in full activity; and Talleyrand, the Abbé de Pradt, the Duke of Dalberg, and other leading personages, were already in secret correspondence with the Allied headquarters. The danger from the Grand Army, therefore, was that which first required the Emperor's attention; and leaving Marmont and Mortier with 20,000 men, including 500 horse and 60 guns, to make head against Blucher, he set out (March 17) with the remainder—about 26,000 men—to join Macdonald and Oudinot, the junction of whose corps would raise his force to 60,000 men, including 17,000 horse. Though Schwartzenberg had 100,000 men under his orders, his corps were so dispersed that, had Napoleon at once struck straight in among them, the consequences might have been incalculable; but, unaware of their unprepared state, he turned aside to effect his junction with the two marshals at Plancy, and gave time to Schwartzenberg to concentrate his troops. Continuing his march up the Aube, still under the belief that the Austrians were retreating, he found himself, on the morning of the 20th, in front of their whole army drawn up near Arcis, and ready for battle. A fierce cavalry encounter ensued, in which the French horse under Sebastiani were worsted; but all the efforts of the Austrians and Bavarians to storm the village of Torcy on the French left were fruitless; and Napoleon maintained his position, in a semicircle round Arcis, with each flank resting on the Aube, in spite of a dreadful cannonade from the Russian artillery, which was kept up till ten at night. On the following day a general and decisive battle was universally anticipated, and both hosts stood to arms at daybreak; but hour after hour passed away, and Napoleon, having at length thrown a second bridge over the Aube, commenced his retreat at 1 P.M. It was not till two hours later, however, that Schwartzenberg commenced an attack on the French while crossing the river; and so gallant was the resist-

ance of the rearguard under Oudinot, that it was not till dark that they were driven into the town. The loss of the French was about 4000—that of the Allies nearly as great; but the battle produced disastrous effects on the fortunes of the Emperor.

812. Napoleon had at length clearly perceived that his strength was unequal to grappling with the immense masses of the Allies; and nothing remained but to abandon the defence of Paris, and march towards the Rhine, in order to threaten their communications, and at the same time draw supplies of veteran troops from the garrisons of the frontier, and the insurgent peasantry, whom the pillage of the Allied troops had roused to arms. From Arcis, therefore, he marched (March 22) to Vitry, and thence to St Dizier, whence his cavalry pushed on to Chaumont (March 25), directly in the rear of the Allies, and captured several convoys. The change of the Emperor's route, and its object, was at length made known to the Allied generals, by an intercepted despatch; and a council of war was held, in which Barclay de Tolly, supported by most of the generals, recommended that they should follow Napoleon and attack him. Volkonsky and Diebitch, however, earnestly urged an immediate dash upon Paris, in which Alexander warmly concurred; and news having arrived that Blucher's advanced guards had at length formed a junction near Chalons with those of Schwartzenberg, this plan was eventually agreed to. It was communicated to, and approved by, the King of Prussia; and Alexander, pointing from a knoll on which he was standing, on the high-road between Sommepuy and Vitry, in the direction of the capital, exclaimed aloud, "Let us all march to Paris."

813. Winzingerode was accordingly detached, with a strong column of horse, to follow Napoleon, and lead him into the belief that the Grand Army was pursuing him; and at daybreak on the 25th the whole Allied army received, with indescribable enthusiasm, the order to march on Paris. Marmont and Mortier, meanwhile, who were retiring before Blucher, had received orders from the Emperor (who now thought that all danger to Paris was at an end) to march through Vitry and join him; and the two

marshals had reached Vitry on the 24th without interruption, when on the morning of the 25th they found themselves, with only 22,000 men and 84 guns, in front of the whole Allied force, which was advancing towards Paris by the same road by which the French were marching from Paris towards Vitry. They hastily fell back to Fère-Champenoise, pursued by 20,000 of the flower of the Russian and Austrian horse, whose repeated charges, in spite of their gallant resistance, at length threw them into confusion: many guns and prisoners were taken, and only the approach of night saved them from total ruin. General Pacthod, meanwhile, approaching with 6000 men in charge of a convoy, fell unawares into the midst of the enemy; and though his heroic band resisted with unavailing valour till half their number had fallen, the survivors, after expending their last cartridge, were obliged to surrender. The whole loss of the French on this day amounted to 7000 prisoners, including six generals, 4000 killed and wounded, 80 guns, 200 caissons, and all the convoy and baggage.

814. Any attempt at arresting the march on Paris, on the part of Marmont and Mortier, was now out of the question; and they retreated in all haste to the capital, which they reached without much further loss. The movements of Napoleon, meanwhile, were creating consternation in the rear: and the Emperor of Austria, Lord Aberdeen, and the whole *corps diplomatique* at Chaumont, were obliged to mount and ride thirteen leagues by cross-roads to Dijon, in fear of being made prisoners. At length, however, Napoleon began to suspect, from seeing nothing but horse, that he was not really followed by the Grand Army; and suddenly turning upon Winzingerode, he overthrew him near St Dizier (March 27), with the loss of 2000 men and nine guns. From the prisoners here taken he learned the real state of the case, and that the Allies were now three days' march ahead on the road to Paris. The veil at once fell from his eyes "Nothing but a thunderbolt," said he, "can save us;" and at day-break on the 28th all the army was in motion, by Doulevant for Troyes, in the hope of gaining Paris by the route of Fontainebleau.

815. The Allies, meanwhile, had experienced no opposition to their advance, except at the passage of the Marne at Trilport and Meaux, where the bridges had been broken by Generals Vincent and Compans; but the Cossacks swam the river, a pontoon bridge was established, and on the 28th, the two armies of Schwartzenberg and Blucher were finally united on the right bank. A proclamation was issued by Alexander, prohibiting all violence and marauding; and though vast numbers of peasantry at first fled with their property into the capital, it was soon discovered that order was preserved by the invaders, and they remained quietly at home, gazing with amazement at the uncouth array of the Cossacks and Bashkirs, and the apparently interminable hosts which passed before them. At the forest of Bondy, some resistance was offered by Compans and his division, but it was speedily overcome; and on ascending an eminence, just as the day was closing, the buildings of Montmartre were seen on the right, and the stately edifices of Paris burst, illuminated by the last rays of the sun, on the view of the Allied sovereigns.

816. Fearful, indeed, for eight-and-forty hours, had been the note of preparation in the great revolutionary capital. It was in vain that the police spread proclamations, assuring the people that the Allies would never venture to attack the immortal city, and that its means of defence were invincible: they could not close their eyes to the facts before them. In the anticipation of universal massacre and spoliation, the banks were closed, the shops shut, and, what was unknown in the bloodiest days of the Revolution, *the theatres were empty.* The Council of State had, in the mean time, been summoned to deliberate whether or not the Empress and the King of Rome should remain in the city, and many were of opinion that they should be transferred to the Hotel de Ville, and the contest made a popular one; but on Joseph producing an express order from the Emperor, that in no event the risk should be run of their falling into the hands of the enemy, their removal was determined. On the morning of the 29th, accordingly, the mournful procession set out for Ram-

bouillet, completing by its departure the discouragement of the people. The Allied cannon were already heard from St Denis, and the last preparations for defence were in progress at Montmartre, while Joseph issued a spirited proclamation, exhorting the troops to fight bravely, and hold their ground till the arrival of the Emperor, who might be hourly expected. But the means at his disposal were very inadequate; including 5000 national guards, not more than 35,000 men, of whom 6000 were horse, with 120 guns, stood on the line of defence. Marmont commanded on the right, which rested on Belleville and Chaumont, with detachments as far as Vincennes; and Mortier the left, which extended between the Canal d'Ourcq, and Montmartre, with posts as far as Neuilly.

817. Soon after 5 A.M. on 30th March, the roar of several hundred pieces of cannon announced to the trembling Parisians that the last day of the revolution had arrived. Above 100,000 men were destined to co-operate in the attack, but they had not all come up; and the Russians in the centre, under Prince Eugene of Würtemberg, were at first repulsed with severe loss by Marmont, till the arrival of Raieffsky, and soon after of the Russian Guards, who were brought up by the Emperor in person, restored the battle. The heights of Romainville were carried, after a most desperate conflict, and Pahlen's dragoons pushed on nearly to Vincennes; but it was not till eleven that the arrival of the vast masses of the army of Silesia on the right enabled the Allies to assume the offensive. Still for four hours did Mortier's troops, with heroic resolution, make good their post at la Villette and la Chapelle, against the increasing masses of the Prussians; but they were at last driven in by the iron veterans of Woronzoff, and Marmont was repulsed by the Prussian Guards under Alvensleben, in an attempt to resume the offensive in the centre. At 1 P.M. the heads of the columns of the hereditary Prince of Würtemberg appeared on the Allied left, and with a superiority of numbers now irresistible, the assailants pressed on, in spite of the desperate resistance of the French. From one summit to another, the Russian and Prus-

sian colours were carried on; the batteries of Mont Louis and Menilmontant were successively stormed; and the summit of the Butte de Chaumont having been gained, the splendid capital of France burst on their view. The cry, "Fire on Paris!" rose on all sides; and twenty guns were brought forward, which sent bombs as far as the Chaussée d'Antin; but suddenly the troops received orders to halt, and it became known that a capitulation had been concluded. In fact, in half an hour more the French must have been irrecoverably routed and driven down the steep, and the conquerors must have entered the gates with them; and the French marshals, seeing further resistance hopeless, agreed to the immediate evacuation of all the posts, and the surrender of the city. Before the convention could be made known along the line, the Russians under Langeron, on the extreme right of the Allies, had stormed Montmartre on the side of Clichy, and all resistance had ceased. Such had been the fury of the contest, and the desperation with which the French held their ground, that more than 9000 of the Allies fell in this last struggle, while the French loss did not exceed half that number.

VII. *Fall of Napoleon—Restoration of the Bourbons.*

818. Dreading the capture of Paris by the Allies, ere he could come to its aid, Napoleon had already (on the 29th) sent forward one of his aides-de-camp to intimate that negotiations were renewed through the mediation of Austria; but though this messenger arrived before the termination of the contest on the 30th, the Allied generals were too well informed to fall into the snare, and the armistice was concluded as above mentioned. Napoleon meanwhile, every hour more alarmed, was straining every nerve to reach the capital, and at length, as his wearied troops could no longer keep pace with him, he set out alone in his carriage for Paris. He learned successively that the Empress and his son had quitted Paris, that the enemy were at the gates, that they were fighting on the heights, till at ten at night, on reaching Fromenteau, five leagues from Paris, he met General

Belliard, who gave him the whole details of the catastrophe. At first his agitation was excessive, but he at length became sensible that nothing could be done, and set out for Fontainebleau, which he reached at six in the morning.

819. The terms of the capitulation of Paris, meanwhile, had become an anxious subject of discussion, as the marshals with their troops absolutely refused to surrender; and it was at last agreed that they should be allowed to retire by whatever route they chose. The magistrates of Paris now repaired to Alexander's headquarters, and were received in the most gracious manner: General Sacken was appointed governor of the city; but the police was left in the hands of the national guard, and the safety of the museums, monuments, and public institutions guaranteed by the Emperor's word. The Parisians, now recovering from the fear of immediate pillage and massacre, were in that state of combined excitement and stupor which prepares the way for great political changes. But the Jacobins and republicans were awed by the presence of the Allies; the imperialists were paralysed by the departure of Maria-Louisa and the troops; and the royalists, who had at least received some slight countenance at the Allied headquarters, were the only party which ventured to act openly. On the following morning, M. Charles de Vauvineux, with four other gentlemen, rode through the streets wearing white cockades, and exclaiming, "Vive le Roi!" but they were joined by few; the great body of the people was congregated in the streets, highly excited, but dubious and uncertain.

820. While Paris was in this state of agitation, the entry of the Allied troops commenced. Some Cossacks, with the Prussian cavalry of the guard, came first; next the Austrian grenadiers; then the Russian and Prussian footguards, and the Russian cuirassiers and artillery closed the procession. A conciliatory proclamation, issued by the Allied sovereigns, had been extensively placarded; and the Parisians, as the magnificent array moved in endless succession before their eyes, passed at length from the extreme of terror to that of gratitude and admiration. Enthu-

siastic cries of "Long live the Emperor Alexander!" "Long live our Liberators!" burst from all sides; the people kissed their boots, their sabres, and the trappings of their horses—till Alexander alighted at the hotel of Talleyrand, where the leading members of the senate and the government were assembled.

821. Alexander opened the discussion by observing that they had three courses to choose from—to make peace with Napoleon, to establish a regency, or to restore the Bourbons. The last alternative was warmly espoused by Talleyrand, supported by Baron Louis and the Abbé de Pradt; and Alexander was at length so far convinced by their arguments, that he issued a declaration that he would no longer treat with Napoleon, or any of his family. The senate, which was forthwith convoked by Talleyrand as arch-chancellor, passed a decree (April 1) for the establishment of a provisional government, under the presidency of Talleyrand himself; and a second decree was passed on the following day, formally dethroning the Emperor, and absolving the senate and people from their allegiance. The legislative body gave in its adhesion, and all the public bodies forthwith prepared addresses, vying with each other in invectives against Napoleon; but almost all the appointments under the new rule were from the republicans, and not a word was said, at least by the authorities, of the return of the Bourbons.

822. Nothing, however, had yet been heard from the army, which, though reduced to 50,000 men, had still Napoleon at its head. Marmont was the first to give in his adhesion, by a convention concluded on the 4th April, on condition that the life and personal freedom of Napoleon should be secured, and that the troops under the marshal's command should retire with their arms and baggage into Normandy. Caulaincourt meanwhile, on the part of Napoleon, had been making unceasing efforts for a modification of the resolution of the Allies; but all that he could obtain was a recommendation that the Emperor should abdicate in favour of his son. To this he at first peremptorily refused to accede, and issued an indignant proclamation against the treason, as he termed it, of Marmont; but it soon became

obvious that the marshals and older generals were no longer inclined to risk their fortunes in the support of a falling cause, and he signed on the 4th an act of abdication, drawn up in dignified language worthy of the occasion, by which he resigned his crown in favour of his son, and of the Empress as regent.

823. But when Caulaincourt and Macdonald, who were made the bearers of this proposition, arrived in Paris, they found that matters had gone so far as to render it inadmissible. The manifestations from all classes in favour of the Bourbons had been so vehement and unanimous, and the danger of allowing Napoleon still to rule, as he would, in fact, in the name of his wife and son, was so obvious, that it was resolved to adhere to the declaration that they would not treat with Napoleon or any of his family. The cause of the Restoration, in fact, had become irresistible in Paris: the populace, flying as usual from one extreme to another, had grossly insulted the busts and statues of the Emperor, and even attempted, but for the interference of Alexander, to destroy the pillar in the Place Vendôme; and the funds, from the prospect of peace, had risen in a few days from 45 to 70. Napoleon received the refusal of the sovereigns at first with violent wrath, and spoke of retiring with his army to the Loire, and prolonging the contest by the aid of Suchet and Soult. But the universal and shameful defection of all his followers, even of those who owed everything to him, showed the hopelessness of the case: every person of note, with the honourable exceptions of Maret and Caulaincourt, abandoned him and set off to Paris; and at last, with an agitated hand, he wrote and signed the unqualified resignation of the throne. The formal treaty was signed on the 11th of April, by which he renounced for himself and his descendants the empire of France and kingdom of Italy; but he retained the title of Emperor, with the island of Elba erected into a principality in his favour for a residence; and an income of 2,500,000 francs from the revenues of the ceded countries, with 2,000,000 from that of France, besides an annuity of 1,000,000 for Josephine. He was allowed to take with him 400 soldiers for his guard; and the duchies of Parma and Placentia were

settled on Maria-Louisa and her son. This treaty was ratified by the plenipotentiaries of the great powers—with a reservation, however, on the part of Britain, which had never, directly or indirectly, acknowledged Napoleon as Emperor, and still declined to do so.

824. The Empress had remained all this time at Blois; but her courtiers, like those of the Emperor, had deserted her, and the other members of the imperial family had departed in different directions. Maria-Louisa at first declared her intention of sharing the fortunes of her husband; but she was at length persuaded by her father to return to her native country, and soon after set out with the King of Rome for Vienna. Amid the general defection, however, Carnot at Antwerp, and Soult in the south, remained faithful to the last; and Macdonald, though the last of the marshals to be taken into favour, remained with the Emperor at Fontainebleau till his departure for Elba. At length (April 20) the preparations were completed; and Napoleon, issuing from the palace, advanced to bid farewell to his Old Guard, which stood drawn up to receive him. Amid breathless silence and tearful eyes, he addressed for the last time, in few and touching words, his old companions in arms, concluding, "Adieu, my children! I am about to write the great deeds we have done together. I would I could press you all to my heart, but I will at least press your eagle." General Petit advanced with the eagle: Napoleon received the general in his arms, and kissed the standard; and, throwing himself into his carriage, drove off amid the sobs of his faithful guard, all of whom had petitioned to accompany him.

825. Napoleon was received on his journey as far as Lyons with respect, and frequently with acclamations; but after passing that city, the demeanour of the people sensibly changed. Augereau, who had declared his adhesion to the Bourbons in a violent proclamation, in which the Emperor was denounced as "a man who, after having sacrificed millions to his cruel ambition, had not known how to die as a soldier," accidentally met him near Valence; and Napoleon, in ignorance of this, conversed

with him amicably for some time. As he entered the south, where he had never been popular, the fury of the populace was such that his life was more than once in danger—on one occasion he only escaped in the disguise of a courier, and subsequently by assuming the Austrian uniform. At Luc he had an interview with his sister Pauline, who, with all her follies, had some share of the elevated character of her brother; and having reached Frejus on the 27th, he sailed on the night of the 28th in the British frigate Undaunted, which conveyed him to Elba.

826. Among the various personages involved in the fortunes of Napoleon, we must not forget the discarded wife of his youth, with whom his destiny seemed in some manner to be mysteriously linked, and since his separation from whom his star had visibly declined. Josephine had bitterly bewailed the tarnished glory of the husband who had elevated her to the pinnacle of earthly grandeur, nor did she long survive his fall. Alexander frequently visited her at Malmaison, and consoled her by assurances of protection to her children, which he afterwards nobly fulfilled; but she was suddenly seized with a fatal illness, and died on the 28th May. Her grandson, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, son of Eugene, has in our days espoused the daughter of the Emperor Nicholas; so that it is not impossible that a lineal descendant of Josephine, and a descendant by marriage of Napoleon, may one day mount the throne of Russia.

827. In Paris, meanwhile, on Easter day (April 10), a grand ceremonial took place in the Place Louis XV., where, round a great altar, erected by command of Alexander, the sovereigns, with their princes, marshals, and generals, and in the presence of 30,000 troops, drawn up in close array, returned thanks to Heaven for the signal successes of their arms. All the French marshals attended the ceremony, which was, in the most literal sense, a *catholic* service: all Christendom was there represented, and it was a thanksgiving for the triumph of Christianity over the most powerful and inveterate of its enemies. Already (April 7) the Conservative Senate, directed by Talleyrand, who found the Allies determined not to treat with a regency, had passed a

solemn decree, calling Louis XVIII. to the throne; and on the 12th the Count d'Artois made his public entry, and was met at the barriers by the marshals in full uniform, with Ney at their head. Louis himself quitted his retreat at Hartwell on the 20th, and having been received in state in London by the Prince-Regent, who accompanied him to Dover, was conveyed to France by a squadron under the command of the Duke of Clarence, and entered Paris on 3d May, in company with the Duchess d'Angoulême, in the midst of a prodigious concourse of spectators, but few manifestations of loyalty or welcome.

828. The first duty of the restored monarch was to conclude peace with the Allies; and great was the disappointment of the French, who had conceived extravagant hopes from the magnanimity of Alexander, on finding that the restoration of all the conquests of the Revolution, and the reduction of France to the limits of 1792, was still rigidly insisted upon. On this basis, a treaty was signed on 30th May, between the plenipotentiaries of France on the one side, and Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia on the other; Avignon, however, and the Venaisin, the first conquests of the Revolution, were left to France. Of the ships of war at Antwerp, two-thirds were restored to France, and one-third made over to the King of Holland, who also received the fleet taken at the Texel. Malta was ceded to Great Britain, which restored all the colonies taken from France or her allies during the war, except Tobago and St Lucie in the West Indies, and the Isle of France in the Indian Ocean. All subordinate points, as well as the details of the new arrangements in Italy and Germany, were referred to a general congress, which was to assemble at Vienna in the autumn. Not a village was reft from old France—not a palace or museum was rifled—even the spoils of Italy, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Flanders, and Holland, were left untouched; so far from imitating Napoleon in seizing every article of value, the Allies did not even reclaim their own. Such was the treaty of Paris, the most glorious that Britain ever concluded,—glorious even more from what she abandoned than from what she retained of her conquests.

829. The world will probably never again see so marvellous a spectacle as that exhibited by Paris during its occupation by the Allies, from 30th March to 16th June. The capital of Napoleon was in the hands of the troops of twenty different nations whom his oppression had roused to arms, from the steppes of Asia to the Pillars of Hercules; yet life and property were perfectly secure, and the Bashkirs and Tartars gazed with undisguised avidity, but restrained hands, on the wealth which everywhere met their eyes. Frequent reviews of the superb household troops of Russia and Prussia, the splendid cuirassiers of Austria, the iron veterans of Blucher, took place in the Champ de Mars. On the 20th of May, the whole of the troops in and about the city, amounting to 70,000 men, were inspected by the sovereigns, presenting such a magnificent military spectacle as had certainly never before been witnessed. Before returning to their own dominions, the Allied monarchs visited England. The festivities of that joyous period —the modern *Field of Cloth of Gold*—belong to the historian of England to recount; suffice it here to say, that they landed at Deal on 8th July, and were received with extraordinary enthusiasm by all classes, from the peasant to the prince. They were feasted with more than usual magnificence at Guildhall, and received with more than wonted splendour at the palace. The Emperor of Russia was invested with the Garter at Carlton House, and received, as well as the King of Prussia and Marshal Blucher, with all the academic honours at Oxford; a splendid naval review at Portsmouth, of 30 frigates and ships of the line, conveyed an adequate idea of the naval power of England; and, satiated with pomp and gratulation, the Allied monarchs re-embarked for the Continent, where their presence was required to take part in the discussion and settlement of the colossal interests which were to occupy the attention of the CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

VIII. *Congress of Vienna—Return of Napoleon from Elba.*

830. The glorious termination of the war excited a degree of enthusiasm in Great Britain scarcely to be imagined by subsequent ages. However divided the national feeling may have been at its commencement, its long continuance had united the wishes of all parties: a great proportion of the people had grown into existence during the contest, and inhaled with their earliest breath an ardent desire for its success, and the splendour with which it was concluded was as unlooked for as unexampled. Among the first emotions was the expression of national gratitude to Wellington, who was raised to the rank of Duke; and a vote of £300,000, in addition to £100,000 already bestowed on him, was proposed by government; but so completely had his transcendant services stilled the voice of political hostility, that another £100,000 (making £500,000 in all) was added on the motion of Mr Whitbread and Mr Ponsonby, at first the most persevering opponents of the war. Graham, Beresford, and Hill received peerages and pensions; ribbons and stars were profusely scattered among the generals and inferior officers; and the British hero was presented to the House of Commons to receive their public thanks. A few days after a solemn thanksgiving was returned in St Paul's by the Prince-Regent and the whole royal family, accompanied by the ministers, the Lords and Commons, the municipality of London, and all the principal personages of the empire; and when the Duke of Wellington sat down on the right hand of the Prince in the cathedral, one burst of almost overpowering emotion thrilled through every bosom of the vast assemblage.

831. The annexation of Norway to Sweden, as already mentioned, had been promised by Russia and guaranteed by Great Britain, and Denmark had been compelled to acquiesce in this measure by the treaty which admitted her into the Grand Alliance. The Norwegians, however, loudly protested against this forcible transference; their Diet proclaimed Prince Christian of Denmark

(April 19) as King of Norway; and, continuing resolute to their purpose, the Swedish troops consequently entered the country. After a short campaign, the resistance of the gallant peasantry was overpowered, and, by a convention concluded (Aug. 14) at Moss, the Danish prince resigned all pretensions to the crown of Norway; while, on the other hand, the Crown-Prince accepted the constitution for Norway which had been drawn up by the Diet. Though great heartburnings were at first occasioned among the Norwegians, the rule of Bernadotte has since been eminently judicious and lenient, and the country has had no real reason to regret its union with the Swedish monarchy.

832. The restored monarch of France, meanwhile, had as difficult a task to encounter as ever fell to the lot of man, in remodelling the government and reconciling the various hostile parties, whose differences, merged for a moment in the general consternation which preceded the fall of the Empire, broke out again with fresh violence as soon as the storm was stilled. On the one side, the most extravagant expectations had been formed as to the extent to which popular power was to revive, on the basis of a constitution recently chalked out by the senate; while the royalists, and in particular the Abbé Montesquieu, the King's most trusted adviser, counselled him to disregard altogether the restraints imposed on his prerogative. The King, however, determined to steer a middle course, and, having ascended the throne without making any terms, to grant, of his own free will, such a constitution as he hoped would satisfy the warmest friends of civil liberty. On the 4th of June, accordingly, the celebrated CHARTER was promulgated with great pomp to the Senate and Legislative Body in the Bourbon palace. The speech of the King was received with great applause; but murmurs ran through the assembly when the Chancellor, M. d'Ambray, spoke of the King in the old tone of absolutism, as "in the full possession of his *hereditary* rights;" and still more when it was found that the Charter was dated "in the *nineteenth* year of our reign." These expressions recalled to the veterans of the Revolution the words of Mirabeau in

1789—"The concessions made by the King would be sufficient for the public good, if the *presents of despotism* were not always dangerous."

833. Yet the leading articles of the Charter contained, in many points, the elements of true freedom—liberty of conscience and of the press, equality before the law, trial by jury, and the right of being taxed only by the national representatives. The legislature was divided into two chambers—the Deputies and the Peers; the latter consisting of 135 members named by the King, 91 of whom had been members of the senate of Napoleon, which had been so degraded in the eyes of the public by its endless tergiversation that it was no longer possible to maintain it. The qualification of a deputy was the annual payment of 1000 francs (£42) in direct taxes; that of an elector the payment of 300 francs—a restriction which confined the franchise to 80,000 persons out of 30,000,000. A universal amnesty was proclaimed, the conscription abolished, the person of the King declared inviolable, and his ministers alone responsible. He declared war and peace, and had "the right of making all ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws and safety of the state"—an ambiguous power, the exercise of which was afterwards made the pretext for driving the elder branch of the Bourbons from the throne. The Code Napoleon continued as the law of France, the ancient and new noblesse each preserved their titles, and the Legion of Honour was kept up.

834. The real difficulty, however, was to reconcile the conflicting interests, calm the furious passions, and provide for the destitute multitudes, left by the termination of the Revolution. The army, defeated, humiliated, and in a great part disbanded, was in despair; the holders of national domains, amounting to several millions of persons, dreaded, in spite of all guarantees, the resumption of their lands; and the shoals of civil and military functionaries turned adrift from the provinces beyond the Alps and Rhine, were without employment or means of subsistence. Such was the exhaustion of the country that the arrears of revenue for the last two years amounted to £55,000,000, not

more than half of which was deemed recoverable; and while the most rigid economy could not bring down the expenditure below £32,000,000, the receipts amounted to little more than £20,000,000—and even this was obtained with the greatest difficulty. Many causes, in themselves trifling, had combined to render the restored government unpopular: the substitution of the white flag for the tricolor, and the alteration of the numbers of the regiments, outraged the feelings of the army—which were still more deeply wounded by the revival of the Gardes de Corps and Swiss Guard, who replaced the Imperial Guard in the service of the palace; nor did the restoration of the order of St Louis, or the religious pomp of the daily service at the Tuileries, pass without bitter obloquy. So exasperated at length were both the imperialists and the popular party against the Bourbons, that they laid aside their previous animosities to combine against the government, every step taken by which was decried or misrepresented. The celebration of a solemn funeral service in memory of Louis XVI., and the removal of his remains to the royal mausoleum at St Denis, were set down as the commencement of a persecution against the revolutionists; and even the restoration of the undisposed-of national domains to their rightful owners excited apprehensions of a general restitution. Every act, in short, of the Bourbon government—some wise and natural, others injudicious or ill-timed—was misinterpreted, and ascribed to the worst possible motives.

835. The congress of Vienna, meanwhile, had been commenced on the arrival (Sept. 25) of the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia; who were followed by the Kings of Bavaria, Denmark, Würtemberg, and a host of lesser princes; while Lord Castlereagh, and afterwards the Duke of Wellington, acted for Britain, and Talleyrand for France. It was at first proposed that Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain, should alone be admitted as principals in the deliberations; but this was negatived by Castlereagh, who saw the importance of having France as a counterpoise to Russia—and Spain, Portugal, and Sweden, were also ultimately included. The first points were easily settled—

that Holland and Belgium should be united into the kingdom of the Netherlands; that Sweden and Norway should be united; that Hanover, with a considerable accession of territory, should be restored to the King of Great Britain; that Austria should regain Lombardy, and Piedmont Savoy. But other points were less easily settled, Alexander loudly insisting on having the whole of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, in which he was supported by Prussia, who claimed for herself, besides an indemnity on the Rhine, the whole of Saxony. The views of France, Britain, and Austria, were decidedly opposed to these sweeping appropriations; and to such a height did these divisions arise that both parties prepared for war. Alexander ordered his armies, 280,000 strong, to halt in Poland; while his brother Constantine published an address to the Poles, calling on them to rally round the standards of the Emperor as the only means of recovering their lost nationality. Austria put her troops on the war footing, and the disarming of France was suspended. Matters were at length brought to a crisis by the conclusion of a secret treaty (Feb. 3, 1815) between Austria, France, and Britain, "to sustain the principle of justice and equity in carrying out the treaty of Paris;" by which the three powers agreed, if necessary, to support each other severally with 150,000 men; and the knowledge of this alliance, which speedily transpired, had an immediate effect in lowering the tone of the northern powers. The minor arrangements meanwhile went on: the whole Germanic states were formed into a confederacy, bound to afford mutual support in case of external attack, and directed by a diet, in which Austria and Prussia had each two voices—Würtemberg, Bavaria, and Hanover, each one. The King of Holland formed part of the confederation as Grand-duke of Luxemburg, and ceded to Great Britain the Cape, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice; but Britain restored Java—a colony worth all the rest of the East Indian Islands put together, and the restitution of which was totally uncalled for. The affairs of Switzerland were easily adjusted; but Italy presented greater difficulties. The union of Genoa to the kingdom of Sardinia was not effected without

earnest remonstrances from the citizens of the former, who desired the restoration of their ancient government; and the conflicting claims of Murat and the Bourbons to the throne of Naples were still more difficult of adjustment, from the exaggerated pretensions of the former, who aimed at nothing less than uniting under his sceptre all Italy south of the Po. It began to be rumoured, moreover, that a constant correspondence was kept up between Elba and the adjoining shores of Italy; and it was already proposed to transfer the ex-Emperor to St Helena or one of the Canaries (a proposition vehemently opposed by Alexander, who considered his personal honour pledged to maintaining him at Elba); when, on the 7th of March, it was announced to Metternich, at a great ball at Vienna, that NAPOLEON HAD SECRETLY LEFT ELBA.

836. A thunderbolt falling in the midst of the brilliant assembly could scarcely have occasioned greater consternation; but it was held expedient to conceal the alarm which was felt; and a proclamation was issued, declaring that Napoleon, as the general enemy and disturber of the world, had placed himself out of the pale of all civil and social relations. Military preparations on a gigantic scale were commenced, from one end of Europe to the other; while the imminent danger of all the powers led to a speedy settlement of their differences relative to Poland and Saxony. A portion of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, containing 800,000 souls, with Thorn and its territory, was ceded to Prussia; Cracow, with a small adjacent territory, was erected into a separate republic; and the remainder, containing above 4,000,000 of souls, was formed into a separate kingdom under the Emperor of Russia, but not incorporated with that empire; with a constitution which, though defective in some points, was still a great improvement on the old stormy *comitia*. Saxony was compelled to cede to Prussia the greater part of Lusatia, the circles of Wittenberg and Thuringia, and other territories on the right bank of the Elbe, containing 1,100,000 souls, which, with her other acquisitions from Poland, raised Prussia to the rank of a first-rate power, with a population of above 10,000,000. Hanover also

received a portion of the dominions of the King of Saxony—Dresden, Leipsic, and less than two-thirds of his old territory alone remaining to him; but though this cruel partition excited the sympathies of Europe, it could not be denied that by his steadfast adherence to Napoleon, and large participation in his conquests, he had fairly brought this lot on himself. The only other transactions of the congress requiring particular notice were the treaties for the free navigation of the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Meuse, and those for the limitation or abolition of the slave trade, to which the influence of Great Britain succeeded in procuring the accession of nearly all the European powers.

837. The position of Napoleon at Elba, within sight of Italy, and within a few days' sail of France, was the most favourable that could be imagined for carrying on intrigues with both countries. A constant correspondence was maintained with his relatives and adherents, from many of whom he received visits; and a vast conspiracy was soon formed, with its centre in Paris, and ramified among the whole army and many of the civil functionaries, having for its object his return. The eagles and tricolor cockades were preserved with veneration by the soldiers; and the rumour spread that "Père la Violette," the name employed to designate Napoleon, would return in spring to chase away the priests and emigrants. Murat, who began to find his chance of retaining his crown extremely precarious, entered warmly into the plot. Sir Neil Campbell, the British commissioner, had no means of preventing, even if he suspected, an intended escape; and on the night of the 26th February, after a brilliant fête given to the inhabitants of Porto-Ferrajo, Napoleon embarked on board the Inconstant brig, and sailed, accompanied by six smaller vessels and 1100 men, for the French coast. Twice on the voyage their course was crossed by French cruisers, but no suspicion was excited; and on the 1st of March the expedition disembarked in the Gulf of St Juan.

838. After an unsuccessful attempt to seduce the garrison of Antibes, which was frustrated by the firmness of the governor, General Corsin, Napoleon marched on the mountain road by

Gap towards Grenoble, everywhere received with open arms by the inhabitants, who were mostly holders of national domains, and strongly imbued with revolutionary principles. He here expected, according to previous arrangements, to have been joined by Colonel Labedoyère and his regiment, part of the garrison of Grenoble; but on his approach (March 7), he found the way barred by a body of troops not in the secret, sent against him by the commandant-general, Marchand. Instantly advancing to the front, and exposing his breast, he exclaimed to the opposing ranks—"Here is your Emperor; if any one would kill me, let him fire!"—words which, as by an electric shock, awakened old associations in the hearts of the soldiers. They threw themselves at his feet, embracing his knees with tears of joy; the tricolor reappeared on every breast, and the whole detachment ranged itself with fervent devotion on his side. Labedoyère, meanwhile, came over with his regiment: Marchand, finding that all was lost, quitted his post, and Napoleon entered Grenoble in triumph, amid the acclamations of the troops and people. Here he formally resumed the sovereignty by ordering that all public acts should henceforth run in his name; while his proclamations, couched in the spirit of ancient oratory, thrilled every heart with emotion. "Soldiers, in my exile I have heard your voice! come and range yourselves under the standards of your old chief, who was raised to the throne on your bucklers, and has no existence but in yours. Victory will march at the charge-step; the eagle, with the national colours, will fly from steeple to steeple, till it alights on the towers of Nôtre Dame."

839. During these transactions the court of the Tuileries vacillated between affected indifference and real apprehension: but the news of the defection at Grenoble soon caused the latter to predominate. The chambers were convoked; the Count d'Artois, with Marshal Macdonald and the Duke of Orleans, repaired to Lyons, and the Duke de Bourbon to la Vendée; while the Duke de Berri was destined to command an army of reserve at Fontainebleau. The authorities throughout the monarchy still

continued loud in their protestations of fidelity. Marshal Ney, in particular, was so vehement in his denunciations of the "insane attempt" of Napoleon, that he was intrusted with the command of the army intended to stop him; and he took leave of the King on the 7th, promising "to bring back Buonaparte in an iron cage." Defection after defection, meanwhile, went on in the army; and though Soult, whose fidelity was suspected, was replaced by Clarke as minister of war, the Count d'Artois found it necessary to quit Lyons; and Napoleon entered the second city of the kingdom without opposition on 12th March. Here he issued decrees dissolving the chambers, banishing all the emigrants lately returned, and abolishing all titles but those which he himself had granted—measures sufficiently indicating the spirit of his restored government. It was no longer the imperial conqueror—it was the consul of the Revolution who was now in the ascendant: Napoleon's misfortunes had at last compelled him to court the alliance of the Jacobins—that party which of all others he most cordially detested.

840. Meanwhile Ney had reached Lons-le-Saulnier; but the ferment everywhere perceptible among the troops had already shaken his faith in the possibility of upholding the Bourbon cause, and his wavering allegiance was utterly overthrown by the receipt, on the 13th, of the proclamation of Napoleon. It is a melancholy task to record the deplorable treachery of the "bravest of the brave:" on the 14th he published an address to his troops, calling on them to "join the immortal phalanx which Napoleon is leading to Paris;" and though Lecourbe, Beauregard, and other superior officers, kept aloof, the whole army followed the example of their chief, and by their defection removed every obstacle to Napoleon's advance to Paris. It was in vain that the King offered an amnesty for what was past, and appealed to the honour and loyalty of the French character: it was clear that the royal cause was lost; and at midnight on the 19th, the King and royal family quitted the Tuileries, arriving the next night at Lille. It was found, however, that this was not a safe asylum, and after a halt of a few days the unfortu-

nate Louis abandoned the French territory, and took the road to Ghent, where he remained during the Hundred Days.

841. Napoleon, meanwhile, travelled so rapidly from Lyons that his troops could not keep up with him, and on the 19th reached Fontainebleau. On the enthusiasm of the troops, and the ardour of part of the people, he literally flew to empire; the throne of the Bourbons sank at his approach; and it is not surprising that he should have described this journey as the happiest period of his life. On the 20th he was informed of the flight of the royal family, and setting out for Paris, reached the Tuileries at 9 P.M. The population in general were not aware of his arrival; but the court was crowded with generals, officers, and soldiers, who bore their beloved chief aloft in their arms, amid the wildest transports of joy, up the grand staircase, where he was received by a splendid array of the ladies of the imperial court, adorned with violet bouquets. Never was such a scene witnessed in history; it was more personally gratifying than even the joy in England at the return of Charles II., for it was not the rejoicing of a nation at the restoration of a government, but the transports of a party at the return of a man.

IX. *The Hundred Days.*

842. Napoleon's first words on landing in the Gulf of St Juan were, "Behold the Congress dissolved!" But he was well aware that the effect would be just the reverse, and that legions as formidable as those before which he had already sunk would again inundate his dominions; while his own troops under arms did not exceed 100,000, and, even if all the veterans were called out, could not be more than doubled in number. A strong disinclination for office—a most ominous and unusual circumstance in France—was shown by even his warmest adherents. Caulaincourt refused the ministry of foreign affairs, Cambacérès was with difficulty prevailed upon to accept that of justice, and the blood-stained old regicide Fouché returned to the ministry of police. The declaration issued against Napoleon (March 13) by

the Congress of Vienna came as a clap of thunder on the people, who again anticipated the ravages of the Cossacks and Calmucks, and the forced alliance between the Emperor and the Jacobins shook the faith of many of his adherents. The Duchess d'Angoulême, moreover, who was at Bordeaux when Napoleon landed, had 15,000 national guards under arms; the troops at Toulon, where Massena commanded, also remained firm, and received the Duke d'Angoulême with enthusiasm. But the Duchess was speedily driven by Clausel to take refuge on board a British ship; and the Duke, after a brief campaign in the south, was surrounded by Grouchy and Gilly, and forced to capitulate to the latter (April 5). The attempt to excite an insurrection in la Vendée failed, and the imperial rule was re-established throughout France.

843. But it was at Vienna that the real opposition to Napoleon was to be found. On the 25th of March a treaty was concluded, by which the four powers bound themselves to furnish 180,000 men each, and not to lay down their arms till they had overthrown Napoleon; and so vast was their disposable force, including the troops of the lesser powers, that, after every deduction, it was calculated that 600,000 men would be brought against France. It was resolved to form three great armies: the first, of 265,000 men, chiefly Austrians and Bavarians, on the Upper Rhine under Schwartzenberg; the second, of 155,000, on the Lower Rhine under Blucher; the third, of an equal number of British, Hanoverians, and Belgians, in the Low Countries; while the great Russian army, of 170,000 men, was coming up to the Rhine from Poland. It was obvious, however, that the first brunt must fall on the British troops in Flanders, and the preparations of Britain were on a scale commensurate with the urgency of the crisis.

844. Nothing which vigour and activity could do was wanting on the part of Napoleon to provide means for repelling this torrent of hostility. His first step was to restore to the regiments their eagles, and their old numbers; three battalions were added to each regiment of infantry, and two squadrons to those of cavalry;

all the veterans were called out, and 200 battalions of national guards organised for garrison duty. Arms and equipments were manufactured with wonderful celerity; and by the beginning of June, 220,000 men, almost all veterans, were in readiness to take the field. But in civil matters the genius of the Emperor was fettered by his alliance with Fouché and the republicans, who scarcely made a secret of their determination to re-establish the ascendancy of their own party. It was to Sismondi and Benjamin Constant, and other old patriots of 1789, that the framing of a constitution was intrusted; and so democratic was the first draught, that Napoleon at once rejected it; and that eventually agreed upon (which was called the "additional act") did not materially differ from the charter of Louis XVIII., except in making the peerage hereditary. It excited, however, violent opposition at first among the republicans; but Carnot, who saw the necessity of a temporary dictatorship, succeeded in quieting them for the time. All the efforts of Napoleon, however, to open negotiations with the Allies, either through Caulaincourt, or by a circular letter which he addressed (April 1) to the sovereigns, were wholly ineffectual: his couriers were stopped on their route; and Alexander, who had in 1814 espoused his cause, considering that he had broken his word, was now the most inveterate against him.

845. The first blow was struck by Murat, who, in spite of the offers of Austria to secure his recognition by the sovereigns if he would declare for the Allies, crossed the Po on the 31st of March at the head of a splendidly equipped army of 30,000 men, after announcing in a sonorous proclamation the union and independence of Italy. But these showy troops fled like sheep at the first encounter with the Austrians; and after being routed in two engagements (April 9 and 11), Murat, utterly deserted, embarked for Toulon; while the Bourbon family resumed the Neapolitan throne without opposition. The Vendeans, meanwhile, though they had failed to rise at the call of the Duke de Bourbon, who was personally unknown to them, took up arms with their ancient spirit on the appearance, in May, of the Marquis Louis

de la Rochejacquelein ; and though the defeat and death of this gallant leader, and the jealousies of the other chiefs, brought the revolt speedily to an end, it had at least the effect of retaining 20,000 troops in the west, whose presence might have turned the beam if thrown into the scale at Waterloo.

846. Meanwhile the preparations for the ceremony of the Champ de Mai, at which the Emperor was to meet the deputies and accept the new constitution, went on upon a scale of magnificence which recalled the famous assembly on the same spot on the 14th July 1790. The Emperor appeared surrounded by all the pomp of the throne : a cardinal and two archbishops, the marshals, generals, and all the officers of state were there, with deputations from all the regiments round Paris—4000 electors from the departments, and 30,000 national guards—while the benches round the amphitheatre were crowded by more than 200,000 spectators. Napoleon commenced his speech in these words—"Emperor, consul, soldier, I owe everything to the people;" and after an animated appeal to the nation to support him in the coming struggle, he took the oath to the new constitution, in which he was followed by all the dignitaries present, and the eagles were at the same time delivered with great pomp to the regiments. Notwithstanding this seeming unanimity, the Emperor soon found the chambers anything but tractable. The peers, named by himself, were indeed abundantly pliant; but the deputies, among whom the Jacobins predominated, showed from the first a refractory spirit, and even elected the old Girondist Lanjuinais as their president, instead of Napoleon's brother Lucien. Fouché, meanwhile, had been detected in a secret correspondence with Metternich; and Napoleon was with difficulty prevented from ordering him to instant execution, by Carnot, who assured him that the hostility of the Jacobins, if thus roused, would be ruinous to him. At length, having committed the government during his absence to a council presided over by his two brothers, Joseph and Lucien, Napoleon gladly quitted the intrigues and treasons of the capital, and set out (June 12) for the army, which he found on the 14th con-

centrated between the Sambre and Philipville, to the number of 122,000 men.

847. The fortification of Paris, of which Napoleon had felt the want the year before, had been commenced immediately on his return, and on this he relied as a last resource. Meanwhile he determined to interpose his forces, in one mass, between the armies of Wellington and Blucher, and strike to the right and the left — a system by which, in 1814, he long kept at bay, with only 60,000 men, the armies of Blucher and Schwartzenberg, 200,000 strong, in Champagne; and from which he anticipated great results when opposed with 120,000 excellent troops to two hosts numbering together only 190,000. Under Blucher were 110,000, nearly all Prussians. Wellington had 80,000. One-fourth of his army were raw Belgian and Hanoverian levies, on which little reliance could be placed; but the horse and foot guards, the German legion, and several of the most distinguished Peninsular regiments, were present. Picton, Hill, Clinton, Pack, and many of his old comrades, were around Wellington, and the troops were in the highest spirits. The Allied generals remained inactive, and at dawn on the 15th the French crossed the frontier, and moved on Charleroi, which the Prussians evacuated at their approach. Ney, with the left, 46,000, moved on to Quatre-Bras—an important position, where the roads of Brussels, Nivelles, Charleroi, and Namur intersect each other, and by the possession of which the communication between the British and Prussians would be endangered—while Napoleon himself, with 72,000, marched straight against the main Prussian army, which was falling back to concentrate at Ligny. The position was sheltered in front by the villages of St Amand and Ligny, while the artillery, on the semicircular convex ridge behind them, commanded the whole field. The Prussians were 80,000 strong, including 12,000 horse, with 288 guns: Napoleon had 72,000, of whom 8000 were cavalry, with 248 guns. Napoleon awaited some time the approach of Ney, whom he had directed, after occupying Quatre-Bras, to fall on the Prussian

rear; but as nothing indicated his approach, the signal for attack was given at 4 P.M.

848. The corps of Vandamme, on the left, stormed, after a vigorous resistance, the village of St Amand; but the real attack was on the centre, against which 30,000 men under Gerard were directed by Napoleon. Three times Ligny was taken by the impetuous assault of the French, and three times it was retaken by the Prussians at the point of the bayonet. After three hours combat they were still fighting hand to hand in the streets — all Blucher's reserves had been engaged—when the appearance at 7 P.M. of d'Erlon's corps, 20,000 strong, on the extreme Prussian right, though it did not take part in the action, turned the scale in favour of the French. The simultaneous charge of Milhaud's cuirassiers on the centre, and of twenty squadrons on the right, proved decisive: the Prussians were driven from Ligny; and Blucher himself, charging with the cavalry to retard the pursuit, had his horse shot under him, and was ridden over by the enemy, but fortunately rescued by his own men. The Prussians lost 15,000 men and 21 guns, besides 10,000 stragglers; the loss of the French was less than 7000.

849. At Quatre-Bras, in the mean time, an equally desperate conflict was raging between Wellington and Ney. At midnight on the 15th the drums beat in every part of Brussels; but as some corps had a greater distance to march than others, there were not more than 20,000 men, all infantry, and half of them Belgians, on the ground; while Ney, even after detaching d'Erlon to support the Emperor, had 22,000, including 3000 cavalry, with 46 guns. The Belgians were quickly overthrown, but the Brunswickers and British infantry soon came up; and though charged with the utmost fury, while entangled among the fields of standing rye, by the French cuirassiers, who neither gave nor took quarter, they held their ground with undaunted courage, but with severe loss, till the arrival of Wellington with the 1st and 3d divisions raised the Allied force to 36,000 men; and Ney, unable to force the position, fell back at nightfall with the loss of 4000 men. The Allies, who during great part of the day had

no artillery, lost more than 5000; and among the slain was the gallant Duke of Brunswick, who fell while heading his hussars, in the latter part of the day. On learning the defeat of the Prussians, however, Wellington fell back on the morning of the 17th through Gemappe to WATERLOO, undisturbed except by a body of French cuirassiers, who overthrew a British light regiment (the 7th Hussars), but were in turn broken and defeated by a brilliant charge of the 1st Life Guards, led by Lord Uxbridge. Napoleon, meanwhile, having detached 31,000 men under Grouchy to observe the Prussians, followed the British with 80,000 men, and drew up his army on both sides of the road from Charleroi to Brussels, with his headquarters at La Belle Alliance.

850. The following night was one of unceasing rain; but no feeling of despondency entered the breasts of the soldiers on either side, as they lay drenched in their cheerless bivouacs. Every one knew that a general battle would be fought on the morrow; and that the two great commanders, who had severally overthrown every other antagonist, would at last measure swords with each other. The field on which the immortal strife was to be decided, extends about two miles from the old house and walled gardens of Chateau-Goumont (Hougoumont) on the right, to the hedge of La Haye on the left; while the great road from Brussels to Charleroi runs through the centre of the position, which is about three quarters of a mile south of the village of Waterloo, and three hundred yards in front of the farm-house of Mont St Jean. The British army occupied the crest of a range of gentle eminences, crossing the high-road at right angles; while the French occupied a corresponding line of ridges on the opposite side of the valley—the intermediate space being open and unenclosed. Hill, with 7000 men, had been stationed six miles on the right, to cover the road from Mons to Brussels; and the partisans of Napoleon in the latter city were in joyful expectation of his entry on the following day. In the morning the British army was still seen on its ground, drawn up in squares in steady array along the ridge; and Napoleon,

who had feared that they would retreat during the night, exclaimed with exultation: "At last I have them, those English!"

851. The total number of the Allied army was 72,000—of the French 80,000; and the superiority of the latter was still greater in artillery, of which they had 252 pieces to oppose to 186, and in the uniform high quality of their troops, when compared to the Belgian levies who formed part of the opposing ranks. The first gun was fired from the French centre as the clock of Nivelles struck eleven; and immediately a column of 6000 men moved against the wood of Hougoumont, and, in spite of the utmost efforts of Byng's brigade of Guards, drove the British into the garden and courtyard, which they held with unconquerable resolution—though the house, set on fire by the howitzers, was wholly consumed. The principal attack, meanwhile, was led by Ney against the left centre of the British, and the farm-house of La Haye Sainte. Four massy columns, together numbering 20,000 men, pushed forward in defiance of the heavy fire from the British cannon and musketry, till within twenty yards of their line; and the British were beginning to waver, when Picton brought up Pack's brigade, before which the French in turn recoiled; and Ponsonby's brigade of horse (the Scots Greys, Queen's Bays, and Enniskillens) charging at the same moment, the French column was pierced through and ridden over, and 2000 prisoners, with two eagles, taken, while 40 guns were either captured or disabled. The gallant Picton, however, had fallen in heading the charge; and the cavalry, pursuing their advantage too far, were in turn overwhelmed by Milhaud's cuirassiers: Ponsonby was killed, and scarce a fifth of the brigade returned. La Haye Sainte, meanwhile, enveloped on all sides, had been stormed, and the 400 gallant Hanoverians who composed the garrison bayoneted; while Ney's columns, forming under cover of the farm-house, pushed on, supported by Milhaud and his cuirassiers, to pierce the Allied centre. They forced their way almost to the tree where Wellington had taken his station; but they were driven back by the advance of the 79th Highlanders; while the heavy

brigade (Life Guards, Royal Horse Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards), under Lord Edward Somerset, bore down with such vigour on the cuirassiers that they were fairly ridden over by the weight of man and horse, and a considerable number pushed headlong over a precipice into a gravel-pit.

852. Napoleon, however, still persisted in his attack on the centre, and brought up his whole cavalry to the attack, while at the same time he attempted to turn the British right. The Belgians were driven back in dismay, and one of the hussar regiments fled straight to Brussels; but the British and Brunswickers, in spite of the storm of shot and shells sent through their squares, and the incessant headlong charges of the cuirassiers, whose enthusiastic valour was excited almost to madness, stood as if rooted in the earth, and defied every effort to break them. It was now half-past four, and the advanced guard of the Prussians under Bulow was beginning to debouch from the woods on the French right flank; and though they were driven back by Lobau and Duhesme, Napoleon saw that no time was to be lost, and ordered a grand effort of the Old and Young Guard, with the whole remaining cuirassiers, against the diminished and weary ranks of the British centre. At a quarter past seven the first column of the Guard, under Reille, advanced up the hill beside Hougoumont with tremendous shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" but so terrible was the fire of the British artillery on their long flank, that the head of the column, constantly pushed on by the rear, never advanced, but melted away as it came into the scene of carnage. But the second column, under Ney, pushing up the hill to the left of La Haye Sainte, forced back the British guns, and came to within forty paces of the Foot Guards, 73d, and 30th, who were lying down under shelter of the ridge. Wellington now gave the order to charge; and a volley was poured in, so close and well directed, that nearly the whole of the two first French ranks fell. The immense column, though forced back, was still bravely cambating, when the charge of the 10th, 18th, and 21st dragoons, under Vivian, on the one flank, and of Adam's foot on the other, while the Guards

pressed them in front, threw them into inextricable confusion; and they were driven headlong down the hill, spreading dismay and disorder through the whole French centre.

853. The moment of victory had now arrived, and the last hour of Napoleon's empire had struck. At the instant when Ney's column was recoiling in disorder, the standards of Blucher appeared in the wood beyond Ohain; and perceiving that the Prussians had come up in strength, Wellington ordered an advance of the whole line. 50,000 men streamed over the summit of the hill, driving before them the last columns of the Guard; while Bulow and Ziethen, with 36,000 Prussians, emerged from the wood, and opened a terrible fire from 100 pieces of cannon. The French saw that all was lost, and, breaking their ranks in despair, fled tumultuously towards the rear, pursued by the whole British cavalry. Up to this moment, Napoleon had preserved his calm demeanour; but on seeing the British horse mingled with the fugitives, he became pale as death, and exclaiming to Bertrand, "All is lost at present—let us save ourselves!" fled at the gallop from the field. The Old Guard for a moment attempted to rally, but in vain. The whole French army became a mass of inextricable confusion. One hundred and fifty guns, 350 caissons, and 6000 prisoners, were taken by the British before fatigue compelled them to halt at La Belle Alliance, where Blucher and Wellington met and saluted each other as victors. The pursuit was continued, however, by Ziethen's Prussians, who pressed the flying French during the whole night. Napoleon's carriage and private papers were taken near Gemappe; and he himself, flying all night on horseback, reached Charleroi at six the next morning. The torrent of fugitives continued to pour over the bridge during the whole day; but scarcely 40,000 men, with only 27 guns, crossed the Sambre. The loss of the French in the battle and pursuit had been at least 40,000; and the efficiency of the army was totally destroyed—the infantry dispersing, and the cavalry selling their horses, and making the best of their way home. The loss of Wellington's army at Waterloo was 15,000 men; that of the Prussians 7000 more

854. While the battle was raging at Waterloo, Grouchy was actively engaged with Thielman near Wavres, and had driven him back and forced the passage of the Dyle. The fatal news of the Emperor's defeat reached him on the following morning, as he was preparing to follow up his success by marching on Brussels; and, instantly retreating, he reached Laon in good order on the 26th, with 32,000 men and 108 guns, having more than repaired his losses by the stragglers whom he picked up. Napoleon, meanwhile, continued his flight with such rapidity that he brought the first authentic news of his own defeat to Paris, where he arrived at 4 A.M. on the 21st. The utmost agitation prevailed in the Chamber of Deputies: Carnot and Lucien strongly recommended a dictatorship in the person of Napoleon; but Fouché, Lafayette, and the other popular leaders, had now coalesced, in the hope of at last establishing, amid the wreck of the nation, the vain dogma of the sovereignty of the people. The sittings of the Chamber were declared permanent; the national guards were mustered round the Hall of Assembly; and already the cry of "Let him abdicate!" was heard from the benches. Lucien went to Napoleon, and openly told him that he had no alternative but to dismiss the Chambers and seize the supreme power, or to abdicate—strongly recommending the former course—while Marat and Caulaincourt counselled the latter. Napoleon at length, learning that his dethronement was on the point of being proposed, signed his abdication in favour of his son; while the deputies received the intelligence with shouts of "No Bourbons! no imperial prince!" as if the old days of the National Assembly had returned. All the efforts of the imperialists, among whom Labedoyère was conspicuous for his vehemence, failed to procure the recognition of Napoleon II.; and a commission of five persons, with Fouché at their head, and Carnot, Caulaincourt, Quenet, and Grenier for his colleagues, was at last appointed to carry on the government in the interim.

855. It was not by debates in the Chambers, however, that the fate of France was to be decided. Wellington and Blucher were rapidly advancing; Cambray was stormed by the British on the

24th, and Peronne on the 26th; and the rearguard of Grouchy was defeated on the 28th by Blucher at Villars-Cotteret, with the loss of 1000 men and 6 guns. On the 29th the British passed the Oise, and established themselves in the wood of Bondy, close to Paris; while Blucher, crossing the Seine at St Germain, fixed his right at Plessis and his left at St Cloud, so as to approach Paris on the south, where no fortifications had yet been erected. Carnot still thought of defence, but Soult and Massena declared this impossible; and a convention was concluded, after some difficulty, on the evening of 3d July, for the evacuation of the capital by the troops, who were to retire within eight days with their arms, artillery, and baggage, to the other side of the Loire. On the 7th the British army, along with the Prussians, entered Paris in triumph, where an English drum had not been heard for 400 years, and encamped in the Bois de Boulogne; and on the following day Louis made his entry, escorted by the national guard. Few persons, however, were seen in the streets; the reality of subjugation was now felt: the crime of the nation had been unpardonable; its punishment was unknown.

856. No one who was then of an age to understand what was going on can ever forget the entrancing joy which thrilled through the British heart at the news of Waterloo. The thanks of Parliament were voted to Wellington and his army; a medal, struck by Government, was given to every officer and soldier who had borne arms on that eventful day; and not less than £500,000 was raised by voluntary subscription for those wounded in the fight, and the widows and orphans of the fallen. Napoleon, meanwhile, after his abdication, spent six melancholy days at Malmaison, the scene of his early happiness with Josephine: on the 29th June he set out for Rochefort, which he reached on 3d July, with an immense train of carriages laden with valuables. His design was to have embarked for America; but the blockade of the British cruisers was so vigilant that, after ten days' hesitation, he resolved to throw himself on British generosity, and sent a letter (July 13) to Captain Maitland of the Bellerophon, addressed to the Prince-Regent, and concluding

with these words:—"I put myself under the protection of the British laws, and claim it from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies." On the following day he embarked on board the Bellerophon, which immediately sailed for England. It had already been determined, however, that he should be removed to St Helena; and after remaining a fortnight in Plymouth roads, he was transferred, in spite of his vehement remonstrances, to the Northumberland, which sailed for that island, and arrived there on 16th November.

857. Paris exhibited a melancholy spectacle after the second restoration of Louis. All the principal points were held by strong bodies of troops; and the bearing of Blucher and the Prussians was harsh and oppressive in a high degree. It was only by the interference of Wellington that they were prevented from blowing up the bridge of Jena, and, beyond the limits of Paris, their troops indulged in all sorts of pillage. Nothing so deeply wounded the French as the resumption of the bronze horses of St Mark, and the objects of art in the museum of the Louvre, which had been pillaged from their respective states by Napoleon; and which, though in fact it was only wresting the prey from the robber, was regarded by the Parisians as the bitterest proof of subjugation. The armies of the different powers, meanwhile, had entered France on all sides, so that above 800,000 foreign troops were quartered on its soil; and claims were set up by most of the Allied sovereigns for territorial aggrandisement at its expense. At last, through the efforts of Russia and Britain, neither of whom had anything to gain, the second treaty of Paris was concluded (Nov. 20). France lost the fortresses of Landau, Sarre-Louis, Philipville, and Marienburg, with their adjacent territory; Huningen was demolished; all the frontier fortresses were to be held for five years by an Allied army of 150,000 men, under Wellington; and £28,000,000 were to be paid for the expenses of the war, besides £29,500,000 as indemnities for the spoliations inflicted on the different states during the Revolution, and £4,000,000 to the minor states;—so

that the total sums which France had to pay, by this severe but just retaliation, amounted (besides the cost of maintaining the army of occupation) to not less than £61,500,000.

858. It was not by pecuniary mulcts alone that the guilt of France was to be punished. A long list of proscriptions was given in by the Allies to the French government; and though the number of those doomed to exile was ultimately reduced to fifty-eight, Ney, Labedoyère, and Lavalette were convicted in regular course of law of high treason, and sentenced to death. Lavalette was saved by the devotion of his wife, who contrived his escape by changing dresses with him in prison; but Ney and Labedoyère were both executed, and met their fate with heroic courage. Another of the paladins of the Revolution had perished in the same manner not long before. This was Murat, who, having been foolhardy enough to make a descent on Naples in the hope of raising a revolt, was made prisoner and shot, in accordance with a law which he himself had enacted.

859. Napoleon did not long survive his old companions in arms. Though he was allowed to live at St Helena as a prisoner at large, and to enjoy the society of the friends who had accompanied him, his proud spirit chafed at coercion; and a great impression was made by the publication of the St Helena Memoirs, in which exaggerated statements of the indignities to which he was said to have been subjected were interwoven with profound reflections, which will perhaps add as much to his fame with the thinking portion of mankind, as his military achievements with the world in general. But his captivity was not destined to be of long duration. The recollection of his lost greatness, combined with vexation at the failure of the plans for his escape, aggravated a hereditary tendency to cancer in the stomach, of which (after having received, two days previously, the last rites of the Catholic church) he died (May 5, 1821), in the midst of a violent storm of wind and rain—the last words he uttered being "*tête d'armée.*" Among the bequests in his will (which were numerous) was one of 10,000 francs to an assassin who had recently attempted the life of the Duke of Wellington, and a

request that "his body might repose on the banks of the Seine, among the people whom he had loved so well."

860. His body, after lying in state, was interred (May 8) in the military dress which he had usually worn when alive, in a spot called Slane's Valley, which he himself had indicated, shaded by weeping willows, where a simple stone of great size was laid over his remains. As time rolled on, the revolt of the Barricades restored the tricolor, and established a semi-revolutionary dynasty in France; and a request was made, under M. Thiers' administration (May 1840), to the British, to restore the remains of their great Emperor to the French people; and this request, received in a worthy spirit, was immediately complied with, in the hope, as it was eloquently but fallaciously said, "that these two great nations would henceforth bury their discord in the tomb of Napoleon." The solitary grave in St Helena was opened in the presence of many of his faithful followers; and the winding-sheet, rolled back with reverend care, revealed the well-known features of the hero, serene and undecayed as he stood on the fields of Austerlitz and Jena. The corpse was safely conveyed to France in the Belle Poule frigate, commanded by the Prince de Joinville, son of the King of the French; and on 6th December 1840 it was laid with the other illustrious warriors of France in the Church of the Invalides. Louis Philippe and his court attended the august ceremony, which 600,000 spectators were assembled to witness; and nothing awakened so deep feeling as a band of the mutilated veterans of the Old Guard, who attended the remains of their beloved chief to their last resting-place. The thunders of artillery, which so often celebrated his triumphs, now gave him the last honours of mortality: the last wish of Napoleon was accomplished, and his remains finally "reposed on the banks of the Seine." Yet will future ages perhaps regret the ocean-girt isle, the solitary stone, and the willow-tree. Napoleon will live when Paris is in ruins; his deeds will survive the dome of the Invalides: no man can show the tomb of Alexander!

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

REMARKABLE EVENTS.

1789.

OPENING of the States-General at Versailles. May 5.

The Tiers Etat assumes the name of the National Assembly. June 17.

Tennis-Court Oath. June 20.

The Bastille taken by the mob. July 14.

Formation of the National Guard, and the Tricolor adopted as the national flag. July.

Sanguinary excesses throughout France, and emigration of the nobles begins. July.

Abolition of class privileges. Aug. 4.

Abolition of tithes. Aug. 7.

Declaration of the "Rights of Man." Aug. 18.

Banquet at Versailles: an armed mob from Paris outrages the Assembly, and breaks into the Palace. Oct 1.

1790.

Death of Joseph II. of Austria, and accession of his brother Leopold II. Feb. 16.

Titles of honour suppressed in France. June 20.

National fête in the Champ de Mars. July 14.

Confiscation of Church property in France, Nov. 2; and the system of *assignats* adopted. Dec.

1791.

Death of Mirabeau. April 2.

Rupture between Fox and Burke on the Canada constitution. May 6.

Treaty of Mantua. May 20.

The King and royal family of France escape from Paris, but are intercepted at Varennes. June 20.

Treaty of Pilnitz. Aug. 27.

Revolt of the slaves in St Domingo. Sept. 30.

Opening of the Legislative Assembly. Oct. 1.

1792.

Death of Leopold II., and accession of his son Francis II. March 1.

Assassination of Gustavus III. of Sweden by Ankerstrom. March 29.

France declares war against Austria. April 20.

An armed mob overawes the Legislative Assembly, and breaks into the palace. June 20.

The French Assembly declares "the country in danger." July 11.

The Prussian and Austrian armies, under the Duke of Brunswick, invade France. July 25.

The mob attack the Tuileries: massacre of the Swiss Guards. Aug. 10.

The royal family of France imprisoned in the Temple. Aug. 13.

Establishment of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Aug. 17.

Failure of Lafayette's attempt at Sedan to support the King, and his flight. Aug. 17.

Massacres in the prisons. Sept. 2–3.

Dumourier takes post at the Argonne Forest. Sept. 1.

Action at Valmy. Sept. 20.

Opening of the National Convention. Sept. 20.

Louis XVI. dethroned, and a republic established in France. Sept. 21.

Battle of Jemappes. Nov. 6.

The French Republic decrees fraternity and assistance to all nations in the recovery of their liberty. Nov. 19.

Trial of Louis XVI. commences. Dec. 11.

Savoy and Nice incorporated with France. Nov. 27.

Opening of the Scheldt. Dec.

1793.

Execution of Louis XVI. Jan. 20.

France declares war against Great Britain and Holland. Feb. 1.

First coalition against France, headed by England.

Revolt at Lyons against the Convention. Feb. 28.

Battle of Nerwinde. March 18.

Dumourier deserts the Republican cause.

Institution of the Committee of Public Safety. April 6.

The Vendean War begins. April.

The Convention adopt the Law of the Maximum. May 4.

The Allies storm the French camp at Famars. May 23.

Fall of the Girondists. June 2.

Charlotte Corday assassinates Marat. July 13.

Storming of the Camp of Cæsar. Aug. 8.

Decree for the French people rising *en masse*. Aug. 20.

Toulon declares for Louis XVII., and surrenders to Lord Hood's fleet. Aug. 28.

Lyons capitulates, and massacre of the Royalists. Oct. 10.

Execution of Marie-Antoinette. Oct. 16.

The Spaniards defeat the French at Truellas, Sept. 22; and at Toulon, Dec. 7.

The English evacuate Toulon: burning of the French fleet there. Dec. 19.

The Vendeans overthrown at Savenay. Dec. 23.

1794.

Revolt of the Poles under Kosciusko. March 3.

Execution of Hebert and the Anarchists. March 24.

Execution of Danton and his party. April 16.

The Habeas Corpus Act suspended. May.

Chouan war in Brittany begins.
Lord Howe defeats the French fleet off Ushant. June 1
Fête by the Convention in honour of the Supreme Being. June 7.
Battle of Fleurus. June 26.
Insurrection of the 9th Thermidor, and fall of Robespierre, July 27 : his execution, July 28.
Battle of Ruremonde. Oct. 2.
Battle of Maczieiowicz. Oct. 4.
Warsaw stormed by Suwarroff. Nov. 4.

1795.

Holland overrun by the French. Jan.
The Stadtholder takes refuge in England. Jan. 8.
Jacobin revolt against the Convention fails. April 1.
Revolt of the 1st of Prairial : final overthrow of the Jacobins. May 20.
Death of Louis XVII. June 9.
Landing of the emigrants in Quiberon Bay. June 27.
Peace concluded between France and Spain. July 20.
Cape of Good Hope captured by the British. Sept. 16.
Royalist revolt of the sections on the 11th Vendemiaire. Oct. 3.
George III. attacked by the mob on his way to open parliament. Oct. 29.
The Directory established in France. Oct.
The Pitt and Grenville acts for preventing sedition passed.

1796.

Holland constituted the Batavian Republic. Jan. 22.
Hoche terminates the war in la Vendée; execution of Stofflet and Charette. March 30.
Convention at Berlin between France and Prussia. Aug. 5.
Treaty of St Ildefonso between France and Spain. Aug. 19.
Campaign in Germany :—The French, under Jourdan, defeated by the Archduke Charles at Wurtzburg, Aschaffenburg, and Altenkirchen. Moreau defeats Latour at Biberach, but is

himself routed by the Archduke at Emmendingen and Hohenblau.

Campaign in Italy :—Buonaparte defeats the Austrians at Montenotte, Fombio, and Pizzighitone ; forces the bridge of Lodi ; defeats Beaulieu at Vallegio, and lays siege to Mantua ; battles of Lonato, Castiglione, and Medola—Roveredo, Calliano, and Bassano—Caldiero and Arcola—Rivoli ; Fall of Mantua.

Naval Campaign :—Grenada, St Lucie, Essequibo, and Demerara, in the West Indies, and the Batavian settlements of Ceylon, Malacca, and Cochin, in the East, reduced by the British ; and a Dutch fleet captured by Lord Elphinstone in Saldanha Bay.

Resignation of Washington. Sept. 17.

Spain declares war against Great Britain. Oct. 2.

Death of the Empress Catherine of Russia, and accession of Paul. Nov. 10.

Failure of a French expedition against Ireland, under Hoche. Dec.

1797.

Battle of Cape St Vincent : French fleet defeated by Sir John Jarvis. Feb. 14.

Treaty of Tolentino between France and the Pope. Feb. 19.

Order in Council suspending cash payments in Britain. Feb. 26.

Babœuff's conspiracy. May 21.

Mutiny of the Channel fleet, April 15 ; and its pacification, May 7.

Mutiny at the Nore, May 22 ; and at the Texel, June 6.

Suppression of the mutiny, June 15 ; and execution of Parker.

Death of Mr Burke. July 9.

Battle of Camperdown : Dutch fleet defeated by Admiral Duncan. Oct. 11.

Campaign in Italy :—Buonaparte crosses the Alps, and advances into Austria ; armistice of Leoben, April 7 ; Venice ceded to Austria.

Campaign in Germany:—Famous passage of the Rhine at Diersheim by Moreau. April 19.
Peace of Campo Formio. Oct. 17.
Capture of Trinidad by the British.
Death of Frederick-William II. of Prussia, and accession of Frederick-William III. Nov. 16.
Cisalpine Republic established, and soon after, the Helvetic.
Revolution of the 18th Fructidor. Sept. 4.

1798.

Second coalition against France.
Seizure of the Pope by the French, and establishment of the Roman Republic. Feb.
Establishment of the Ligurian Republic at Genoa, and the Parthenopeian at Naples.
Rebellion in Ireland. May.
Buonaparte sails for Egypt. May 19.
Battle of Vinegar Hill. June 21.
Battle of the Pyramids. July 21.
Battle of the Nile. Aug. 1.

1799.

Buonaparte invades Syria. Feb. 11.
The Archduke defeats Jourdan at Stockach. March 21.
Battle of Mount Tabor. April 15.
Buonaparte retreats from before Acre. May 20.
Turks defeated at Aboukir. July 25.
Revolution of the 30th Prairial. May 25.
Jacobin Club finally closed. Aug. 12.
Campaign in Italy:—Kray defeats the French at Magnano, April 5; victorious career of Suwarroff; Battle of the Trebbia, June 17-19; battle of Novi, and death of Joubert, Aug. 14.
Law of the Conscription enacted by the Directory.
Suwarroff forces the passage of the St Gothard. Sept. 23.
Massena defeats Korsakoff at Zurich. Sept. 28.

British and Russian expedition to Holland. Aug.—Nov.
Death of Pope Pius VI. Sept.
Buonaparte returns to France. Oct. 8.
Revolution of the 18th Brumaire, Nov. 8; Buonaparte declared First Consul, Dec. 25.

1800.

Union of Ireland with Great Britain. Feb.
Buonaparte crosses the Great St Bernard. May 16-20.
Battle of Marengo. June 14.
Battle of Hohenlinden. Dec. 3.
Macdonald crosses the Splugen. Dec. 2-6.
Maritime confederacy formed against Great Britain. Dec. 16.

1801.

Peace of Luneville. Feb. 9.
Mr Pitt resigns office. Feb. 10.
Battle of Alexandria. March 21.
Assassination of the Emperor Paul. March 23.
Battle of the Baltic. April 2.
Institution of the Legion of Honour. May.
Nelson attacks the Boulogne flotilla. Aug. 15.

1802.

Religion re-established in France. April 2.
A French expedition against St Domingo fails.
Buonaparte overturns the Swiss constitution.

1803.

Rupture between France and Britain, May 12; and arrest of all the British travelling in France.

1804.

Illness of George III. Feb.
The Duke d'Enghien shot. March 21.
Death of Pichegru. April 6.

Mr Pitt resumes office. May.
Napoleon declared Emperor of the French. May 18.
Execution of Georges and his associates. June 25.
Military and naval pageant at Boulogne. Aug. 16.
Capture of the Spanish treasure-frigates. Oct. 5.
Coronation of Napoleon. Dec. 2.
Spain declares war against England. Dec. 12

1805.

Napoleon assumes the Iron Crown of Lombardy. May 26.
Sir R. Calder engages the French fleet off Cape Finisterre. July 22.
The French violate the Prussian territory at Anspach. Oct.
The Austrian army under Mack capitulates at Ulm. Oct. 20.
Battle of Trafalgar and death of Nelson. Oct. 21.
Massena repulsed by the Archduke Charles at Caldiero. Oct. 28–30.
Battle of Austerlitz. Dec. 2.
Peace of Presburg. Dec. 27.

1806.

The Cape of Good Hope captured by the British. Jan. 8.
Death of Mr Pitt. Jan. 23.
Joseph Buonaparte made King of Naples. April 14.
Louis Buonaparte made King of Holland. June 5.
Buenos Ayres capitulates to Sir Home Popham. June 28
Battle of Maida. July 6.
Formation of the Confederation of the Rhine. July 12.
Death of Mr Fox. Sept. 13.
Prince Louis of Prussia killed. Oct. 10.
Battle of Jena and Auerstadt. Oct. 14.
Napoleon publishes his famous Berlin Decree. Nov. 21.
Battles of Pultusk and Golymin. Dec. 26.

1807.

Windham's Bill for limited enlistment comes into force. Jan. 1.
Battle of Eylau. Feb. 8.

Sir John Duckworth forces the passage of the Dardanelles, Feb. 19; and again on his retreat, March 1.

Revolt of the Janissaries, and dethronement of the Sultan Selim. June 1.

Battle of Heilsberg. June 10.

Battle of Friedland. June 14.

Treaty of Tilsit. June 25.

General Whitelock capitulates at Buenos Ayres. July 7.

Treaty at Fontainebleau between France and Spain for the partition of Portugal. Oct. 27.

The French occupy Lisbon, and the royal family of Portugal sail for Brazil. Nov. 30.

Formation of the Tugendbund in Germany.

1808.

Titles of honour revived in France. March 11.

Revolution at Aranjuez. March 17.

Massacre at Madrid. May 2.

Accession of Sultan Mahmood. May 21.

Joseph Buonaparte proclaimed King of Spain. June 6.

The Spaniards defeated at Rio-Seco. July 14.

Dupont surrenders at Baylen. July 19.

Wellington lands in Portugal. July 30.

Battle of Roliça. Aug. 17.

Battle of Vimeira. Aug. 21.

Convention of Cintra. Aug. 23.

Interview between the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander at Erfurth. Sept. 27.

1809.

Battle of Corunna, and death of Sir John Moore. Jan. 16.

Gustavus of Sweden dethroned. March 29.

The Tyrolese rise in revolt against the French. April 8.

Naval action in Basque Roads. April 11.

Battles of Abensberg, April 20 — Landshut, April 21 — and Echmuhl, April 22.

Dethronement of the Pope by Napoleon. May 17.
Schill's revolt, April 29—his death, May 31.
Battle of Aspern. May 19-20.
The Archduke John defeated at Raab. June 14.
Battle of Wagram. July 5-6.
Battle of Talavera. July 27.
Stabs attempts to assassinate Napoleon. Sept. 15.
Peace of Vienna. Oct. 14.
The Spaniards defeated at Ocana. Nov. 12.
Divorce of Josephine. Dec. 15.

1810.

Marriage of Napoleon and Maria-Louisa. April 1.
Louis Buonaparte resigns the Dutch throne—Holland is incorporated with France. July 9.
Battle of Battin. Sept. 7.
Bernadotte elected Crown-Prince of Sweden. Sept. 17.
Battle of Busaco. Sept. 21.
The Russians repulsed before Rudshuk. Aug. 3.

1811.

Battle of Barossa. March 6.
Birth of the King of Rome. March 20.
Battle of Fuentes d'Onore. May 4.
Battle of Albuera. May 16.

1812.

Ciudad Rodrigo stormed by the British. Jan. 19.
Storming of Badajoz. April 6.
Peace of Bucharest between Russia and Turkey. May 28.
The French under Napoleon cross the Niemen. June 24.
Battle of Salamanca. July 22.
Battle of Borodino. Sept. 7.
Burning of Moscow. Sept. 15.
Wellington retreats from before Burgos. Oct. 18.
Commencement of the Moscow retreat. Oct. 19.

Malet's conspiracy. Oct. 22.
Battle of Krasnoi. Nov. 17.
Dreadful passage of the Beresina by the French. Nov. 26

1813.

Treaty of Kalisch between Russia and Prussia. March 1.
Battle of Lützen. May 2.
Battle of Bautzen. *May 20–21.*
Armistice of *Pleswitz. June 4.*
Battle of Vitoria. *June 20.*
Battle of Sorauren. *July 28.*
Austria declares war *against France. Aug. 12.*
Battle of Gross Beeren. *Aug. 23.*
Battle of the Katzbach. *Aug. 26.*
Battle of Dresden and *death of Moreau. Aug. 26-7.*
Battle of Culm. *Aug. 29.*
Battle of San Marcial. *Aug. 30.*
Storming of San Sebastian. Aug. 31.
Battle of Dennewitz. Sept. 3.
Wellington forces the passage of the Bidassoa, and invades France. Sept. 8.
Battle of Leipsic. Oct. 16–18.
Battle of Hanau. Oct. 30.
Battle of the Nivelle. Nov. 9.
Battles of the Nive, Dec. 9–10; and of St Pierre, Dec. 13.
Treaty of Valençay. Dec. 11.
The Allied Grand Army, under Schwartzenberg, passes the Rhine and invades France. Dec. 31.

1814.

Murat joins the Allies. Jan. 11.
Battle of la Rothière. Feb. 1.
Opening of the Congress of Chatillon. Feb. 4.
Battles of Champaubert and Montmirail. Feb. 10-11.
Battle of Montereau. Feb. 18.
Armistice of Lusigny. Feb. 24.

Battle of Orthes. Feb. 27.
Treaty of Chaumont. March 1.
Battle of Craone. March 5.
Combats around Laon. March 9–10.
Congress of Chatillon dissolved. March 18.
The Austrians defeat Augereau at Limonet. March 20.
Battle of Arcis-sur-Aube. March 20–21.
Marmont and Mortier defeated at Fère-Champenoise. March 25.
Battle of Paris, and capitulation of the city. March 30.
Abdication of Napoleon. April 4.
Battle of Toulouse. April 10.
Napoleon sails for Elba. April 28.
Death of Josephine. May 28.
First Treaty of Paris. May 30.
The Allied sovereigns visit England. July 5.
Norway, conquered by Bernadotte, is ceded by Denmark to Sweden. Aug. 14.
Opening of the Congress of Vienna. Sept. 25.

1815.

Secret treaty at Vienna between Austria, France, and England, to oppose the ambitious designs of Russia and Prussia. Feb. 3.
Napoleon lands in France. March 1.
Marshal Ney deserts the Bourbons. March 14.
Napoleon re-enters Paris. March 20.
Treaty at Vienna between Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England to oppose Napoleon. March 25.
Murat routed by the Austrians in Italy. April 9–11.
Battles of Ligny and Quatre-Bras. June 16.
Battles of Wavres and Waterloo. June 18.
The British and Prussian armies enter Paris. July 7.
Napoleon surrenders to Captain Maitland of the Bellerophon. July 4.
Execution of Murat. Oct. 13.

Napoleon arrives at St Helena. Nov. 16.
Second Treaty of Paris. Nov. 30.
Execution of Ney and Labedoyère. Dec. 6.

1821. Death of Napoleon. May 5.
1840. Reinterment of Napoleon in the Church of the Invalides at Paris. Dec. 6

THE END.

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